

ГЕОКУЛЬТУРНЫЕ ПРОСТРАНСТВА И КОДЫ КУЛЬТУР СТРАН АЗИИ И АФРИКИ

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Influence of the Multiethnic Environment on the Diasporic Identity of Koreans in Kazakhstan

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The author of this article examines the phenomenon of diaspora and diasporic identity, conditions, and factors influencing the transformation and development of identity in a multiethnic society in Kazakhstan. Diasporic identity is a multifaceted phenomenon characterized by its dynamism. Kazakhstani Koreans (ethnonym — “Koryo Saram”) are integrated into the multiethnic society of modern Kazakhstan and it can be argued that the overwhelming majority of them are urbanized. This factor determines the high rate of acculturation, which leads to the transformation of the traditional Korean community. The author also analyzes the relationship between ethnic and diaspora identities. The characteristic forms of manifestation of ethnic identity, as well as methods for preserving and manifestation of the ethnic identity of the Korean diaspora in Kazakhstan, are analyzed. A diaspora is not a diaspora by default — initially, it is a group that is in an amorphous state, which can develop into a diaspora, provided that its construction is based on ethnic consciousness. The community of Koreans in Kazakhstan is not ethnically closed. As a result, the nature of the phenomenon of diasporic identity was determined and the forms of manifestation of the diasporic identity of Koreans in Kazakhstan were identified. The diasporic identity of Koryo Saram — a construct of various identities, which are based on a common cultural basis and are superimposed on the identity of representatives of the multiethnic society of Kazakhstan — is a “borderline” phenomenon: on the one hand, representatives of the diaspora are focused on the preservation of their ethnic and cultural identity, or “otherness” in relation to the ethnic majority; on the other hand, the situation of long-term residence and adaptation to new socio-cultural conditions determines the process of socialization and the formation of the Republic of Kazakhstan’s civic identity.

Keywords: diasporic identity, ethnic identity, diaspora, multiethnicity, identity markers, Koryo Saram, Koreans of Kazakhstan.

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Introduction

In the study of the phenomenon of diaspora, a significant contribution has been made by foreign (Abraham Ashkenasi, Robin Cohen, William Safran, Gabriel Sheffer, Khachig Tölölyan and others) and Russian (S. A. Arutyunov, V. A. Dyatlov, V. A. Tishkov, Zh. T. Toshchenko, T. I. Chaptikova, K. S. Mokin, G. U. Soldatova, A. P. Sadokhin, V. D. Popkov, and many others) scientists. In Kazakhstan, studies by S. E. Azhigali, A. N. Alekseyenko, T. A. Apendiyeva, Zh. A. Yermekbai, Z. E. Kabuldinova, R. K. Kadyrzhanova, G. N. Kim, Z. Kinayat, A. I. Kudaibergenova, G. M. Mendikulova, A. N. Nysanbayev, M. B. Tatimova, N. B. Yem, D. V. Men, and M. S. Shaykemelev are devoted to the study of diaspora. To date, criteria for the characteristics of diaspora groups have been developed, including collective memory of the original homeland, a sense of alienation in the “host” society, personal or collective identity with the homeland, a willingness to preserve and pass on cultural heritage to future generations, and social institutions. Among these criteria for a diaspora, it is necessary to dwell on the presence and development of the collective identity of members of a diaspora [1, p. 263]. Identity serves as a basis, a unifying principle, and belonging to a particular social group is one of the criteria for determining an individual’s position in a social system. Belonging is structured according to several criteria accepted and understood by both the individual and the group. At the same time, identity acts as a delimiter that allows one to determine (evaluate, feel) distinction from “others” [2, p. 113].

Rationale of research

Many diverse publications are devoted to the diaspora as an object of research. However, today there is no unity in the approach to defining and analyzing diasporic identity, which transforms the issue of the diaspora into an open research task. The scientific aspect of the problem is of great importance. Neither in sociological, nor philosophical, nor historical literature is there sufficient clarity. There is also a lack of clarity in the interpretation of the concept of “diasporic identity”. The absence of lucidity permeates to the term’s essence, criteria for the type of identity, and the initial theoretical and methodological foundations. All these circumstances determined the relevance of the research topic. In turn, the author adheres to the theory that diasporic identity does not exist in isolation from other types of identities but is formed in symbiosis with ethnic and national identities. It is noteworthy that, from the practical point of view, the study of diasporic identity, which is the basis for the formation of a diaspora community, is very important in multiethnic Kazakhstan, since the institutions of diaspora became the first self-organizing institutions of civil society and the basis of interethnic harmonic interaction in Kazakhstan [3].

The purpose of this article is to study the conditions and factors of the transformation of the diasporic identity of Koreans in the context of a multiethnic society in Kazakhstan. The ethnocultural image of modern Kazakhstan, distinguished with great variety, was formed over the centuries. Kazakhstan has become home to people of different ethnoses, languages, religions, and cultures. According to the national statistics agency, the country’s population speaks 23 different languages and professes Islam, Orthodoxy, Protestantism, Catholicism, Buddhism, and Judaism. Although the share of the indigenous ethnoses, Kazakhs, is slightly less than 70 %, Kazakhstan can be rightly called multiethnic, poly-confessional, and multicultural because significant subpopulations, such as Russians, Uzbeks,

Ukrainians, Tatars, Uighurs, Germans, Koreans, and others are represented as well. Thus, the research topic correlates with the goals of the Development Concept of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan in terms of strengthening social harmony and national unity, and strengthening and developing Kazakhstani identity [4]. Given the multicultural and multiethnic composition of Kazakhstani society, a comprehensive study and understanding of all forms of ethnic groups' identity inhabiting the Republic of Kazakhstan is necessary in order to achieve the goals of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan.

The Genesis of Diasporic identity

Irretrievable migration is decisive in the origin and formation of the diaspora. Later, the immigrant community adapts to the host society and acculturates. This becomes the basis for the emergence of diasporic identity within the country of residence. According to Gulnara Mendikulova's definition, adaptation creates preconditions for the intensive growth of migrants in the social, economic, political, and ideological life of the recipient country [5, p. 30]. Zhan Toshchenko and Tatiana Chapytkova define the following features of diasporas: existence in a different ethnic environment, preservation of the ethnic culture, the presence of an organizational structure in the form of social and national-cultural institutions [6, p. 36]. All these attributes can be observed in the diaspora of Koreans in Kazakhstan. However, it should be noted that representatives of the diaspora do not feel that they belong to a single community from birth, this feeling comes with the awareness and manifestation of the individual's ethnic and national identity. According to Vladislav Khan, this is a subconscious reaction of self-preservation to the erasures of Koryo Saram identity [7].

As stated by Stella Dzhangozyan, the diaspora is not completely formed by itself. Initially, it is a group that is in an amorphous state, which can develop into a diaspora provided that its construction is based on ethnic consciousness [8, p. 68]. In this regard, it is necessary to agree with German Kim's assertion that one of the key points to the essence of diaspora consciousness is that it is not diasporas that create diaspora consciousness, but diaspora consciousness that forms diasporas. The genesis of the diaspora is objective by its nature, but it is possible to consider that the diaspora is fully formed only after the diaspora's consciousness is formed [9]. This hypothesis is confirmed by the assertion of Konstantin Mokin that the presence of a stable ability to generate diasporic identity is a fundamental condition for the diaspora [10, p. 212].

Historical experience shows that immigrant communities separated from the ethnic core, develop their own identity and self-awareness. As a rule, these processes take place over several generations because they are determined both by a combination of internal factors and by the intensity of external influences. Diasporic identity is a multifaceted (multiple) identity and is characterized by dynamism [11, p. 163]. Identity among representatives of the diaspora is based on blood ties, character traits, cultural norms, language, religious beliefs, historical memory, interests, and goals, as well as on the degree of attachment to the place that immigrants take for their homeland [8, p. 65]. According to Stuart Hall's definition: diasporic identity is an identity that constantly produces and reproduces itself anew through transformation and difference [12, p. 235]. Mokin formulates the thesis that it is not the problem of choosing an alternative direction in the formation of identity and self-determination that is important for the diaspora, but rather the problem

of synthesizing selected cultural landmarks and creating a special type of diasporic identity [11, p. 163]. This statement is consistent with the thesis of Fredrik Barth that ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply a marked difference in behavior, i.e., persisting cultural differences [13, p. 15].

As Daphna Oyserman and Yoon Kwang-Il justly point out, that ethnic identity fulfills a [self] protective function [14]. In turn, Gabriella Stein, Andrew Supple, Lisa Kiang, Laura Gonzalez continue this idea to a certain extent. They conclude that this begins to manifest itself on the conditions that the subject is a representative of an ethnic minority [15]. Consequently, the preservation of ethnic culture is undoubtedly a sign of the diaspora. However, after a certain period, the ethnic culture of the diaspora is no longer identical to the culture of the ethnic group from which they split from. It leaves the imprint of the culture of the foreign ethnic environment. And as a result of the loss of connection with the original ethnic group, the continuity of cultural traditions is lost. The situation is aggravated by the difficulty of preserving ethnic culture in an urbanized environment, where standards of material and spiritual culture are widespread [6, p. 39]. Therefore, the question of ethnic identity is very relevant in the diaspora.

What is meant by identity and how important is its preservation in the diaspora? Diasporic identity is enclosed in ethnic boundaries, which ensure the stability of the community and its preservation as a foreign cultural minority in the socio-ethnic space of the region. The main functions of the boundary according to Galina Soldatova [16, p. 14] are:

- division into “friends” and “strangers”;
- awareness of ethnic membership;
- an expression of collective will.

Although diasporic identity contains elements of ethnic and national identities, it does not completely coincide with them. Such a confusion of concepts occurs due to the reason that all three communities (i.e., diaspora, ethnos, and nation) of people, differing in many parameters from each other, carry one initial core — “ethnicity”. That is, the sign of “common ethnic identity” is indisputable for the diaspora, with the parallel presence of diasporic identity. In a multiethnic and multicultural society, such as modern Kazakhstan, the system of relationships between ethnic, diasporic and national identities is not static. It will remain similar to an animation in which the figures will change not only their outlines but also the boundaries of interpenetration [9].

Experts distinguish two levels of identity, which are manifested peculiarly in the diaspora. The first level is personal and psychological; a person feels and identifies themselves as a member of a small unit of society, for example, a family. Through this unit, one realizes their identity. It is in the family that one receives the main ideas about life, and also, in the case of the diaspora, about the traditions and characteristics of the people. The family serves as a means of transferring national foundations and values from one generation to another, which is especially important in a foreign environment.

The second, broader level is the socio-psychological level when identification with a significant group occurs. An individual's ideas about their identity “are formed as derivatives of a person's awareness of their involvement in a particular social group” [17, p. 151]. In this case, the representatives of the diaspora may have difficulties with self-identification since they consider themselves a constituent element of the people to which they belong by birth, and also to the society and country of residence.

Genesis and evolution of the diasporic identity of Koreans in Kazakhstan

Kazakh Koreans (ethnonym — *Koryo Saram*) are integrated into the multiethnic society of Kazakhstan and it can be argued that the overwhelming majority of them are urbanized. In the urban environment, the rate of acculturation is high, which leads to a more rapid transformation of the traditional Korean community. Thus, the community of Koreans in Kazakhstan ceases to be ethnically closed and one of the indicators of the transformation of the diaspora is interethnic marriages. Natalya Yem notes a steady increase in the number of interethnic marriages between Koreans and other ethnic groups, particularly in Almaty [18]. Such high rates of ethnic intermarriage demonstrate the involvement of Koreans in Kazakhstan in the process of integration into the local community. This is also confirmed by Ulugbek Tagiyev, who noted that Koreans in Kazakhstan are integrated into the local population to a much greater extent than, for example, Uzbekistan [19]. Kazakh Koreans position themselves as a single ethnic community. Furthermore, the Korean diaspora in Kazakhstan has a pronounced ethnic and cultural identity. At the same time, the main factor in the diaspora identification of Kazakh Koreans is ethnic origin and elements of ethnic everyday culture, traditions, and customs. On the one hand, Koryo Saram have much in common with Koreans living both on the Korean Peninsula and beyond, but on the other hand, the diaspora of Koryo Saram is extremely different from both Koreans of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (hereinafter, DPRK), as well as from other Korean diasporas such as Joseonjok (조선족) in China or Zanichi Chosenjin (在日朝鮮人) in Japan.

It is worth drawing further attention to the phenomenon of the historical experience of representatives of the Korean diaspora, which also influences the formation of diasporic identity. An historical (nostalgic) experience is considered as the direct experience of a person in regard to a historical event that, at the same time, has historical distance between the past and the present. The basis of such an experience is the emotional experience of losing something vital. Historical experience does not only include the knowledge of the historical events, but also the subject's experience in living through them within the framework of the idea of this historical event. In particular, the memory of suffering from the deportation of Koreans from the Far East to Central Asia has formed one of the important factors of memory and the basis of the Korean diaspora's consciousness in Kazakhstan. This influences the formation of the diaspora's perception of themselves as part of a "common historical destiny".

Given the nature of the deportation of Koreans to Kazakhstan, they could not count on a short-term stay in a new place. Therefore, upon arrival in Kazakhstan, Soviet Koreans were forced to adapt to a foreign ethnic environment and assimilate into the local society; they learned the language and tried to be a "diligent citizen of the Soviet Union" to prove their right to be called "a successful representative of an ethnic minority". Thus, pride in belonging to the "diligent citizens of the Soviet Union" and "successful representatives of the ethnic minority" proves the trend towards cultural and national assimilation among the Korean diaspora of that time [20, p. 23].

Earlier, in the era of the USSR, the diaspora of Koryo Saram in Kazakhstan being convinced that it would not be fully recognized by the host country and feeling a sense of alienation, restrained itself due to the pressure of the surrounding society. Later with the

acquisition of sovereignty by Kazakhstan, Koreans seemed to call their ethnicity to mind; despite previously being rather indifferent to it. As a result, they began to consider the question of where their real homeland is — where they were born and raised, or where the land of their ancestors is [21, p. 308]. In modern Kazakhstan, the issue of diasporic identity is, to a greater extent, based not on a sense of alienation, but on a conscious choice, which implies confirmation of one's identity and its performance. Continuity of Korean identity is also an important aspect of the Korean diaspora. While Korean identity is shaped by the complex relationship between homeland, diaspora community, and the host country, maintaining a unique Korean identity binds all overseas Korean communities. Ethnic Koreans have retained their sense of Korean identity and heritage despite the many political shifts of the twentieth century [22, p. 65]. However, the identity of the diaspora does not remain unchanged for the entire transnational Korean diaspora but has a regional characterization (i.e., being Korean in Kazakhstan and China is not considered the same).

The diaspora population does not only occupy a cultural sphere. It is intermingled with social and economic spheres specific to both the country of origin and the host country. As Abdumalik Nysanbayev, Yelena Burova, and Aliya Sailaubekkyzy reasonably note, Kazakhstan is characterized by its multiethnicity and multiconfessionalism, as well as by the segmentation of identities; this is a consequence of the specificity and nature of the course of identification processes, their inherent multidimensionality, multidirectionality, and the dynamics of Kazakhstani society [23]. Therefore, it can be assumed that the Korean diaspora has double loyalty. In addition, the representatives of the diaspora have a double ethnic self-awareness, since the identity of the country of origin and the diasporic identity are not the same. The consciousness of belonging to an ethnic group differs from the consciousness of belonging to a diaspora. Aghop Der-Karabetian in his work "Multiple Social Identity as a Reflection of Modernity" states that the essence of diasporic identity lies in versatility (plurality) [24, p. 105].

Vyacheslav Popkov reasonably assumes that the structure of diasporic identity has a mosaic character. Other identities are attached to the initial "basic" identity which is formed in the process of socialization and is inherent in all members of the diaspora community. Such identities reflect the characteristics of the region, the culture of the host society, social stratum, profession, age, gender, etc. The basic components of the ethnic identity of the country of origin, acquired from childhood in the course of socialization, act as a basic identity and as a connecting element [25, p. 112].

According to Valeriy Khan and Sim Hong Yeong, Koreans of Central Asia residing in constant contact with representatives of various ethnic groups became flexible and had largely positive psychological attitudes towards ethnic diversity, flexible models of behavior in a multiethnic environment, which affected the formation of diasporic identity [26, p. 135]. Consequently, the diasporic identity of Koreans in Kazakhstan is a construct of various identities based on a single cultural basis, on which the identities of representatives of the multiethnic society and the country of residence are superimposed. Thus, it is acceptable to not only discuss double identity, but there could be triple or even more complicated types of identities. An option of the existence of a whole set of identities is possible, among which, nevertheless, the basic one plays the main role.

Despite this, diaspora consciousness is essentially ethnic consciousness and ethnocentrism as confidence in the "correctness" of one's own culture and is a characteristic of

diaspora consciousness. In this regard, some authors emphasize that the level of pride in one's nation and ethnic identity among members of a diaspora is very high [27, p. 75]. Consequently, members of the Korean diaspora perceive themselves in the antithetical "us versus them", and the latter is understood as "all the others". First, the society of the host country, as well as the ethnic core from which their ancestors once split from, is confirmed, in particular, by the phenomenon of the organization of the Koryo-Saram Association in the Republic of Korea. At the same time, as Mukhtarbek Shaykemelev wrote, the principle "us-them" does not completely disappear, it only transforms, and its conflict potential is smoothed out to some degree [28]. Diasporic identity inherent in the descendants of immigrants in the third, fourth, or fifth generation, however, is distinguished by the recognition and affirmation of their significant difference from their fellow Koreans in the ethnic homeland at a cognitive level.

Revival and preservation of the diasporic identity of Koreans in Kazakhstan

In the Korean diaspora community, intangible heritage plays an important role in preserving Korean identity in its diasporic interpretation. Hahm Han Hee and Lee Seong In argue that the intangible heritage of the Koreans of Central Asia is a means of preserving the group's (in this case, the diaspora) identity [29, p. 3]. In particular, the folk song "Arirang" performed by members of the diaspora conveys "diaspora grief" [29, p. 4]. It is also worthwhile to note the gastronomic culture of the Korean diaspora in Kazakhstan which, in the process of formation and taking into account regional characteristics, underwent transformation and assimilation. Examples include the so-called, "local" Korean salads: morkovcha¹, kadicha², fish khe³, funchoza⁴, chimchi⁵. You can see traces of the manifestation of diasporic identity in the main dishes as well, for example soups: puktyai (soup made from courgette and soybean paste) with the addition of cilantro or dzhusai, or kuksi. Some dishes of the Kazakhstani Korean diaspora's cuisine are not represented at all in the cuisine of the Republic of Korea, for example, pyagodi — steamed buns stuffed with meat and cabbage.

In multiethnic Kazakhstan, the Korean diaspora is actively involved in the preservation and development of diasporic identity: there is a republican ethnocultural association "Association of Koreans of Kazakhstan" (hereinafter the AKK). One of the goals of the AKK is to organize and coordinate the activities of the members of the Association for the study of the state and Korean languages, history, national culture, customs and traditions [30]. Separately, it should be noted the NGO "Youth Movement of Koreans in Kazakhstan", which is working with the Kazakh Korean youth, and the State Republican Academic Korean Theater of Musical Comedy plays an important role in preserving the authentic culture of Koreans in Kazakhstan throughout the history of Koryo Saram. For

¹ Spicy marinated carrot salad created by Koreans after moving to Central Asia.

² Salad made from fried slices of eggplants.

³ Marinated scraps of fish with spicy sauce and vegetables.

⁴ A replica of a Korean salad called japche, consisting of Chinese Vermicelli Noodles, strips of beef, sometimes chicken, and fried vegetables, and sesame seeds.

⁵ A replica of a Korean salad called kimchi, consisting of pickled Napa cabbage, mixed with garlic and Chili pepper.

example, cultural traditions and language are transmitted through the ensemble of the Korean dance “Bidulgi” (founded in 1989) and the “Arirang” dance band (founded in 1967). The Republican newspaper *Koryo Ilbo* deserves special attention since media is used in the processes of re-confirmation of diaspora identities. It can be argued that the various media, information, and communication technologies that are used in the diaspora play an important role in the formation of diasporic identity. All this contributes to the preservation of the authentic diasporic identity of the Koreans of Kazakhstan.

It is also necessary to note the important role of the Republic of Korea in the revival and formation of the diasporic identity of Koreans in Kazakhstan through such organizations as the Overseas Koreans Foundation, the Center for Education, embassies and consulates of the Republic of Korea in the field of culture and language, as well as in the economic sphere at the state level. At the private level, various missionary organizations are represented in Kazakhstan, which, in addition to preaching, carry out cultural and educational activities with an emphasis on fostering Korean identity among parishioners.

Currently, there is a renaissance of the diasporic identity of Koreans in Kazakhstan, which is connected, according to the observations of Peter Kokaisl, with the so-called “third-generation effect.” This effect is that a son or daughter (representative of the second generation) may want to forget their original culture to integrate into the host community, then a grandchild (representatives of the third generation), on the contrary, may want to preserve/strengthen their ethnic culture, which, taking into account local features, is expressed in a diaspora form. Because the third generation feels uprooted — they do not belong neither to the old nor the new culture. The first generation of immigrants usually has a difficult experience orienting to a new society and draws strength from their memories and traditions. The second-generation adopts the values and attitudes of the new society, which leads to a conflict with the first generation. Then the third generation tries to artificially construct their own double ethnocultural identity [31, p. 440]. However, even under these conditions, the diaspora community of Koryo Saram in Kazakhstan, from the point of view of maintaining ethnicity and the formation of diasporic identity, can be considered a benchmark for diaspora communities of Koreans in other regions [32].

Conclusion

A diaspora is a social organism. Belonging to a diaspora is determined by ethnic origin and innate characteristics, and simultaneously by an individual’s voluntary choice. At the same time, the ethnic identity of the diaspora representatives depends on the living environment and undergoes changes over time. In the case of Kazakh Koreans, the identification of the Republic of Korea as their historical homeland is rather a rational choice, since they [for the second time] immigrated from the territory of the Far East or present-day DPRK (the northern part of the Korean Peninsula). The Koryo Saram community of Kazakhstan has all the features of a diaspora and can rightfully be called as such. Despite the dispersed settlement of Koryo Saram in Kazakhstan, unlike the diaspora of Sakhalin Koreans, for example whose settlement area is relatively compact and has natural geographical boundaries, the Kazakh Korean diaspora has been historically formed and retains a diasporic identity. Their diasporic identity is a “border” phenomenon: on the one hand, representatives of the diaspora are focused on preserving their ethnocultural identity and “otherness” concerning the ethnic majority; on the other hand, the situation of

living in a foreign country and new sociocultural conditions form the identity of a citizen of the Republic of Kazakhstan. With the acquisition of independence by the Republic of Kazakhstan, almost all social institutions were transformed, which, as a result, represented the need for the formation of a multidimensional identity.

Thus, the Koryo Saram diaspora, which at the beginning of its history in Kazakhstan used to reside compactly, is now dispersed and mostly urbanized. This determines the multi-ethnic environment of diaspora's existence. Hence, multiethnicity has a corresponding effect on the formation, preservation, and manifestation of diasporic identity. There is an existing possibility of the weakening of this manifestation with an increase of the proportion of hetero-ethnic marriages among Koryo Saram.

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Влияние полиэтнической среды на диаспорную идентичность корейцев Казахстана

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Исследуются феномен диаспоры и диаспорной идентичности, условия и факторы, влияющие на трансформацию и развитие идентичности в полиэтническом обществе Казахстана. Диаспорная идентичность — многогранное явление, характеризующееся динамичностью. Казахстанские корейцы (этноним *корё сарам*) интегрированы в полиэтническое общество современного Казахстана, и можно утверждать, что подавляющее большинство из них урбанизированы. Этот фактор определяет высокую скорость аккультурации, которая приводит к трансформации традиционной корейской общины. Также анализируются взаимосвязь идентичности диаспоры и этнической идентичности, характерные формы проявления последней, а также способы ее сохранения и трансляции. Диаспора изначально — это группа, находящаяся в аморфном состоянии, она может развиваться в общину при условии, что ее построение будет завершено на основе этнического сознания. Сообщество корейцев в Казахстане этнически не замкнуто. В результате исследования выявлены формы проявления диаспорной идентичности корейцев Казахстана. Диаспорная идентичность *корё сарам* — конструкт различных идентичностей, базирующихся на общей культурной основе и накладывающихся на идентичность других представителей полиэтнического общества Казахстана. Это явление «пограничное»: с одной стороны, представители диаспоры ориентированы на сохранение своей этнокультурной идентичности или «инаковости» по отношению к этническому большинству, с другой — ситуация длительного проживания и адаптации к новым социокультурным условиям определяет процесс их социализации и формирования у них гражданской идентичности Республики Казахстан.

Ключевые слова: диаспорная идентичность, этническая идентичность, диаспора, полиэтничность, маркеры идентичности, *корё сарам*, корейцы Казахстана.

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