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SOCIAL CAPITAL VIRTUALISATION AND SELF-PRESENTATION OF DIGITAL KAZAKH DIASPORAS

This article discusses online communities of Kazakh diasporas on the Facebook social network such as «Kazakh American Association», «Köln Kazak Medeniyet Ortalıgı», «Germaniadağy Qazaqtar – Deutsche Kasachen», «Qazaqtar Türkiyede». The Facebook social platform is a kind of centralizing field for the formation of cultural identity, representation and social capital of these communities, linking them to the place of origin. In this case, the created online communities are regarded as virtual centers around which imaginary national and ethnic spaces are formed. The analysis of ethno-communities was carried out within the framework of the doctoral dissertation «Ways of integration and adaptation of the pre-industrial society actors into the modernist community». In this work, digital diasporas are examined through the concept of social capital by J. Cowelman. He describes the mechanisms of the circulation of social capital in migrant communities. In this article, the social capital definition of the diaspora is as a certain element of the social structure that migrants use in order to obtain various profits, and not only of a monetary nature. The concept of social capital makes it possible to explain the desire to unite migrants into virtual ethnic communities by those benefits, both monetary and informational and emotional-psychological, which they acquire as a result of membership in virtual groups. Meanwhile, speaking of micro-functions at the individual level, ethnic virtual networks generate social capital that is useful for each individual participant. Through the social capital of virtual ethnic communities, just as in offline situations, virtual social networks perform a number of important functions both at the group and at the individual levels of migrant diasporas.

Keywords: digital Kazakh diasporas, online communities, social capital, migrants, ethnic community.

Introduction

Diaspora groups exist through cultures, landmasses, and peoples. Online communities of migrants represent a kind of centralizing field for their cultural identity, linking them to their place of origin. In this case, the created online communities can be regarded as virtual centers around which imaginary national and ethnic spaces are formed.

New media influence migrant diasporas in a similar way to how the print media played a key role in creating virtual images of national communities: online communities emphasize common aspects of their individual identities, such as shared history, culture, geography, and contribute to the emergence of a sense of solidarity [1].

Materials and methods

Representatives of the Chicago School of Sociology, headed by R. Park, drew attention to the fact that a migrant in the host community does not exist in isolation from others, but is a part of the migrant community and lives in a specific socio-ecological area («life world»). This community helps to create and accumulate the resources necessary for successful adaptation, but in return requires compliance with certain interactions [2] run by R. Park, together with his followers, further interprets the migrant community, primarily as a collection of institutions that organize the life and leisure of its members (coffee shops, newspapers, pray houses, mosques, sports fans' clubs). The researcher notes that the effectiveness of community institutions is measured by the ability to organize the free time of their participants (leisure and religious practices).

The followers of R. Park, researchers W. Thomas and F. Znanetsky substantiated the thesis that in order to explain the functioning of a community, it is important to take into account the intention of migrants to transplant the social «matter» (normative patterns, behavioral code, status system) of the parental society into the host community as much as possible. Another important explanatory principle of migrant behavior is the need to maintain prestige both in the receiving society and in the sending one [3].

To review, M. A. Safonova lists all those benefits that a migrant receives from participation in the ethnic community, which makes him show strong solidarity and participation in it: cited by his colleagues and students [4]. The community can give the migrant access to housing and work, i.e. provide a sense of relative safekeeping, generate a group that produces status, recognition and personal contacts acceptable to him, organize free time. The community, among other

things, bequeaths the migrant with a set of consistent and coherent definitions of situations, as well as rules of conducting that correspond to these definitions, since a number of the previous ones taken out of the emigration country are no longer relevant. In terms of the representatives of the Chicago school, «the community provides the migrant with the social world where he lives» [5].

Since the 1990 in explaining why migrant communities persist rather than liquefy through assimilation in the host community, sociologists are beginning to use the concept of social capital. J. Coleman is one of the first to try to describe the mechanisms of social capital circulation in migrant communities [6]. He defines social capital as some elements of the social structure that actors use in order to obtain various profits, and not only of an economic nature. Social capital, according to Coleman, can take the following forms: 1) obligations and expectations, 2) information channels, 3) norms [7]. An additional condition is the closure of the agents' social relations, otherwise the accumulated social capital may simply dissolve in the unidentified receiving community.

The concept of social capital makes it possible to explain the desire to unite migrants into virtual ethnic communities by those benefits, both economic and informational and emotional-psychological, which they acquire as a result of membership in virtual groups. Social capital in relation to social networks can be interpreted as a virtual social infrastructure that allows a migrant member of the community to receive various profits. For example, in the form of useful contacts and mutual commitments, realistically important information and news from the homeland, emotional and psychological strengthen communication, opportunities for making contacts offline.

The necessity to conserve status, not only in the host community, but also in the community of exodus, noticed by sociologists on social networks, often takes the form of virtual self-presentation using prestigious consumer goods and «selfies» in expensive places of recreation and service.

Finally, the concept of social capital makes it possible to explain the desire to unite migrants into virtual ethnic communities by those benefits, both financial and informational and emotional-psychological, which they acquire as a result of membership in virtual groups. Social capital in relation to social networks can be interpreted as a virtual social organization that allows a migrant member of the community to receive various profits. For example, in the form of useful contacts and mutual obligations, pragmatically important information and news from the homeland, emotional and psychological reinforce communication, opportunities for making contacts offline. The social capital of virtual ethnic communities, just as in the offline situation, is formed on the limited solidarity and secured trust of fellow tribesmen.

Virtual ethnic communities, like any associations of people, have their own history of origin and growth in popularity. And also virtual social networks perform a number of important functions both at the group level of migrant diasporas and at the individual level of individuals. Of the key functions of social media at the macro level, it should be noted: obtaining network platforms for conducting public discussions on identity topics, discussing and manifesting new hybrid identities and overcoming collective psychotrauma, reinterpreting and reinforcing group norms of behavior, supporting the integration of the diaspora into the host community and partial acceptance of new liberal values, creating mutual obligations and preventing the marginalization of migrants, organizing collective mobilization in case of participation in protest actions. In addition, social virtual networks of migrants have the ability to influence politicians, are a valuable tool for researchers, as well as a rich source of information for refugees and illegal migrants.

Ethnic virtual networks generate social capital that is useful for each individual participant in terms of microfunctions at the individual level:

1) This facilitation of navigation and search for the country of moving when making a decision on emigration through Internet search and network requests for already resettled compatriots / relatives;

2) The support of psycho-emotional ties with relatives and friends in the country of origin;

3) The organization and participation in ethnocultural events;

4) Obtaining advice in the field of access to public services of the host community,

5) The procedure of virtual ethnic communities as business directories, advertising boards and a virtual gender dating service.

Social media also offers a chance for migrants to forge and develop relationships with members of their new dominant cultural environment.

The object of our research was the Facebook platform, which presents several pages of the «digital diasporas» of Kazakh migrant communities.

1) The empirically discovered multiplicity of virtual Kazakh ethnic communities on this platform;

2) Open opportunities for monitoring online communities, transparency and the general linguistic basis of Internet communication (groups are for the most part open, and not on the basis of an invite (invitation), their content and forums are available, communication or bilingual);

3) The commonality of the spiritual and historical context of the religious and cultural attitudes of network communities, based to one degree or another on Islamic values;

4) The large number and significant role of these virtual Diasporas both for the community abroad and for Kazakhstan as a whole.

The concept of accommodating social capital through limited solidarity and secured trust can also be transferred to virtual ethnic communities. By the network social capital of a virtual ethno-community, we mean some joint electronic resources of communities, access to which by an individual brings him both monetary and non-monetary socio-psychological benefits, subject to his investment in the community. Following J. Coleman [8], we subdivide social capital, on the one hand, into norms, obligations and expectations transmitted to the migrant community, on the other, into informational and psycho-emotional support of the migrant by the virtual ethnic community. Adherence to traditionalist or religious norms of behavior broadcast in the virtual ethno-community should guarantee the cohesion of the ethnic diaspora, revenue, mutual assistance and resistance to the temptations of the consumer receiving community, and should also provide economic benefits and adaptation without full cultural assimilation while preserving ethnic identity. At the same time, norms, obligations and expectations in virtual communities do not have such a degree of secured trust and compulsion as in offline networks. And therefore, migrants can verbally, virtually ritually, agree with the traditionalist-religious principles of organizing life in words, but in fact profess other norms of relations. Virtual network communities of migrants, unlike real ones, are devoid of effective mechanisms to control the behavior of participants, and the only sanction for violating generally accepted norms is «ban» and exclusion from the community.

Informational and psycho-emotional support for a migrant can be expressed in the provision of pragmatically useful information about employment opportunities, legal legalization, the use of social assistance (medicine, education), ongoing offline activities of migrants, obtaining information and support from close relatives. It is also possible to obtain information of a cognitive nature about the history and culture of one's ethnic group, its great representatives, current events taking place in the homeland. The most important role for a migrant, cut off from his homeland and loved ones, is played by the opportunity to receive psycho-emotional support through the Network, often of a compensatory nature.

Results and discussion

«Kazakh American Association», the group has been active on Facebook since April 11, 2008. The group is open and public, the participants are 17 thousands 900 hundred. This platform maintains its page in 3 languages. On the profile picture of the group there is a photo of the event, on which Kazakhs and other nationalities are captured at the celebration, we see the community and unity of the Kazakhs, that is, the positioning is expressed through the picture. In the group there are

4 administrators Ayaulы Akykhan, Darkhan Damen, Dana Damenova, Bauyr Bauyr. The Kazakh-American Association is an officially registered non-profit, non-governmental and non-political organization, the main goals of this page are to support Kazakhstanis living or temporarily visiting the United States in matters of communication, culture, education and recreation, as well as to familiarize the American population with the heritage and the culture of Kazakhstan. Publicly available information covers the rules of network communication Please note: all posts and comments incompatible with the above goals will be deleted (especially, commercial ads and political propaganda). Since this group was created by more Kazakhs who emigrated from Kazakhstan at a later time in 2000-2010, the main topics of this page are news from Kazakhstan, these are political, cultural, etc. Information is also provided on immigration issues, housing, domestic issues.

«Köln Kazak Medeniyet Ortalgı», it is the closed group. This page was created by Kazakhs who arrived in Germany as labor migrants from Turkey. They came to Turkey from the following countries Pakistan, China, India as refugees during the great famine of the Kazakh steppe in 1920–1920. There are 4,351 thousand participants, among them Kazakh labor migrants in the third and second generations, Kazakhs, citizens of Turkey and other parties concerned. The profile picture, consisting of the flags of Kazakhstan and Turkey, gently passing from one to the other symbolizes a dual self-presentation, at the same time the name of the page itself corresponds to the content presented on the page. The page is moderated in three languages Kazakh, Turkish and very little in German. The following topics are consecrated in the community feed:

- 1 National holidays of Kazakhstan and Turkey,
- 2 Political life of Kazakhstan and Turkey,
- 3 Religious holidays,
- 4 Cultural and historical events such as celebration of the birthday of Osman batyr, the birthday of the great poet Abai Kunanbayev and etc.,
- 5 Charitable events such as helping the needy, charitable dinners, etc.

This community closely cooperates with the Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Germany, actively participates in all kinds of activities of the Embassy. The title of the page corresponds to the content presented; there is never any news of a negative political nature on this page. The cohesion of the group can be traced in the comments, which are supportive and positive.

«Germanıadağy Qazaqtar – Deutsche Kasachen», the group has been operating since 2016. This group is a closed group. Participants are numbered 3,4 thousand. The group profile reflects the purpose and intention of the group, the moderator greets and says that «the group was created for Kazakhs in Germany, and all those who consider themselves Kazakhs in spirit. Also, the group may be

interesting for Kazakhstanis who are going to connect their lives with Germany. The purpose of the group is the exchange of interesting and useful information, news, events, as well as the organization of meetings, mutual assistance and support, acquaintance and communication. «We see the presentation of the group from the very beginning. The profile picture consists of the flags of Kazakhstan and Germany, in the form of a puzzle. The page participants are students, Kazakhs who also moved to Germany, and not only Kazakhs, but also other nationalities who feel Kazakh nature in their souls.

«Kazaktar Turkiyada – Qazaqtar Türkiyede», the group is public, created in 2018, only 2,3 thousand members. The rule of this page is that all posts and announcements are in Kazakh only, no matter in Latin or Cyrillic. The group's content consists of patriotic news from Kazakhstan, news from Turkey and various issues regarding prices, work, study, accommodation, moving, etc. In this group, the participants are both citizens of Kazakhstan who have long moved to the Republic of Turkey, and have recently moved. The aim of the group is to help, support and advise both those living and those wishing to move to Turkey. The page contains mainly questions and advice, as well as suggestions for joint national celebrations. The group is friendly, the members of the group are happy to share information about accommodation, relocation and other information.

Conclusion

Among the most common ways of prescribing and reproducing communities of national identity by moderators, we can note the appeal in the posts to:

- Group values (values of Islam, respect for elders, family values);
- Emotional images (patriotic, artistic, etc.);
- National symbols and rituals (national ornament, costume, holidays);
- Admiring the landscapes of the Motherland (photographs, reproductions of paintings by artists);
- Offers to listen to a song / watch a video of a famous national singer;
- Citing the sayings of the great sages and poets of the East.

Thus, by broadcasting «ethno-messages», the moderators of virtual ethno-communities become actors in the reproduction of the ethnic identity of their fellow migrants. What they perceive as a process of preserving national roots is, in fact, a condition for the reproduction through Internet communication of the migrants' ethnic identity from Kazakhstan in conditions of living in a modernist society. This allows us to talk about the specifics of the ethnic community of migrants in social networks as communities of a special type, as well as to assign them the functions of the social capital representation in the format of a «digital diaspora».

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ӘЛЕУМЕТТІК КАПИТАЛДЫ ВИРТУАЛИЗАЦИЯЛАУ ЖӘНЕ ЖЕЛІ ЦИФРЛЫ ҚАЗАҚ ДИАСПОРАЛАРЫНЫҢ ӨЗІН-ӨЗІ КӨРСЕТУ

Бұл мақалада қазақ диаспораларының «Kazakh American Association», «Köln Kazak Medeniyet Ortaligi», «Germanäadizy Qazaqtar – Deutsche Kasachen», «Qazaqtar Türkiyede» сияқты фейсбук әлеуметтік желісіндегі онлайн-қоғамдастықтары қаралады. Фейсбук әлеуметтік платформасы осы қоғамдастықтардың мәдени бірегейлігін, репрезентациясын және әлеуметтік капиталын қалыптастыру үшін оларды шыққан ежерімен байланыстыратын бір орталықтандырушы өріс болып табылады. Бұл жағдайда құрылған онлайн-қоғамдастықтар айналасында қиялдағы ұлттық және этникалық кеңістіктер құрылатын виртуалды орталықтар ретінде бағаланады. Этно-қоғамдастықтарды талдау «Индустрияға дейінгі қоғамдастық акторларын модернистік қоғамдастыққа кіркітіру және бейімдеу жолдары» докторлық диссертациясы шеңберінде жүзеге асырылды. Бұл жұмыста цифрлық диаспоралар Дж. Коулменнің әлеуметтік капиталының түжырымдамасы арқылы қарастырылады. Ол мигранттық қоғамдастықтардағы әлеуметтік капитал айналымының тетіктерін сипаттайды. Осы бапта әлеуметтік қамқоршының анықтамасы. Бұл бапта диаспораның әлеуметтік капиталын анықтау мигранттар монетарлық сипаттағы ғана емес, түрлі пайда алу мақсатында пайдаланатын

әлеуметтік құрылымның кейбір элементі болып табылады. Әлеуметтік капитал тұлғаның тұлғасын көшіп-қонушыларды виртуалды этнокомьюниттерге біріктіруге ұмтылысты виртуалды топтарға мүшеліктің нәтижесінде алатын монетарлық, сол сияқты ақпараттық және эмоционалды-психологиялық сипаттағы бенефициялармен түсіндіруге мүмкіндік береді. Сонымен қатар, жеке тұлға деңгейіндегі микрофункциялар туралы айтқанда, этникалық виртуалды желілер әрбір жеке қатысушы үшін пайдалы әлеуметтік капиталды жасайды. Виртуалды этностық қоғамдастықтардың әлеуметтік капиталы арқылы офлайн жағдайындағы сияқты виртуалды әлеуметтік желілер мигранттар диаспорасының топтық деңгейінде де, жеке адамдардың жеке деңгейінде де бірқатар маңызды функцияларды орындайды.

Кілтті сөздер: цифрлық қазақ диаспоралары, желілік қауымдастықтар, әлеуметтік капитал, мигранттар, этникалық қауымдастық.

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ВИРТУАЛИЗАЦИЯ СОЦИАЛЬНОГО КАПИТАЛА И САМОПРЕЗЕНТАЦИЯ ЦИФРОВЫХ КАЗАХСКИХ ДИАСПОР

В данной статье рассматриваются онлайн-сообщества казахских диаспор в социальной сети Фейсбук такие как «Kazakh American Association», «Köln Kazak Medeniyet Ortalığı», «Germaniadaғы Qazaqtar – Deutsche Kasachen», «Qazaqtar Türkiyede». Социальная платформа Фейсбук представляет собой некое централизованное поле для формирования культурной идентичности, репрезентации и социального капитала данных сообществ связывающее их с местом происхождения. В данном случае созданные онлайн-сообщества расцениваются как виртуальные центры, вокруг которых образуются вообразимые национальные и этнические

пространства. Анализ этно-сообществ осуществлен в рамках докторской диссертации «Пути интеграции и адаптации акторов доиндустриального сообщества в модернистское сообщество». В данной работе цифровые диаспоры рассматриваются через концепцию социального капитала Дж. Коулмена. Он описывает механизмы циркуляции социального капитала в мигрантских сообществах. В данной статье определение социального капитала диаспор является как некоторый элемент социальной структуры, которые мигранты используют с целью получения различных прибылей, причем не только монетарного характера. Концепция социального капитала позволяет объяснять стремление к объединению мигрантов в виртуальные этнокомьюнити теми бенефициями, как монетарного, так и информационного и эмоционально-психологического характера, которые они приобретают в результате членства в виртуальных группах. Тем временем, говоря о микрофункциях на уровне индивида, то этнические виртуальные сети генерируют социальный капитал, полезный для каждого отдельного участника. Посредством социального капитала виртуальных этносообществ так же, как и в ситуации офлайн, виртуальные социальные сети выполняют ряд важнейших функций как на групповом уровне диаспор мигрантов, так и на индивидуальном уровне отдельных людей.

Ключевые слова: цифровые казахские диаспоры, онлайн-сообщества, социальный капитал, мигранты, этнокомьюнити.