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Migration and the Kurdish Diaspora: The Impact of Globalization and World Connectedness

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Abstract

Although migration may mean assimilation for many transnational communities, Kurdish ambivalence towards assimilation is evident. It is also true that Kurds may be more receptive to assimilation due to their minority background in their country of origin and experience of adaptation to the dominant culture and language. Although the presence of the Kurdish diaspora is relatively new in the European context, it has developed as a transnational community, enabled and facilitated by global communications technologies that can be used to politically mobilize resources to support Kurds in the Middle East. This research aims to understand how globalization influences Kurdish migration and diaspora and how world connectedness contributes to the formation of Kurdish diasporas in various parts of the world. This research uses a qualitative approach with descriptive methods. The results of this research reveal that Kurdish migration and diaspora in the context of the impact of globalization and world connectedness reflect complex dynamics. The process of globalization, especially through the information and transportation technology revolution, has provided a significant impetus to Kurdish migration movements, creating an active and transnationally engaged diaspora. The Kurdish diaspora, faced with the challenges of social and economic integration, uses social media and digital activism to maintain ethnic identity and fight for political issues. The history of Kurdish migration, involving the post-First World War and Second World War periods, as well as internal conflicts in the countries of origin, provides the backdrop for the unique role of the Kurdish diaspora in building community networks and maintaining their transnational networks.

Keywords: *Migration, Diaspora, Kurds, Nationalism, Globalization, Social Media, Technology.*

Introduction

Globalization, in the context of this paper, refers to the process accelerated by the information and communications technology (ICT) revolution and advances in transportation since the 1990s. The general understanding of globalization is the thinning of national boundaries as they become more connected and integrated, creating a higher level of interdependence between countries (Robinson, 2001). Key indicators of this phenomenon include a rapid increase in various flows, from money and trade to democratic values, cultural products, media, and what is significant in the context of population migration is the movement of people (Castles, 2002). In the context of population migration, globalization facilitates wider access to means of transportation. This makes it easier for residents to move to more distant areas at

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affordable costs. The revolution in technology and transportation has significantly reduced the costs of migration, providing ease and acceleration in the movement of people to areas that were previously difficult to reach (Czaika & de Haas, 2014).

The phenomenon of migration movements that increasingly involve many countries throughout the world, known as the globalization of migration, has become a characteristic of this era. (Massey, 2003). In the context of globalization of migration, many countries experience significant impacts due to international migration movements. It is important to note that countries that receive immigrants are facing dynamic change, with the presence of migrants from various parts of the world, bringing increasingly diverse economic, social and cultural backgrounds. Over time, in destination countries, large numbers of immigrants seek to form networks and communities, both with fellow immigrants and with their countries of origin (Munck, 2013). This is done with the aim of creating a prosperous life, not only in the economic aspect, but also in the social, cultural and political dimensions. Furthermore, this phenomenon gives rise to a complex transnational life, where immigrants live their lives by accommodating influences and legacies from various sources, creating a reality that reflects increasingly close global interconnectedness (Conzen, 1979). This immigrant community is the root/forerunner of the diaspora.

In migration studies, Grossman (2019) define diaspora as "emigrants and their descendants who live outside the country of their birth or ancestry, but they still maintain sentimental and material ties with their country of origin". This indicates that the number of diaspora is certainly greater than the number of international migrants. A number of migration and diaspora studies have concluded that international migration that occurs in the era of globalization can not only expand the distribution of diasporas, but can also strengthen their existence. Pieterse (2000) stated that one of the results of the globalization process is increased interconnection of the diaspora. They are easily connected by information and communication networks to get to know each other and then form communities whose geographical coverage is increasingly expanding which ultimately seeks to strengthen the existence of the diaspora. Striving for dual citizenship (dual citizenship) is often attempted by the diaspora to strengthen their existence in living a transnational life, namely a life oriented towards more than one country (Kalm, 2013). Another existence of the diaspora is related to their role in realizing a symbiosis that is beneficial for both the destination country and the country of origin.

Diaspora culture is the result of the meeting of various differences within a community, which then emerges as a hybrid culture (a cultural construction). Diaspora, with its passion, depicts the spirit of the global marginalized fighting for their rights (Clifford, 1994). This is different from the spirit of capitalism which is related to economic capital commodities, where these products become trends and can be sold to obtain maximum profits. While the spirit of capitalism revolves around economics and profit, the diaspora places greater emphasis on cultural diversity and minority identities involved in intercultural encounters (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005). In the context of transnationalism, the concept of denationalism emerges, which highlights the ambiguity of state boundaries. This denationalism differentiates itself from diaspora, because diaspora is basically a form of nationalism, but in the context of minorities, it creates a unique cultural dynamic rooted in global diversity (Kadioglu, 2007). One example of migration and diaspora is the Kurdish ethnic group.

Migration is not a new phenomenon for Kurds. During the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, Kurdish migration was largely voluntary. Most of the Kurdish migrants in Istanbul in this period came from peasant backgrounds and worked in low-skilled manual jobs (Celik,

2005). Many members of Kurdish families went to Istanbul for education or to serve as Ottoman bureaucrats. They were the most active Kurdish community in Istanbul in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Özoğlu, 2001). Some members of this family went, usually temporarily, to Europe for educational purposes, or as Ottoman diplomats or political opponents (some of them as part of the Young Turks). They played a major role in planting the seeds of Kurdish nationalism during World War I (Bajalan, 2013).

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of new states in the former Ottoman Empire, many Kurds dispersed from their original locations (Reynolds, 2017). Kurdish tribal leaders and elites who sought Kurdish independence or a foreign mandate system after the end of World War I, as well as those who supported Turkey's war of independence but were excluded when the new Turkish Republic was established, fled to Syria and Europe (Galletti, 1999). Some of them are involved in military and political activities against Turkey, forming Kurdish communities, and providing direct economic, military, and political support to the Kurdish rebellion in Turkey.

The next wave of Kurdish migration occurred in the post-second world war period, particularly from the 1960s to the 1990s, when they migrated to various parts of the world, especially to Western Europe, North America and Australia, for both economic and political reasons (Vayrynen, 2005). The majority of Kurdish migration in the 1960s occurred from Turkey to Europe as part of guest workers under intergovernmental agreements between Turkey and European countries such as Germany, Austria, Switzerland and France. The peak of Kurdish migration from Turkey occurred in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s due to a number of political events, such as the military intervention in 1971 and the military coup in 1980 (Sirkeci & Esipova, 2013). Repression of Kurdish groups by the government caused many Kurdish refugees to seek refuge in the country. -European countries, which are generally very politicized. In Iraq, the conflict between the Iraqi government and the Kurds, especially in mid-1975 when the conflict peaked, also triggered mass migration (Eccarius-Kelly, 2002).

Mass migration from Iraq occurred after the Iran-Iraq War in 1980–1988. Saddam Hussein's policies towards the Kurds and ruthless attacks during and after the war led to a large flow of Kurdish refugees to neighboring countries and Western Europe (Olson, 1992). After the Anfal Campaign of 1988, 60,000 refugees entered Turkey, and only half of them returned to Iraq. Waves of Kurdish migration from Iraq continued after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the regime's attacks on Kurds, which caused more than a million Kurdish villagers to flee to Turkey and Iran in April 1991 (Laizer, 1996). Most of today's Kurdish migrants come from Turkey, which migrated in the second half of the 20th century, and live mostly in Europe, the United States, and Australia. Kurdish migration from Turkey, Iraq, and Iran continues in smaller numbers today. The latest wave of Kurdish migration occurred as part of the massive displacement resulting from the Syrian War since 2011. Recent estimates suggest that around 1.2 million Kurds live outside Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria (Çancı & Şen, 2011).

This research aims to investigate the causes of Kurdish ethnic migration with an emphasis on the impact of globalization and world connectedness. Key questions include changes and evolution of migration drivers, including how global conditions influence the dynamics of Kurdish population movements. Furthermore, this research will identify and analyze the social and economic integration challenges faced by the Kurdish diaspora, especially in Europe, North America and Australia. The next point is to assess the role of the Kurd diaspora in the formation and maintenance of Kurd nationalist identity, as well as how their contribution influences political dynamics in the region. Thus, this research seeks to make a significant

contribution to the understanding of the history of Kurd migration, open new insights regarding the global factors that influenced their movements, and provide a basis for the formulation of more effective migration policies and better social integration strategies for the Kurd community in diaspora. In addition, this research is expected to detail the important role of the Kurd diaspora in forming nationalist identity and contributing to political developments in the relevant region.

Literature Review

1. Migration

Migration comes from the Latin which means the movement of people between countries. Initially, the classical view of migration only saw the movement and movement of people entering a country with the initial intention of earning a living or just staying there (Samers & Collyber, 2016). Immigrants come to other countries as their destination country with the main aim of earning a living and settling in that country. This definition was explained at the International Conference on emigration and immigration in 1924 in Rome. However, now a modern view of migration has begun to develop which sees that migration activities are not only limited to individual movements but also collective ones, not just voluntary but have also become an organized necessity (Klemenčič, 2007). According to Adugna there are two patterns of migration flows, namely migration flows with a legal pattern and migration flows with an illegal pattern (Adugna, 2019). As stated by Keilman (1985), the multidimensional nature of human migration is divided into two parts, namely external and internal. Externally, these are aspects that are outside the function of immigration institutions, namely ideology, economy, social, politics, economics, culture, national defense and security, population (demography), human resources and the environment. The internal multidimensional nature is aspects that only exist in the function of immigration institutions, such as service aspects, law enforcement and law formation aspects, organizational aspects, facilities and infrastructure aspects, immigration apparatus aspects and supporting aspects of national development.

According to Ticktin (2005) the issue of immigrants will always be two different sides of the coin, sometimes the presence of immigrants is needed but sometimes it is not needed. When immigrants work in the manual labor sector, the country is considered increasingly prosperous because native citizens of the country avoid working in the manual labor sector so it is filled by immigrants. But if there is an immigrant population that is too large, local residents will also reject it (Sciortino, 2004). So it is not uncommon for an oversupply of immigrants to result in crime due to the difficulty of finding work. Even though their initial goal in migrating was to get a better life, if they can't get it, then maybe they will use all kinds of means to fulfill their lives. So this needs to be prevented by recipient countries. This explains that the immigration issue will always be a double-edged sword.

2. Diaspora

Diaspora is defined as a dispersed population whose origins are located in separate geographical locations. In other words, diaspora is used to describe people who identify with a geographic location, but now live elsewhere (Butler, 2001). Historically, diaspora was used to refer to the mass dispersion of a population from its traditional territory, specifically the dispersion of Jews to lands outside Palestine after the Babylonian captivity. Until recently, the Jewish historical experience provided the archetype for the diaspora, namely: forced expulsion and dispersal, persecution, slavery, racism, a sense of loss, and a vision of return (Dufoix, 2008). However,

over the last decade or so, "diaspora" has become a term of self-identification among various ethnic or national groups who migrate or whose ancestors migrated from one place to another without necessarily being forced by others, but on a voluntary basis for various reasons. subjective (Shain & Barth., 2003).

Diaspora as people with the same origins who reside relatively permanently, outside the boundaries of their ethnic or religious homeland, whether that homeland is real or symbolic, independent or under foreign control (Butler, 2001). Diaspora members identify themselves, or are identified by others within and outside their homeland as part of the national community of the homeland, and are therefore often called upon to participate, or become entangled, in homeland-related affairs (Shain & Barth, 2003). In conducting international relations, diasporas are non-state actors who interact with state actors, especially the host country or country where they live and their country of origin or homeland. They have a unique role in international relations because they are between two countries, share two cultures, have an emotional investment in two countries, and maintain social relations in two societies. They have influenced international politics since ancient times and they continue to do so today .

Scholars from various disciplines have distinguished between different types of diaspora, based on causes such as colonialism, trade or labor migration, or based on the type of social coherence within the diasporic community and its relationship to the ancestral homeland. Robin Cohen (2022) suggests the general characteristics of diasporas as: dispersal from the original homeland; expansion from the homeland in search of work; collective memory and myths about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering, and achievements; an imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, security, and prosperity, even to its creation; frequent development of return to the homeland movements; strong ethnic group consciousness (transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage and belief in a common destiny); problematic relations with host communities; a sense of empathy and shared responsibility with fellow ethnic members in other countries; enriching life in the host country with tolerance for pluralism. Vertovec (1997) and Cohen summarize the findings of a large body of scholarly literature to distinguish four meanings of diaspora.

3. Kurds

The Kurds are one of the indigenous peoples of mainland Mesopotamia and the highlands of southeastern Turkey, northwestern Syria, northern Iraq, northwestern Iran and southwestern Armenia. They form their own community, united by race, culture and language even though they don't have a standard dialect (Edmonds, 1971). Their religions and beliefs are different, although the majority are Sunni Muslims. Some 25 to 35 million Kurds live in a mountainous region that straddles the borders of Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Iran and Armenia. They form the fourth largest ethnic group in the Middle East, but until recently they did not have their own state (Haig & Opengin, 2014).

In the early 20th century, Kurds began to consider creating a state called "Kurdistan" at the intersection of Turkey (Northern Kurds), Iran (Eastern Kurds), Iraq (Southern Kurds), and Syria (Western Kurds). In the past, after World War I and the defeat of the Ottoman Caliphate, through the Treaty of Sevres, the country of Kurdistan was considered to be formed (Natali, 2005). However, three years later through the Treaty of Lausanne which established the borders of modern Turkey, the plan was cancelled. This caused ethnic Kurds to become a minority group in the newly formed countries after WWI. Over the last 80 years, attempts to form an independent Kurdish state have always been defeated by brutal (Gunes et al, 2019).

Kurdish efforts to impose an independent state or even an autonomous region have not been successful. In fact, this has caused the Turkish state to implement stricter restrictions in the Southeast region of the country from time to time. As a result, the Kurdish region of Türkiye is very underdeveloped. In terms of economic success, the Kurds are not only lagging behind other countries in Turkey, but also other Middle Eastern countries. “Kurdish politicians and intellectuals attribute this gap to peculiarities in Türkiye's economic development. According to them, Kurdistan is an internal colony, its natural resources are plundered by Turkish and foreign companies and invested in return. Meanwhile the government points to highways. development projects, Kurdish leaders noted that the only real impact these transportation projects would have would be to allow Turkish security forces greater mobility in the Southeast region of the country.

Method

This research is qualitative research that carries out problem solving based on social reality using data. According to Gerring (2017), qualitative research is research that intends to understand phenomena about what is experienced by research subjects such as behavior, perception, motivation for action, etc., holistically, and by means of descriptions in the form of words and language, in a context. special nature. and by utilizing various scientific methods. This writing is a literature review regarding issues involving the Kurdish diaspora throughout the world. The method used by the author is secondary data obtained from books, journals, articles and internet sources. It is hoped that this research will be able to explain in depth Kurdish migration and diaspora as a result of globalization and world connectivity. This research is descriptive in nature, namely describing situations or events, the nature of a certain population or region by looking for factual information, justifying the situation, carrying out evaluations, so that a clear picture is obtained (Smith & Smith, 2018). This research is descriptive in nature, namely creating a systematic, factual and accurate picture/illustration of the facts, characteristics and relationships between the phenomena being investigated. In this research, all data collected is then analyzed and compiled in relation to drawing conclusions which are realized in written form.

Results and Discussion

1. The Impact of Globalization on Migration and the Kurdish Diaspora

In the last two decades, Kurdish history marks a period in which the Kurdish diaspora was massively mobilized, reflecting the importance of transnational ties in contemporary migrant communities. This phenomenon reflects the increasingly strong ties between migrant communities across national borders, with transnational ties involving various relationships and interactions between individuals and institutions (Vertovec, 1997). Kurdish transnational communities and Kurdish diasporic spaces are growing as a result of the intensification of Kurdish migration and increasingly strong networks of relations between Kurds settled in various countries around the world (Khayati 2008).

The phenomenon of globalization has had a significant impact on the formation and spread of diasporas in their countries of origin, including the Kurdish diaspora which is part of this dynamic. Although there is still no concrete evidence that firmly links the acceleration of international migration flows to the globalization process, the increasing volume and expansion of international migration destinations can be considered as part of the globalization

transformation. This process was triggered by the information, communication and transportation technology revolution which has opened the door to migration more efficiently (Segal, 2019).

These developments not only include physical migration but also constitute a transnational dimension involving cultural, political, and economic exchanges between these communities. The increasingly close connection between the Kurdish diaspora and their countries of origin creates a space where Kurdish identity and solidarity develop dynamically beyond geographical boundaries. This historical journey highlights the important role of the Kurdish diaspora in enriching and re-weaving their social networks and cultural heritage, while continuing to contribute to the ever-changing course of history (Castles & Davidson, 2020)

The Kurdish diaspora not only acts as a link between migrant communities and countries of origin, but also has a significant impact in drawing international attention to the plight of the Kurdish people, especially in Turkey as the country seeks membership of the European Union. The Kurdish diaspora serves as an agent that promotes global awareness of humanitarian and human rights issues relating to the Kurdish community. Their presence in various countries allows the Kurdish diaspora to mobilize international support, monitor media coverage, and expand solidarity networks. In the context of the Kurd diaspora, the globalization of migration has brought about significant changes. The increasing volume of international migration, made easier by technological advances, has not only created a shift in global migration patterns but also formed and expanded Kurdish diasporic communities in various parts of the world. Kurdish immigrants, faced with changing new destinations, tend to form or join existing diaspora communities, making the diaspora a vital bridge between their countries of origin and migration destinations (Wahlbeck, 2018).

The Kurd diaspora, formed through global migration processes, not only plays an important role in helping meet their transnational subsistence needs, but also has the potential to make a major contribution to the development of the home country. This contribution is not limited to financial remittances alone, but also involves the transfer of skills, technology and culture. The active involvement of the Kurd diaspora in their home country's development efforts creates strong economic connections, enables the exchange of knowledge and innovation, and enriches social and cultural life on both sides of the diaspora. Thus, the Kurd diaspora becomes an agent that shapes positive dynamics in the context of globalization of migration (Alinia & Eliassi, 2014).

However, it is important to recognize that diaspora as a social phenomenon is complex and dynamic, undergoing continuous transformation over time. Within the framework of the 'triadic relationship' characterized by Bauböck & Faist (2010), namely the relationship between the country of origin, the host country and the transnational diaspora community, any change in the socio-political situation at these reference points triggers a change in projects and identities diaspora. With changes in the global context and developments in political dynamics, the Kurdish diaspora continues to adapt to meet the demands of the times, expand their role in international society, and continuously reshape their identity and projects.

In the Kurdish ethnic migration and diaspora, the globalization of international migration has become a potential that can stimulate the development of diaspora community networks and strengthen their role in global dynamics. International migration among Kurd communities is an inevitable phenomenon, especially considering the rapid development of transportation and communication technology, opening up migration opportunities with a wider range. The influence

of globalization on Kurdish ethnic migration creates complex dynamics. The existence of advanced transportation technology enabled the movement of Kurd populations throughout the world, expanding the reach of their diaspora. In the era of globalization, the Kurdish ethnic diaspora can be a driver of the growth of strong community networks, where individuals spread across various countries can connect more intensely and share their experiences.

Diaspora and international migration are two concepts that are inseparable from the dynamics of the globalization process in various aspects of life, such as economic, political, social and cultural. Even though the diaspora does not have a direct relationship with the globalization process, its role and existence is increasingly strengthening in the era of globalization. Diaspora, in this context, refers to the spread of ethnic communities or human groups outside their region of origin. This phenomenon, although it has existed throughout history, has experienced significant strengthening and expansion along with the development of globalization. Globalization opens the door to interaction and connectivity across national borders, facilitating the movement of people in various regions. This increased connectivity not only accelerates the international migration process, but also makes a real contribution to the growth of the diaspora.

The existence of the diaspora in the era of globalization reflects a stronger connection between various elements of society throughout the world. International migration, as an important aspect of the diaspora, is becoming more complex and closely linked to global dynamics. The influence of globalization in economic, political, social and cultural terms also forms new migration patterns and strengthens the relationship between migrants' countries of origin and destination. Thus, while the diaspora is not directly connected to the process of globalization, its emergence and development nonetheless reflects changes in an increasingly closely linked world order.

Social and Economic Integration Challenges Faced by the Kurdish Diaspora

The Kurdish diaspora, like other diasporas, faces a number of social and economic integration challenges in Europe, North America and Australia. Some of these challenges involve social and cultural aspects, while others are related to economics and immigration policy. Here are some common challenges faced by the Kurdish diaspora: **Social and Cultural Integration Challenges**

- 1) **Cultural and Linguistic Differences:** Cultural and linguistic differences pose significant obstacles in the process of social integration of the Kurdish diaspora in the destination countries. They are faced with the demand to adapt to local culture, which involves understanding and accepting social norms, values, and ways of communicating that may differ substantially from their culture of origin. This adaptation process includes efforts to understand and internalize social rules, behavioral norms, and ways of interacting in the new society of residence. In addition, the Kurdish diaspora is also faced with the responsibility of maintaining their own cultural identity while remaining open to new cultural experiences. As a result of these challenges, the social integration of the Kurdish diaspora is not only a balance between preserving their cultural heritage and accommodating local culture, but also a complex journey of self-discovery amidst a diverse landscape of cultural diversity.
- 2) **Discrimination and Stigma:** Some members of the Kurdish diaspora often face challenges in the form of discrimination or stigmatism in destination countries, especially related to stereotypes or negative perceptions that are still attached to certain ethnic groups. This phenomenon can involve unfair treatment, preconceived notions, or even

discriminatory actions in various aspects of life, including education, work, and social interactions. Stereotypes or prejudices against the Kurdish diaspora can affect their chances of achieving success and prosperity in their destination countries. Therefore, the creation of an inclusive environment, intercultural understanding, and public education regarding ethnic diversity are crucial in overcoming these challenges and promoting fair and balanced integration for the Kurdish diaspora.

- 3) **Social Isolation:** Social isolation is a serious challenge that some members of the Kurdish diaspora face, which may arise from feelings of isolation or a lack of a strong social network in the new country where they live. The process of adapting to a new and different social environment can often lead to feelings of isolation, where the Kurdish diaspora may find it difficult to connect with the surrounding community. Lack of an established social network can result in profound isolation, affecting aspects of daily life, including mental and emotional well-being. Therefore, it is important to understand the psychosocial impact of social isolation and create platforms or initiatives that support the formation of inclusive and supportive communities for the Kurdish diaspora, facilitating more positive integration in the new society. .
- 4) **Educational Challenges:** Children of the Kurdish diaspora often face significant challenges in achieving educational success in a new country, which can be influenced by differences in educational systems, language, and availability of resources. Differences in curriculum, teaching methods, and educational system structure between countries of origin and destination can create obstacles to the integration of Kurdish students into new educational environments. Different languages can also be a barrier, making it difficult to understand course material and interact in the classroom. Additionally, the availability of educational resources, such as textbooks, facilities, and special educational support, may not be comparable to what they are used to in their home country. Therefore, it is important to provide adequate support in the form of language assistance programs, curriculum adjustments, and access to adequate educational resources, to ensure that children of the Kurdish diaspora have equal opportunities to achieve success in their education in a new country.
- 5) **Identity Maintenance:** In seeking to integrate in the destination country, the Kurdish diaspora faces unique challenges as they not only attempt to accommodate themselves to the new environment, but are also committed to maintaining and nurturing their own identity and cultural values. This integration process involves a combination of understanding and respecting the social norms and local values of the new country, while remaining true to their cultural roots. Maintaining cultural identity and values can include maintaining traditions, language, and religious practices, as well as building strong communities amidst diverse environments. In this context, the Kurdish diaspora acts as an agent of cultural change, bringing their unique contribution to the society in which they live, while maintaining close ties with their country of origin. Success in integration includes not only acceptance in the destination country, but also the ability to maintain cultural identity as an integral part of global diversity.

Economic Integration Challenges:

- 1) **Skills and Education Challenges:** Economic integration of the Kurdish diaspora is often faced with significant challenges related to skills and education. Although they may have certain qualifications or experience, the Kurdish diaspora often has difficulty finding work that matches their qualifications in the destination country. This can be caused by differences in qualification recognition, employment standards, or even discrimination in the labor market. The challenge of adapting skills to job demands in a new country is also something that needs to be overcome, given the diversity in economic sectors and job requirements. Therefore, supporting the Kurdish diaspora in the development of skills

relevant to local labor market needs, providing assistance in the qualification recognition process, and involving them in training or re-education programs can be key steps in promoting more successful economic integration in destination countries .

- 2) **Employment Discrimination:** Some members of the Kurdish diaspora may face significant discrimination challenges in the job market, especially when they are confronted with stereotypes or prejudices that remain attached to certain ethnic groups. This discrimination can be reflected in various aspects, such as recruitment decisions, promotions, and even in daily working conditions. Negative stereotypes or prejudice against the Kurdish diaspora can hinder their opportunities to develop and advance in their professional careers. Therefore, ongoing efforts are needed to create an inclusive and fair work environment, where recruitment and promotion decisions are based on individual qualifications and achievements, not on assumptions or prejudiced views against certain ethnic backgrounds. Awareness, anti-discrimination training and strong diversity policies can be effective measures in overcoming the challenges of discrimination in the job market for the Kurdish diaspora .
- 3) **Inequality in Pay:** While the Kurdish diaspora may have equivalent qualifications to local residents in the job market, they often face inequality in pay. This phenomenon reflects injustice in the payroll system, where the wages given to the Kurdish diaspora are not always commensurate with their qualifications, experience or contribution to the workplace. This salary inequality can be caused by various factors, including prejudice or discrimination, as well as a lack of transparency in the salary decision-making process. Efforts to address these pay inequities involve expanding understanding of workers' rights, advocating for fair pay policies, and implementing transparent and equitable practices in workplace compensation. Through these steps, the Kurdish diaspora can contribute more fairly and equally to society and the job market in their host countries.
- 4) **Access to Financial Services:** Some members of the Kurdish diaspora often face difficulties in accessing financial services and getting support for their personal economic initiatives. These obstacles can involve a number of factors, including unfamiliarity with the local financial system, complex requirements, or even an inability to provide the collateral necessary to obtain financial support. Additionally, stigma or legal uncertainty related to their immigration status may also be a barrier to obtaining the financial services necessary to support their economic endeavors. In this context, the importance of fair and equal access to financial services becomes very clear, as well as the need for support and mentoring programs specifically designed to assist the Kurdish diaspora in developing and sustaining their economic initiatives in host countries. Through joint efforts and collaboration between governments, financial institutions and non-governmental organizations, an environment that supports inclusive economic growth for the Kurdish diaspora can be created.

Migration Policy Uncertainty: Changes in migration policies in destination countries have a significant impact on the Kurdish diaspora, creating a level of legal and social uncertainty that can hinder their economic integration. Changing migration policies may include restrictions on access to the labor market, changes in immigration status, or adjustments to business and financial regulations. This creates new challenges for the Kurdish diaspora in maintaining their economic endeavors, due to uncertainty regarding residence permits, employment, or business ownership. This legal uncertainty can also create an unstable atmosphere, affecting investment decisions and overall economic participation. In the face of changing migration policies, it is important to develop an inclusive approach and take into account the positive contribution

that the Kurdish diaspora can make to the economies and societies of their destination countries.

2. The Role of the Kurdish Diaspora in the Formation of Kurdish National Identity

The lack of a formally independent Kurdish state has resulted in the spread of the Kurdish population in several regions in four countries: Iran, Northeast Syria, Southeast Turkey, and Northern Iraq. There are an estimated 25-30 million Kurds living in the Middle East. Although the Kurds are united by a strong ethnic and cultural identity, the fact that they are spread across four countries in the region results in differences in terms of nationality, language, and religion. This situation presents unique challenges to their national identity and affiliation with the country in which they live and/or settle. Kurds in different countries may face different legal and political realities, creating a situation without citizenship or official recognition from the countries where they live. These differences may include citizenship rights, access to public services, and involvement in the political process. Kurds are also faced with diversity in terms of language and religion among the countries they inhabit. With the lack of a state that explicitly represents Kurdish identity, they are often faced with complex political and social dynamics that influence how they interpret and maintain their national identity. In this context, the struggle to maintain Kurdish ethnic and cultural identity amidst changing geopolitical realities becomes a significant challenge for the Kurdish diaspora that continues to persist in various countries in the Middle East.

The Kurds are considered a stateless diaspora, and the uniqueness of their situation compared to other diasporas lies in their ties to a homeland that cuts across many countries in the region, preventing them from establishing an independent state. Despite being in a situation of statelessness, the Kurdish diaspora in Europe, America and Australia experience three similar components of the diaspora experience. First, dispersal in space occurs because they sometimes experience forced dispersal from their countries of origin in the Middle East region. This spread could occur as a result of conflict, political change, or other factors that force them to leave their homelands. Second, the orientation towards home of the Kurdish diaspora is influenced by their strong sense of identity, and this is reflected in their participation in the diaspora community as well as their efforts to maintain ties with their homeland through various means. Third, border maintenance occurs through the preservation of the Kurds' ethno-cultural identity in the countries where they have settled. Despite being outside the geographic region of their home countries, the Kurdish diaspora is active in maintaining their language, traditions, and cultural values, creating a form of cultural continuity that ties them to their homelands. Therefore, the Kurdish diaspora faces unique and complex challenges in maintaining identity and connection with their homelands, illustrating dynamics unique to their diasporic experience across the globe.

Top of Form

The construction of national identity among the second generation of the Turkish diaspora abroad also has a significant impact on the development of nationalism in the Kurdish region of origin. One striking example is the role of the Kurdish diaspora in transnational peacebuilding, which can be illustrated through the case of Rojava in Southern Syria. A prominent initiative is a collaboration of art collectives known as the “Kurdish Dog Project” in London. Through various activities, including fundraising, they are actively involved in donating resources to support the Bajed Kandala camp in Southern Syria. The Kurdish Dog Project is not just a fundraising effort, but is also a form of transnational solidarity that helps

strengthen ties between the Kurdish diaspora abroad and the people in their home region. Involving the second generation of the Turkish diaspora involved in building national identity, this initiative provides a platform for them to participate in peace building and support Kurdish communities affected by the conflict. In this way, the Kurdish diaspora not only become subjects of national identity building in their places of residence, but also become agents of positive change in peace and development efforts in their homelands. Collaborations such as the Kurdish Dog Project reflect the power of the diaspora in shaping transnational narratives and helping to make positive contributions to their communities in their home regions.

The Kurdish diaspora, without having a common collective reference or memory regarding their homeland, nevertheless maintains a Kurdish identity and develops a sense of connectivity with their imagined community. To maintain and strengthen their identity, they have been active in establishing organizations and programs such as the Kurdish Human Rights Project (KHRP). KHRP serves as an important initiative aimed at preserving Kurdish culture and raising awareness about their struggle amidst the diaspora. Through organizations and programs such as these, the Kurdish diaspora creates spaces where they can connect with each other, share experiences, and enrich their understanding of their identity and cultural heritage. The KHRP, for example, emerged as a platform to activate their commitment to human rights while simultaneously strengthening and preserving elements of Kurdish culture. By bringing awareness to their struggle, the Kurdish diaspora can create internal and external solidarity, build networks, and make a real contribution to maintaining and reviving important aspects of their identity related to culture, language and history.

Kurds are united based on their ethnic and cultural identity, not through identification with a particular country such as Turkey, Iran, Iraq, or Syria. In this context, questions arise regarding how the Kurds maintain relations with other countries, including the countries where they live. Since they do not identify themselves exclusively with a particular country of origin, this may have an impact on the nature of their nationalism. The Kurds' lack of affiliation to any particular nation creates a unique dynamic in their relations with the countries of settlement. The experience of being Kurdish can vary across countries, and the politicization of their identity needs to be understood within the social and historical context of each region. This suggests that the Kurdish diaspora experience involves a complex interaction between ethnic identity, political realities in their countries of origin, and social dynamics in the countries where they live. In this regard, understanding how Kurds maintain their identity without being fixated on one particular country can provide deeper insight into the complexity and flexibility of the Kurdish diaspora in adapting to the realities of life in different countries of settlement. This reflects the reality that the Kurdish diaspora's relationship with their countries of settlement is determined not only by national parameters, but also by the history and social context that shapes their identity journey.

This form of world connectivity through Information Technology, especially through social media and digital activism, gives the Kurdish diaspora the freedom to express their views transnationally and publicly. Social media has become a key platform for diaspora youth to participate in transnational activism, resulting in a major impact on political and social transformation in the Middle East. The Kurdish diaspora, which has experienced migration and been involved in recent conflicts, is actively involved in transnational political issues through online political engagement. According to Keles (2016), the Kurdish diaspora uses social media as a tool for mobilization, lobbying and advocacy regarding the situations faced by their extended families and relatives in their countries of origin. By sharing articles, posts,

and information, they generate international support and understanding of the struggles faced by the Kurdish people. Due to the lack of official representation, the Kurdish diaspora relies on grassroots movements through social media platforms to express and maintain their ethnic identity as well as political aspirations towards Kurdish society. This initiative reflects the power of social media as a tool that allows the Kurdish diaspora to actively participate in global discourse, overcome physical barriers, and voice their struggles and aspirations.

The use of internet communication tools among the Kurdish community opens up opportunities to provide advice and information regarding issues in the settlement and country of origin. UK-based Kurdish organizations, with strong connections in social media, are active in organizing social gatherings, such as demonstrations and social events, which strengthen their solidarity. In lieu of a nation-state, the Kurdish diaspora creates a Kurdish transnational space online, where they can “revive their identity” and contribute collectively through their connectivity. The internet has also become a platform for the Kurdish community to enrich and spread their language and culture in settlement countries. Thus, through digital communication tools, the Kurdish diaspora builds a transnational network that strengthens their identity and empowers their participation in political and social issues. This engagement in cyberspace reflects the positive drive of the Kurdish diaspora in overcoming physical and geographical boundaries, presenting their unique contribution in shaping the interconnectedness of an increasingly integrated world.

Conclusion

Globalization, mainly triggered by the information and transportation technology revolution, has contributed significantly to the increasing volume and expansion of international migration destinations, including Kurdish migration. This process of globalization also influenced the formation of the Kurdish diaspora, which then became involved in transnational networks and contributed to the development of Kurdish identity and nationalism in various countries of settlement. The Kurdish diaspora, as a result of the globalization of migration, has an important role in forming strong community networks and involving itself in various transnational activities. They utilize social media and digital activism as tools to voice their views, garner international support, and defend their ethnic identity and political aspirations. Despite facing challenges of social and economic integration in countries of settlement, the Kurdish diaspora remains active in preserving their culture, language and values, creating transnational spaces online that allow them to maintain strong ties with their countries of origin.

Historically, the history of Kurdish migration and diaspora covers the period when Kurdish leaders and elites sought support and opportunities outside the home country following the end of the First World War and the creation of new states in the region. Waves of Kurdish migration also occurred after the Second World War, with the main destinations being Europe, North America and Australia, both for economic and political reasons. Internal conflicts and repressive policies in countries of origin, such as those following the military intervention in 1971 and the military coup in 1980 in Turkey, encouraged further waves of migration. The Kurdish diaspora also plays a role in voicing humanitarian and political issues, especially related to conflicts in their home regions, as seen in participation in fundraising for refugee camps and demonstrations in various countries of settlement. The challenges faced by the Kurdish diaspora, including social and economic integration, discrimination, and changing migration policies in countries of settlement, provide insight into the complex dynamics of their migration journeys and diasporic experiences. This research provides in-depth insights into

Kurdish migration and diaspora in the context of globalization and world connectedness. The long history of Kurdish migration, the integration challenges faced by the diaspora, the role of social media in maintaining identity, and their participation in political issues highlight the complexity and relevance of this topic. By understanding these dynamics, we can appreciate the unique contribution of the Kurdish diaspora in creating an increasingly open and connected transnational space in the era of globalization.

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