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ANALYSIS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY OF KAZAKHS OF KYZYLKUM (UZBEKISTAN) THROUGH ECONOMY

The ethnic identity of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan can be analyzed from different angles. In particular, the main factor determining ethno-cultural identity is the transfer of traditions, customs, language, historical memory and genealogy from generation to generation in densely populated regions. In addition, through the traditional agriculture and profession of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan, one of the following aspects of ethnic identity can be demonstrated. Here is considered the preservation of farms among the Kazakhs, their current state and scope. In this context, traditional animal husbandry of Kyzylkum Kazakhs is considered as the main factor determining the ethnic identity of local Kazakhs. Because historical data and special literature makes it clear that the Kyzylkum Kazakhs were engaged in intensive animal husbandry, and on the basis of this farm, a system of settlement and life skills were formed. This shows that part of the traditional culture of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan is connected with farming. Therefore, the consideration of the ethnic identity of the Kyzylkum Kazakhs through the agriculture allows us to determine the integrity of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan to the traditional culture.

Key words: Uzbekistan, Kyzylkum, Kazakhs, culture, ethnic identity, animal husbandry.

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Қызылқұм (Өзбекстан) қазақтарының шаруашылығы арқылы этникалық бірегейлігін талдау

Өзбекстан Республикасында тұратын қазақтардың этникалық бірегейлігін әртүрлі қырынан талдауға болады. Соның ішінде қазақтардың тығыз орналасқан аймақтарда салт-дәстүр, әдет-ғұрып, тіл, тарихи жады мен шежірені ұрпақтан ұрпаққа жеткізіп отыруы этномәдени бірегейлікті анықтайтын негізгі фактор болып табылады. Этникалық бірегейліктің бір маркері Өзбекстан қазақтарының дәстүрлі шаруашылығы мен кәсібінің бір қырын көрсетуге болады. Осы тұрғыда Қызылқұм қазақтарының дәстүрлі мал шаруашылығы жергілікті қазақтардың этникалық бірегейлігін анықтайтын негізгі фактор ретінде саналады. Себебі, тарихи деректер мен арнайы әдебиеттерде Қызылқұм қазақтарының интенсивті мал шаруашылығымен айналысқаны және осы шаруашылықтың негізінде қоныстану жүйесі мен өмірлік дағдылары қалыптасқаны анық. Бұл Өзбекстан мемлекетінде тұрып жатқан қазақтардың дәстүрлі мәдениетінің бір бөлігі осы шаруашылыққа байланысты екенін көрсетеді. Сондықтан, Қызылқұм аймағында тұратын қазақтардың этникалық бірегейлігін шаруашылық арқылы қарастыру Өзбекстанда тұратын қазақтардың дәстүрлі мәдениетке тиесілі тұтастығын анықтауға мүмкіндік береді. Себебі Қызылқұм қазақтарының осы уақытқа дейінгі ұстанып келген шаруашылық үлгісі дәстүрлі қазақ шаруашылығынан алыстаған жоқ. Керісінше, сол ортада оқшаулану жағдайында сақталып, көне формалардың негізінде дамыды. Бұл этностың бірегейлігі мен тұтастығын анықтауда оның өндіруші қабілетінің маңыздылыққа ие болатынын көрсетеді.

Түйін сөздер: Өзбекстан, Қызылқұм, қазақтар, мәдениет, этникалық бірегейлік, мал шаруашылығы.

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Анализ этнической идентичности казахов Кызылкума (Узбекистан) в традиционном хозяйстве

Этническую идентичность казахов, проживающих на территории Узбекистана, можно рассматривать с разных точек зрения. Основными факторами, определяющими этнокультурную идентичность, являются, в том числе, передача казахами из поколения в поколение традиций, обычаев, языка, исторической памяти и шежере в густонаселенных регионах. Кроме того,

через традиционное хозяйство и основную деятельность казахов Узбекистана можно выделить некоторые аспекты этнической идентичности. В данном контексте традиционное скотоводство казахов Кызылкума считается основным фактором, определяющим этническую идентичность местных казахов. По данным исторических источников и научной литературы, казахи, проживающие в районе Кызылкума, занимались интенсивным скотоводством и на основе этого хозяйства формировалась система расселения и жизненные навыки. Это говорит о том, что основная часть традиционной культуры казахов Узбекистана связана с хозяйством. В данном случае рассмотрение и анализ традиционного хозяйства Кызылкумских казахов в контексте этнической идентичности позволит нам определить традиционно-культурную принадлежность казахов Кызылкума представляется как аналог материальной культуры казахов. Это связано с тем, что скотоводческая хозяйственная модель кызылкумских казахов не отличается от традиционной системы хозяйствования казахов. Напротив, кызылкумские казахи были изолированы в этой среде и развивались на базе древних форм. Это говорит о том, что при определении этнической идентичности и целостности этноса важна его производственная способность.

Ключевые слова: Узбекистан, Кызылкум, казахи, культура, этническая идентичность, скотоводство.

Introduction

The current ethno-cultural and ethnosocial status of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan is considered as the main object of research of Kazakh ethnography. The preservation of traditional values and examples of material and non-material culture of Kazakhs in this region is a determining factor in their ethnic identity. In particular, the analysis of ethnic identity through the agriculture of the Kazakhs outside the native culture is a new direction in modern social sciences. It is known that the current situation of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan is becoming a common profession, economy, ie civic and social identity, which is inseparable as Kazakh-Uzbek. This explains why in the future it is necessary to pay attention to the agriculture as a form of preserving the ethno-cultural identity of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan. In this context, the fact that the sandy area in the middle of the Amu Darya and Syrdarya is isolated in the natural and climatic conditions of the Kazakhs of Kyzylkum is the basis for preserving indigenous animal husbandry. The development of ethno-culture of Kyzylkum Kazakhs in conditions of isolation is considered as the basis of ethnic identity. Because only modern Kyzylkum Kazakhs have preserved traditional animal husbandry, which is a determining factor in ethno-cultural integrity.

Methodology and sources

Problem research. Among the numerous studies devoted to the traditional economy of the Kazakh people, we can highlight the works of H. Argynbayev, N.Masanov, and Tolybekov. In his work «Kazakh's animal husbandry» (Argynbayev, 1969) focused on the system features of the economy, widely using the data and literature on

animal husbandry of the Kazakhs. In the monograph of N. Masanov «Nomadic civilization of Kazakhs: the basics of the life of a nomad society» (Masanov, 1995), he makes maximum use of Special Studies of the second half of the XIX century related to nomadic animal husbandry, considers the migration of Kazakhs to pastures, marginal zones natural and climatic features favorable for livestock. In the same way, many studies reflect the multifaceted trends and features of traditional farming.

Many studies have been published on the culture, history and everyday life of Kazakhs abroad. In particular, the scope of traditional culture and economy is important. Considering the culture types of Kazakhs abroad, it makes it possible to determine the peculiarities of their way of life, settlement system and Customs in comparison with local ethnic groups. Ethnic and ethno-cultural borders or cultural distances formed in this way contribute to the mutual unification of Kazakhs abroad.

In this context, during the Soviet period on the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan and Karakalpakstan, U.H. Shalekenov's work «Kazakhs in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya» was published in 1966. In his work, the author focused on describing the settled life of Kazakhs among the Uzbek, Karakalpak and Turkmens on the banks of the Amu Darya River (Shalekenov, 1966). The book covers issues related to the rural economy and spiritual life of Kazakhs. In addition, U.H. Shalekenov and M. H. Shalekenov's book «History and Ethnology of peoples of Amu Darya and Syrdarya in the XVIII–XX centuries» (Shalekenov, ...2003) was published. This work focuses on the impact of natural geographical conditions on the economy of the Kazakhs, animal husbandry, fisheries, agriculture. A large part of the work is based on family life, housing and nutrition systems.

In addition, the doctoral dissertation of Historian about the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan K.I. Kobylandin «History and modern development of Kazakhs in Uzbekistan in the XIX - XXI centuries» (Kobylandin, 2008), the PhD dissertation of A. Baktybayeva «Kazakh diaspora in Uzbekistan in the 1920s and 1930s: (historical aspect)» (Baktybayeva, 2000) and the dissertation «History and modern development of Kazakhs in Uzbekistan» by K. I. Kobylandin and G. M. Mendykulova, published in 2009 (Kobylandin, Mendykulova. 2009) should be mentioned. This work reflects the history and economy of Kazakhs living in the Khiva, Kokand and Bukhara khanates. The study shows the predominance of traditional animal husbandry among Kazakhs and partly the fact that some Kazakh tribes of the Khiva Khanate were also engaged in agriculture.

Many facts about the economy and everyday life of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan have been preserved. Part of it is statistical data, and the other is data left by authors of the second half of the XIX century. It is reflected in many works, among them are Gens, Gelmersen's «Tidings about Khiva, Bukhara, Kokand and the northwestern part of the Chinese state» (Gelmersen, 2005), A. L. Kuhn's «A journey to the Khiva Khanate in 1873» (Kuhn's, 1873), V. Pelts' feature article «The Southern Kyzylkum people» (Pelts, 1912), McGahan's «Military operations in Oskus and the fall of Khiva» (McGahan's, 1875), A.P.Khorokhshin's work (Khorokhshin's, 1876). These works emphasize the importance of animal husbandry in the life of Kazakhs and the types of farms of Kazakhs living in the territory of modern Uzbekistan. In addition, the peculiarities of the Kyzylkum Kazakhs in animal husbandry, the regional ratio of camel and sheep farming will be studied. These data reflect not only the economy, but also the system of settlement, tribal composition of Kazakhs. The next group of data is the materials of a comprehensive ethnographic expedition conducted by the author among the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan in 2018-2019. These field materials allow us to identify the ability of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan to preserve their ethnic identity and characterize the current economic situation.

In writing the article, the principles of historicity, realism, and consistency of historical science were used. In addition, viewing data through internal and external criticism to determine the authenticity of data dating back to the XIX century increases the value of the research paper. Furthermore, the comprehensive expeditionary work carried out on the territory of Uzbekistan maximally used the methods of observation, survey, content analysis

and comparison of ethnological science. Moreover, cross-cultural research approaches were applied to the materials of the field expedition. This made it possible to compare the economic culture of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan with other peoples and determine the level of preservation of traditional types of economy.

Results and Discussion

The role of the economy in the ethnic unity of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan

The productive capacity of an ethnic group can be determined by looking at the economic type and environmental concept of the ethnic group. And the concept of production of an ethnic group is determined by the type of economy. This is a historically established traditional phenomenon for the ethnos. In addition, the productive capacity of an ethnic group depends on its natural, spatial and cultural environment. Therefore, in our opinion, the economy of the ethnos is recognized as one of the main factors determining its ethnic integrity. It can also be combined with the language, culture and beliefs inherent in the ethnic group. Because, just as economics forms everyday skills in human life, it also forms traditional cultural values of ethnic groups. Furthermore, it is known that economic types have a great influence on the formation of psychological characteristics of an ethnic group. This indicates the connection of the concept of economy with a particular type of economy. For example, traditional Kazakh animal husbandry formed the Kazakh people's concept of production. Cattle were used for Kazakhs not only as a necessity for survival, but also as a commodity that established contacts with other peoples. S. E. Tolybekov noted that the main production of the Kazakhs was cattle, and reminded that the Kazakhs used livestock as food and goods (Tolybekov, 1951 p.90). On this basis, it is possible to observe the extent to which the Kazakh diaspora abroad, depending on the type of economy, retains their ethnic identity. An outstanding example of this is the Kazakhs of Mongolia. The traditional animal husbandry of the Kazakhs of Mongolia today reflects the development of ethnoculture in the case of isolation. The same situation is typical for Kazakhs in China. And for the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan, the recognition of the economy as a determining factor of ethnic identity should be defined as a phenomenon characteristic of certain regions. It can be seen that the preservation of ethnic and cultural identity of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan is influenced by territorial,

i.e. natural and climatic factors. For example, it is noted that the Kyzylkum Kazakhs are naturally and geographically isolated. This allows the preservation and development of Kazakh ethnoculture at its own level. Its main manifestation is seen in animal husbandry. Guided by such principles, we find that there are several types of farming among Kazakhs of Uzbekistan. In particular, animal husbandry occupies a special place as a type of economy that determines the nomadic Kazakh culture. We also noted that the type of economy of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan is changing depending on the natural climatic features of the region and territory of settlement. In particular, it proves that besides that the major part of Kazakhs of Uzbekistan in the XIX century were engaged in animal husbandry, they were also engaged in agriculture and fishing.

In general, animal husbandry of the Kazakh people depended on the geographical habitat, ecological state and marginal region of the ethnic group (Argynbayev, 2007: p. 21-22). According to it, the Kazakh economy in Uzbekistan is characterized as the traditional animal husbandry of Kazakhs, who were part of the Khiva, Kokand and Bukhara khanates in Central Asia. Due to the convenience of this animal husbandry, the traditional system of settlement of Kazakhs has been formed. For example, in winter, most Kazakhs moved to sandy areas for wintering. Because in winter, the weather and grass of the sandy lands were comfortable for livestock. In summer they settled on the banks of rivers and lakes. The Kazakhs who migrated in the steppes were forced to dig wells. The distance between these wells is one of the types of Kazakh's roads. In this regard, H. Argynbayev explains the common use of kokteu, kuzeu and zhailau among the tribes of nomadic Kazakhs (Argynbayev, 1969: p.52). This can also be found in the research of S. E. Azhigali. According to azhigali, there were common pastures between the tribes. (Horoshin, 1876: p.154). Notably, the main wintering area of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan was Kyzylkum.

In the north-western part of the Syrdarya region was located county Kazaly, the southern border of which was bounded by the Amu Darya department. The main long-standing occupation of the local Kazakh population was extensive nomadic animal husbandry. Poor and middle Kazakhs planted crops in the Syrdarya valley and overwintered large and small cattle in the river mouths. During the summer, most of these farms stretched across the Syrdarya. The wealthy dynasties drove their cattle to Kyzylkum or Khiva. Because wintering in the sand was comfortable for livestock.

McGahan's records of Kazakh cattle-breeding indicate that they wintered in the Syrdarya and Kyzylkum. In addition, the author notes that the Kyrgyz (Kazakhs) who grazed the Syrdarya spend the winter along the Amu Darya, while those who grazed the Amu Darya spend the winter along the Syrdarya and he also reviews the wintering system (McGahan, 1875: p. 41).

In addition, the main occupation of the Kazakhs living in the Bukhara Khanate was animal husbandry. A number of Kazakh tribes were engaged in nomadic animal husbandry here. They used the steppe lands of Western Bukhara as pastures for livestock. In general, animal husbandry was the second most important occupation of the local population, including Uzbek and Turkmens, after agriculture and gardening. On the contrary, most nomadic Kazakhs in the western and northern parts of Bukhara were widely engaged in cattle breeding (Gens, 2005: p. 80].

Features of animal husbandry of Kazakhs in Uzbekistan

Kazakhs of Uzbekistan mainly raised sheep, camels, horses and cows. In particular, the Kyzylkum Kazakhs bred karakul and fat-tailed sheep breeds. This was adapted to the natural climate of the region. In general, Kazakh sheep breeding is widespread among Kazakhs in Uzbekistan. Kazaky fat-tailed sheep are resistant to the heat and cold of nature and nomadic cattle breeding. The Kazakhs, who raised the fat-tailed sheep, spent the winter in the wintering grounds. Kazaky sheep tended to graze during the winter. It is considered the most profitable type of sheep for nomadic Kazakhs. The Kazakhs used sheep meat for food and made felt, tekemet and symak from wool. And the skin was used for everyday needs. Kazakhs cut sheep twice a year in early summer and early autumn. In addition, before shearing, sheep were fed to raise their wool (lowering into the water). Kazakhs sold sheep once a year. It was bought by Nurata's traders (Pelets, 1912: p. 11–12). At that time Nurata was a trade center. In addition, besides sheep the Kazakhs of Kyzylkum raised goats. However, Kazakhs did not raise goats as much as sheep. Its meat was used only in summer. Because goat fat hardens quickly in cold weather, it was used only in summer. In general, the role of the goat in the life of the Kazakhs was less important than the sheep. Goats were not slaughtered for guests. Goats were mostly raised by the poor.

The second largest occupation after sheep breeding was camel breeding. Kazakhs used

camels for meat and milk as shubat. Camels were also important in nomadic life as a means of transportation. The most common area for camels is the Kyzylkum area. According to T.E. Kartayeva's research, camels were bred mostly by the tribes inhabiting the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, Kyzylkum and Karakum (Kartaeva, 2014: p. 14)]. It was also widely used in the steppe areas of the Amu Darya and Ustirt. As we have already mentioned, the camel was mainly used for cargo transportation, its meat was eaten for food and shubat was made from its milk. Shubat was considered a drink of great healing properties among Kazakhs. In addition, the camel was used in agriculture, for the production of water by the winch and for the production of oil and the mill. One- and two-humped types of camels are widespread among Kazakhs. He also bred species such as narkospak, which was a breeding stock of the nar (one-humped) and the two-humped camel. The camel was a desert-tolerant animal, so it was very profitable for the Kazakhs of the Kyzylkum to use the camel as a means of transport.

It is known that horses have a special place in Kazakh animal husbandry. In this sense, horse breeding is an important branch of the traditional Kazakh economy. The use of horses as a means of transport and food was reflected in the life of the Kazakhs. It is also clear that the cult of the horse has a special place in traditional Kazakh beliefs. Therefore, the role of the Kazakh horse in nomadic life became very important. Kazakhs kept and raised thousands of horses. Its meat was used as food and milk as a drink. In this regard, I. Falk says: «Kazakhs valued horses more than any other animal. The life of a Kazakh with 50 horses was estimated to be good. 1000-2000 horses could be kept by not so wealthy Kazakhs. Tiger-colored horses of the middle tribe were highly valued by the people of Bukhara. The herd of rich people had up to 5-10 thousand horses» (Falk, 1999: p. 17). In general, there were several horse breeds among the Kazakhs. One of them is a thoroughbred horse. The Turkmens, on the other hand, grew Akhal-Teke breed. Primitive Kazakh horse withstood nomadic life, resistant to cold and heat. During the winter, they grazed by trampling through snow to grass. Kazakh horses grew up in the open steppe. In bad weather, special horsemen went to guard the horse. This shows that the Kazakh horsemen were very responsible and had a high social level. Accordingly, the wealth of the Kazakhs was calculated by number of horses.

The Kazakh people, who have a special respect for horses, have adapted it and widely used it in various national games, such as baiga, kokpar,

audaryspak and others. However, among Kazakhs in Uzbekistan, horse breeding has become an inefficient form of farming in recent years. This is due to the fact that the transfer of many pastures to arable land has led to a decrease in the number of free-breeding Kazakh horses. Nowadays, most of the inhabitants of Kyzylkum Kinemekh are descendants of horsemen, whose ancestors were horsemen.

The Kazakhs' breeding of horses in herds distinguished them from other peoples of Central Asia. For example, along with Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, Uzbeks, and Turkmens did not keep horses as often as Kazakhs. The widespread use of horses among the Kazakh people was a key factor in the formation of ethnocultural features. This is because horse breeding did not take precedence in the region.

After such changes in the economy, the importance of agriculture in the life of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan increased. For example, according to historical records, the Kazakhs of the Young tribe, who moved to the western part of the Kyzylkum, dug wells and were engaged in agriculture.. About this in 1876 A.P. Khoroshkhin wrote: «There is a small crop in Tamdy, where the Alshins grow alfalfa and melons» (Khoroshkhin, 1876: p.14]. In addition, special studies give a description of the types of farms of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan during the Khiva, Bukhara and Kokand khanates. G. Gens writes about the settled Kazakhs in Khiva: «The Kyrgyz in Khiva are very humble and calm, and then they do not tolerate any abuses, because they know about the severe punishment in the country. In the north, poor Kyrgyz live in handmade yurts and engage in small trade. Their wives are weavers, and their husbands are blacksmiths and farmers» (Gens, 2005: p. 33–34). In addition, in 1873 A.L. Kuhn gives the following information about the Kazakhs of Khiva: «Some of the nomads lived a semi-nomadic life, having their own crops and herds near the khanate» (Kuhn, 1874 p. 53).

However, in some areas where Kazakhs now live, there are Kazakhs who are engaged in both agriculture and animal husbandry. For example, most Kazakhs living in Bostandyk district are currently engaged in both livestock and agriculture. Saparbek Imanbekov, a resident of this area, told that his grandfathers were also farmers and noted that farming is close to us (Materials collected). In addition, the majority of Kazakhs living in Tamdy, Bostandyk, Syrdarya and Shynaz districts are engaged in agriculture. In their opinion, agriculture is not divided into Kazakh – Uzbek. It is said that the Uzbek and Kazakh people ate half of the wheat and split one wheat (Materials collected).

In general, among the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan, there are enough people who still do not forget about their ancestry. They also remember the settlements of their ancestors, who dug wells and drew water from the abyss with camels. Many Kazakhs in modern Uzbekistan try to glorify their ancestral profession, economy and location through such historical memory. It is considered as an integral part of ethno-symbolic systems in the material culture of the ethnos (Kalshabaeva, 2020: 73).

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be seen that the main type of economy of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan was animal husbandry, but in later periods they were also actively engaged in agriculture. In general, the animal husbandry of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan is considered as one of the factors determining the ethnic identity of Kazakhs in this region. This is due to the fact that the

economic types of Kazakhs in these regions developed at different stages and were variable in nature. This is evidenced by the fact that the Kazakhs of the Kyzylkum region are still engaged in animal husbandry. Also, the domestic changes of Kazakhs are still reflected in the observance of customs related to animal husbandry. In addition, the preservation of samples of intangible culture of Kazakhs in the memory of generations shows that this animal husbandry is a determining factor in ethnic identity. In the future, within the framework of this topic, it is necessary to conduct a comparative analysis of the economy of Kazakhs located on the territory of Uzbekistan.

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