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2019.02.009. DMITRY MALYSHEV. THE INTEGRATION OF FOREIGN CULTURE MIGRANTS IN CENTRAL ASIA // *Russia and New States of Eurasia*. Moscow, IMEMO RAS, 2018, № 3, P. 147–155.

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The author of the article considers problems of integration of foreign culture migrants in the Central Asian region on the example of Kazakhstan and Tajikistan. Immediacy of the problem of integration of foreign culture migrants into society of the host state is taking on greater and greater importance in the modern world. The Post-Soviet Central Asia (CA) itself is a donor of migration generally to Russia. But there are countries in CA, being recipients of migration are more Kazakhstan, to a far lesser degree

Tajikistan therefore the author suggests considering this problem on the example of these two republics. Integration of foreign culture migrants into public structures of recipient countries is a difficult process which significantly affects stability in states.

Fixing on common problems of migration the author notes that nowadays the discourse of migration and the interethnic conflicts caused by this phenomenon within the context of host country became urgent as migration processes became new forms of risk, essential feature of which comes down to expansion of contacts with groups which are strange in relation to ethnocultural communities of this or that state.

The author of the article allocates several types of migration and the subsequent adaptation of migrants to the foreign culture environment:

1. The voluntary migrants, refugees looking for shelters and staying. They should be integrated into the host society, the case is only about duration of the period of such integration.

2. Cultural distances between migrants and residents of the host country: the smaller it is, the easier it is for a migrant to be integrated into foreign culture society. It is much easier for the citizens of the Post-Soviet republics leaving one republic to another to overcome cultural distance than when leaving for Europe, for example, as all of them lived in one culture for a long time, know Russian that does not raise barriers in socialization. As a result of migration within one region, for example CA, cultural distance here is minimized.

3. A context of acceptance is developed in host society policy in the relation of migrants which can roughly be divide into 4 subspecies: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. The last subspecies generates the greatest risks and contains conflict potential and promotes an intensification of processes of society split.

4. The status of groups of migrants that means the attitude of host society towards visitants from other countries and regions. For example, Tajiks are negative to Uzbeks coming to their country

and on the contrary, and Armenians – to Azerbaijanians and vice versa, etc.

Further the author passes to consideration of the problem of migration by the example of Kazakhstan. The migration status of the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK) is composed of three levels: outcome of migrants, their reception and transit of migration flows. The main migration trend of Kazakhstan is a departure of its citizens from the country for permanent residence, mainly to Russia and also relatively limited number of labour migrants, especially in comparison with the mass migration flows going from Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Qualified specialists and workers (mainly – Russians and Tatars) leave Kazakhstan. The main flows of migrants arrive in Kazakhstan from the Central Asian countries – Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, minority is made by hailed from far abroad countries – China and Turkey.

Peculiar feature of Kazakhstan is that since 1991 repatriation to the country of ethnic Kazakhs (oralmen) both from the republics of the CIS, and from other countries, first of all from China became an important segment of migration policy of the republic especially – from Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (XUAR) of the People's Republic of China. However not all oralmen got citizenship of RK, many remained citizens of the People's Republic of China and circulate business in China, particularly in SUAR. The problem of the Chinese migration for Kazakhstan is acute as Kazakhstan has an extended border with the People's Republic of China and Chinese migrants' flow increases every year. It raises fears among the population and the authorities as Chinese, as a rule, do not get integrated locally, and unite into ethnic communities standing directly against local population. Living abroad, Chinese everywhere contribute to the development of Chinese economy: Chinese diasporas try to attract investments into the People's Republic of China, withdrawing funds out of the country of residence. In Kazakhstan hundreds of joint ventures, Chinese banks, shopping and cultural centers, Chinese cafes

function, there are Confucius's centers which turned into the instrument of "soft power" of China in the region long ago.

Besides reception of Chinese migrants, Kazakhstan has recently become an active recipient of labour migrants from Central Asia as it is getting more preferable than Russia for them. It can be explained both by economic difficulties, and recent increasing legislative pressure on migration in Russia.

The author notes the fact that at the expense of migrants the population of Kazakhstan grows. Though this state occupies the ninth place in the world by its territory, the number of its population is extremely moderate – for the beginning of 2018 – only 18,157.1 thousand people. Elements of so-called "sinophobia" as historical memory of the Kazakh people often connects China with bloody Junggar wars during which many Kazakhs died from Junggar troops and Qing army, are very widespread in the public consciousness of Kazakhstan. Also there are fears that if lands are freely sold to foreigners, then their considerable part will be bought up by China, that became one of the reasons of mass "land disorders" in Kazakhstan in 2016.

The author of the article, considering migration situation in Tajikistan, in the first instance notes that this republic is the country of emigrants, and outflow of the population got catastrophic proportion at the moment. As for immigration, here experts from China, Turkey and Iran generally live. China directs to the republic labor for construction of public and economic infrastructure. Besides China sends to Tajikistan people serving sentence for criminal offenses that in general corresponds to the population policy of the Chinese authorities as delinquency rate in the People's Republic of China is very high and to support such number of prisoners is an overwhelming task for the state. Therefore, they are send for works to other countries where the Chinese companies function. Tajikistan also became a place of application of excess Chinese labor. Here Chinese are mainly involved in construction of roads, cement factories and in agriculture.

There is no precise data on the number of Chinese arriving in the country. Many of them drive to Tajikistan through Kyrgyzstan with which China has a visa-free regime, and, getting married to Tajik women, many of the arrived Chinese remain in Tajikistan forever.

The author points out that integration of Chinese into Tajik society has its specifics – many of them learned Tajik and Russian languages that facilitates communication with local population. Chinese try to study national Tajik traditions also. In Dushanbe and Khujand there is a Chinese restaurants chain where pork isn't cooked though Chinese widely eat this product. In general the number of Chinese in Tajikistan in 2015 exceeded 150 thousand people with a quota for foreign labor migrants – 8 thousand.

Also it is observed the aspiration of Tajiks to establish cultural ties from Celestial Empire. For example, thousands of Tajik school and university students learn Chinese, and for acquirement many Tajiks go to study it to universities of the People's Republic of China.

The growing economic dependence of Tajikistan on China becomes an important factor also that is the additional channel of replenishment of labor migrants army from the People's Republic of China to the RT. In April, 2018 Tajikistan transferred to China development licenses of seven gold fields and also the rights for development of coal fields. This is for a reason as in 2017 the external debt of Tajikistan was 2.3 billion US dollars, from them 1.2 billion – a debt to China.

In some areas of Tajikistan Chinese are already firm enough integrated into local society. The Ministry of Agriculture of Tajikistan farmed out 500 hectares of lands to the Chinese farmers for 49 years. China actively develops territories of Tajikistan on Pamir which make more than one thousand sq.km that is equal, for example, with an area of nine such cities as Dushanbe. It turns local population against Chinese even more and if to take into consideration a serious linguistic divide – Chinese almost without exception do not speak in Tajik, and the local population almost

does not know Chinese – contradictions between migrants from China and local population are strengthened.

As for migrants from other countries, generally from Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, it is hardly possible to call them “foreign culture.” Many of them have relatives on both sides of the border, are well familiar with customs and culture of the neighboring country, use Russian actively for international communication. Besides, as surveys show in Uzbek-speaking villages of Tajikistan, more than 52% of respondents consider important marriage with representatives of their ethnic community, however for 36% this factor is important, but not obligatory.

Moreover, it stands out that circumstance that the authorities of the Republic of Tajikistan do not give due consideration to migration policy including because as it was already noted above, Tajikistan is now and, most likely, will remain in the near future the state – the donor of migration. The attention of the authorities of the RT is generally concentrated on arrangement of the Tajik emigrants.

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The interest of the American diplomacy in Tajikistan (RT), Dmitry Popov emphasizes, is traditionally caused by two major factors. The first one is proximity to Afghanistan (RA). The