

Young Repatriates in Kazakhstan: Problems and Solutions

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Abstract: When the state, the so-called “historical homeland” of many ethnic groups living outside, calls them to return and become a part of their fellow citizens, it takes on a great responsibility for the fate, rights, and interests of repatriates. One of the existing directions of the Kazakhstan government policy, which was initiated after gaining independence, was the process of attracting qandastar - ethnic Kazakhs from abroad, and the enrollment of a large number of young people from this group in Kazakhstan universities through the provision of grants for a full course of study. This state strategy brought expectations that the young generation, who came to Kazakhstan for education will also affect the national identity and culture of the local community. However, the youth also associated certain plans with moving to their historical homeland. The purpose of our research is to find out how the expectations of qandastar students coincided with real self-realization in Kazakhstan. We conducted a series of interviews with people who have graduated from Kazakhstani universities in the past few years.

Keywords: Kazakhstan, Qandastar, Education, Society, Migration

Introduction

The appearance of the Kazakh diaspora is associated with the historical settlement of the Kazakh people in the period after the end of the cycle of the Kazakh-Dzhungar wars in the 18th century. The defeat of the Dzungar

state by the troops of the Qing Empire in 1755, and then the suppression of uprisings against the rule of the Manchurian Empire, led to the desolation of significant areas of the Dzungaria steppe. Despite the opposition of the Qing government, by 1776 Kazakh families occupied their historical pastures on the present territory of the PRC - in Altai, the valleys of the Irtysh, Tekes, Ili rivers, on Tarbagan and further to the east (Mendikulova, 1997).

Later, after some governments changed in Central China, as well as the establishment of a communist regime, the Kazakhs of these territories actively resisted the establishment of Mao Zedong's power in the present Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (XUAR) of the People's Republic of China (PRC). In the process of confrontation between national minorities and the Chinese authorities, Kazakhs were part of two main groups - the so-called East Turkestan Republic (ETR), oriented towards Moscow, and more independent rebel groups, the most famous of which was the Ospan Islam-uly (Ospan batyr) in southern Altai (Hasanly, 2015). After Moscow made a bet on Mao Zedong in 1949, it canceled the ETR project, the leadership of which was summoned to negotiations in Moscow and died in a plane crash. Thus, the movement submitted to the PRC. However, independent rebels continued to fight not for independence, but for personal freedom, for which several groups broke through from China across Tibet to Kashmir, which was controlled at that time by Indian and then Pakistani troops. There, it was decided to move to Turkey, as a Muslim and kindred country to the Kazakhs (Layas, 2018). Other small groups of Kazakhs who found themselves outside of Kazakhstan - in Iran, Afghanistan, Europe, left the territory of traditional residence of Kazakhs during the tragic events of the first half of the early 20th century: the rebellion of 1916, the revolutions in Russia in 1917, the civil war of 1917-1920, mass famine in Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and the Volga region, collectivization, Stalinist repressions and the II World War of 1939-1945.

According to the data of the World Association of Kazakhs, more than 5 million or 30-35% of the total number of Kazakhs live outside of Kazakhstan in 43 countries of the world. Most of them live in Uzbekistan - more than 2 million, China - about 2 million, and in Russia - about 1 million. In other countries, the number of ethnic Kazakhs is much smaller- in Mongolia 83 thousand, in Turkmenistan - 74 thousand, in Turkey - 12 thousand, in Kyrgyzstan - 10 thousand, in Iran - 5 thousand. According to statistics, as of February 1, 2021, 1 million 71.2 thousand people returned to their historical homeland and received the status of qandas. In 2020, the majority of arrivals - about 55.5%, were from China. Compatriots from Uzbekistan accounted for 28.8%, from Turkmenistan - 9.1%, from Mongolia - 3.4%, while also the number of immigrants of working age is 55.9%, 32.6% of people are younger than of working age, and 10.5% are pensioners. In 2021, some numbers have changed significantly. 65.9% came from Uzbekistan, 19.3% from China, 6.3% from Turkmenistan, 4.2% from Mongolia, and 4.3% from other countries. At the same time, the number of migrants of working age is 58.7%, under working age - 21.4%, and 19.8% - pensioners (Forbes.kz, 2021).

The legal documents regulating the process of repatriates' integration are being gradually improved. In the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On Amendments and Additions to Certain Legislative Acts of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the Regulation of Migration Processes" dated May 13, 2020, some changes were made in

comparison with 1997. Thus, the term “oralman”, denoting persons of Kazakh nationality without citizenship, who permanently resided outside its borders at the time of the acquisition of sovereignty by the Republic of Kazakhstan and arrived in Kazakhstan for permanent residence, has now been replaced by “qandas”, which translates as “blood relative”, “compatriot”. Qandastar - an official term and plural form to designate ethnic Kazakhs-repatriates, which is used from 2019, replacing the previous official term “oralman” (returnee). Although the essential content of the Law is not so much a terminological change as the creation of more favorable conditions for ethnic Kazakhs who immigrate to their historical homeland (Forbes.kz, 2021)

Some Kazakhstani researchers have contributed to the study of the problems of repatriates associated with the adaptation of this social group to Kazakhstani society. Research by G. Mendikulova “Historical destinies of the Kazakh diaspora. Origin and development” (1997) were among the first works of this kind. In the monograph by B. Kalshabayeva “Kazakhs of Central Asia (historical and ethnographic research” on the culture and traditions of Kazakhs of Uzbekistan, there is a special chapter entitled “Problems of repatriation and adaptation of the Kazakh diaspora in Central Asia at the present stage” (Kalshabayeva, 2011). The monograph by K. Nurymbetova (2011) “Problems of Repatriation in Independent Kazakhstan: Historical Analysis” traces the process of returning our compatriots to their historical homeland, and in the book “Ways of integrating repatriates into Kazakhstani society: realities and challenges” authors A. Kalysh and D. Kassymova (2013) study the psychological and social factors associated with the adaptation and integration of compatriots into the local society. In the field of studying the problems of including qandastar in Kazakhstani society, mention should be made of the research project “Cultural and linguistic adaptation of the young generation of repatriated Kazakhs in the conditions of modern Kazakhstan” (2015-2017), which aimed to develop a resource scientific, methodological and information package for qandastar who are students of Kazakhstani universities. Besides, the project studied the factors influencing the process of forming their intercultural competence.

Sociological theories analyzing the problems of social adaptation in the country of emigration consider feelings of alienation from the country of emigration (often due to prejudice and discrimination) and difficulties in accepting foreign values and social norms as the main reasons for the return of most migrants to their homeland (Cassarino, 2004; Kunuroglu, van de Vijver, & Yagmur, 2016). Theoretically, there are three categories of emigration motives: preservation (striving for physical, social, and psychological security), self-development (personal growth while acquiring new abilities, knowledge, and skills), and materialistic motivations (promoting wealth and financial well-being). According to Schwartz's theory of values, each motivation is associated with a preference for certain values (Schwartz, Cieciuch, Vecchione, Davidov, Fischer, Beierlein, et al. 2012). Preservation is associated with the values of security and survival, self-development is associated with openness to changing values, and materialism is associated with the values of self-improvement (Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001).

In 2018, the quota for receiving grants for studying at Kazakh universities for persons of Kazakh ethnicity who are not citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan was increased from 2 to 4%. In the 2020-21 academic year, the number of grants allocated was 1777, including 1000 at the preparatory departments of universities. Qandastar

are admitted to universities after passing the Unified National Test or Complex Testing (Mukanov, 2018). Based on the theory of motivation, we set the goal of our research - to find out to what extent the expectations of students-qandastar coincided with their real self-realization, the facts, and events of their life in their historical homeland - Kazakhstan. We strive to gain a deeper understanding of the social and psychological processes that returnees go through, in particular the complex nature of their identity, adaptation, sense of belonging, and intergroup relationships. To do this, we need, first, to understand the motivational goals of the repatriates, expressed in their value preferences (Schwartz et al., 2012; Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001) and, secondly, to study the group identification of repatriates, including identification with the country of origin, with the historical homeland and their ethnic group (Tartakovsky et al., 2017). In addition, we want to identify social, cultural, and linguistic problems that influence the adaptation process.

Method

Given the dynamic and complex nature of return migration, we have adopted a qualitative approach to our research. Qualitative data were collected using semi-structured in-depth interviews. This way of collecting data allows informants to talk freely about their personal experiences. Makarova and her colleagues (2021) state that the level of personality development and the graduate's readiness for life cannot be assessed here and now, but only after years. To find out to what extent the qandastar are satisfied with the current situation, how the process of socialization and adaptation of graduates to the local community is going on, we conducted a series of interviews with repatriates who graduated from Kazakh universities some years ago, with one exception. The total number of respondents is 15 people.

The interview questions were divided into 4 main blocks: In the first block, we found out the demographic characteristics of our interlocutors: age, gender, place of residence, marital status, specialty, time of arrival in the Republic of Kazakhstan, place of work, and current position. The questions of the second block were aimed at clarifying the reasons and motivations for the move. Three options for reasons were offered to choose from: 1) a significant difference in economic conditions in the country of immigration (RK) and the country of origin, 2) the presence of problems of social adaptation in the country of emigration, so some theories suggest that most migrants return to their historical homeland from the country of origin for feelings of alienation, discrimination, and other social problems, and 3) to realize personal value preferences. At the same time, motivational goals were divided into three categories:

1. self-preservation (striving for physical, social, and psychological security, stability, and certainty in life, as well as obedience to public expectations),
2. self-development (for example, obtaining higher education, personal growth through the acquisition of new abilities, knowledge, and skills),
3. self-improvement (achievement of high social status and material well-being).

We devoted the next block to the problems of adaptation, we were interested in the relations of qandastar with

people in Kazakhstan and in the country, they left, their group, and personal identification. Here the greatest number of questions was asked regarding family and friendship ties, emotional and psychological feelings, assessment of one's social status. The last, fourth block of questions gave us an understanding of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of our respondents with their life in Kazakhstan, financial situation, and career.

Results

Among the interviewed qandastar, five had previously had Chinese citizenship, four were residents of Turkmenistan, two respondents were repatriated from Uzbekistan and the same number were from Turkey, one person had Mongolian citizenship, and one previously had Russian citizenship. Socio-demographic characteristics showed that the age of repatriates varied in a wide range from 17 to 40 years, among them there was a higher proportion of women (53% versus 47%) and a higher proportion of repatriates have a family (60% versus 40%). Among working repatriates, the proportion of those employed in professional jobs was 73%, and 20% of those interviewed held managerial and commercial positions.

Table 1. Demographic indicators

Category	Quantity	Percentage %
Age (years)	17-40	
Gender		
male	7	47
female	8	53
Family status		
family	9	60
single	6	40
Occupation		
students	1	7
Professionals	11	73
managers or businessmen	3	20
Country of origin		
China	5	33
Turkmenistan	4	27
Uzbekistan	2	13
Turkey	2	13
Mongolia	1	7
Russia	1	7
Place of residence		
Almaty	8	53
Almaty region	2	13
Aktau	3	20
Nursultan	1	7
Shymkent	1	7

Reasons for Migration

To determine the reasons and motivations for the move, we, first of all, asked our respondents to compare their economic conditions in the country where they lived before migration with the current situation in Kazakhstan. Three respondents admitted that they lived materially better in the country of origin (China, Russia, Turkey)

than in Kazakhstan. "My family was quite prosperous in our village, my father was an official in a local municipality, and also was engaged in cattle breeding and trade. Therefore, our move here was never about high rank and career" (Respondent 1, 38 years old, male).

Eight people said that in Kazakhstan they live in better conditions than in their country of origin (mainly Mongolia, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan). The rest believe that their conditions here are about the same and that life and economic circumstances "depend on the person himself" (Respondent 2, 21 years old, woman).

During the interview, the majority of respondents indicated the desire for self-development (9 respondents) as the motivation for the move. Thus, they seek personal development through higher opportunities - getting the education and the opportunities that it gives. The rest of the respondents were divided into two equal groups: the first is focused on values of self-preservation and stability, saving of ethnic identity (3 people) ("My parents sacrificed a calm and comfortable life, it was difficult for them to adapt here, including entering the local society and job search. However, they returned to their homeland for the sake of their posterity, so that they remain Kazakhs (Respondent 3, 35 years old, male). The second group (3 respondents) pointed out simultaneously two motivations - self-development and self-improvement, the latter they understand as achieving a high social status: "Belonging to the titular ethnic group, of course, allows people to feel different, which is why the idea of "being sultan in their own country" played a large role in immigration"(Respondent 4, 35 years old, male). Three respondents told about the unfavorable attitude towards them as representatives of a minority in the country of origin, which forced them to leave the state; the rest hardly mentioned anything about the problems of social deprivation and feelings of alienation in the country of origin, discrimination and difficulties in accepting foreign values and social norms, except for some psychological discomfort in two more cases and the absence of schools with the Kazakh language of instruction in one case.

Adaptation

The next block of questions reveals the process of qandastar adapting to Kazakhstani society, the process of forming their new identity, group, and individual, as well as maintaining old and building new social ties.

When asked about the existence of discrimination against them in the local community as "strangers" or people who came from outside, four respondents answered that they did not feel any discrimination towards themselves, the rest of the interlocutors admitted that they felt bias towards themselves in varying degrees - from weak to clearly and sharply expressed, especially during the first period of their stay in Kazakhstan. This was seen at the routine level and in some official organizations: "In the first years of my stay in Kazakhstan, I felt this dislike very strongly, to be honest; it caused me severe mental pain. I think now there are fewer such cases. I am an educated person, a well-known middle-class businessperson. This is why I have not felt this attitude in recent years. Of course, there are different people, including envious people. I think it's better not to pay attention to such people." (Respondent 5, 33 years old, male). Among the main adaptation problems faced by qandastar students, not from the former USSR, there were two, which were mentioned by the majority: the

lack of Russian language knowledge and exhausting bureaucratic procedures in the execution of numerous local documents.

The adaptation process includes building relationships in a new environment, so we found out during the interview whether the repatriates are satisfied with their relations with representatives of the local community in the Republic of Kazakhstan, as well as whether they maintain contact with the country of origin. Only one of the interviewees said that he did not have good relations in Kazakhstan, as well as in the origin country, where he is not going to return. In addition, one more respondent admitted that she would like to go to another country from Kazakhstan, but not to her homeland. All other interlocutors are satisfied with the relationship in the local community; the majority have not broken their ties with the country of origin, especially those who have relatives there. "There is a connection with China, my relatives live there, but I rarely go there. Of course, I miss my native land, I dream about it. When I went there in 2010, 8 years after the move, I saw my home, my native land; I could not hold back my tears. I would like to go there, visit my relatives, but for a maximum of 2 weeks, no more than that". (Respondent 1, 38 years old, male). Many visit their parents who still live outside of Kazakhstan. However, no one is going to return to the country of origin.

The definition of a group identification system includes identification with the country of origin and the group of their fellow tribesmen in it, as well as identification with the country of current residence, that is, Kazakhstan, and the group of qandastar in Kazakhstan. The interviews showed that 9 out of 15 respondents poorly identify themselves with the host country, and 8 people also poorly assess their identity with the country of birth. 7 respondents still identify themselves with the group of their fellow tribesmen in the country of origin, but 8 interlocutors do not consider themselves to be the Kazakh diaspora in that country. 7 respondents identify themselves with the group of qandastar in Kazakhstan, and 8 people consider themselves full-fledged Kazakhstani Kazakhs. To determine personal identification, we asked respondents to choose from the proposed answer options one or more that correspond to their self-identification. When choosing between identifying oneself as a qandas or a Kazakhstani Kazakh, we needed to clarify that we are not talking about the legal status of a person of Kazakh nationality who was born and permanently resided outside of Kazakhstan. Moreover, many of the qandastar have applied for citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and some have already received it. We were much more interested in the level of adaptation to the local community, in other words, did our interlocutor feel culturally and psychologically that he/she became a part of the surrounding world, or still feel their "otherness", dissimilarity to local Kazakhs differs from them in a different cultural/ideological background. Perhaps this was the most sensitive and therefore subjectively evaluative part of the interview for many of our interlocutors. Thus, 13 out of 15 interviewed qandastar certainly and extremely emotionally stated that being a Kazakh, a citizen of Kazakhstan is an important part of their self-determination: "speaking about Kazakhs, I say" we ", not" they"; "When Kazakhs are criticized, I take it personally"; "I need to think of myself as a Kazakh". At the same time, six respondents strongly rejected the qandas identity. "I no longer identify myself as an oralman/qandas, I consider myself a full-fledged citizen of Kazakhstan" (Respondent 5, 33 years old, male).

Nevertheless, three respondents admitted that they perceive themselves as a qandas largely than a Kazakhstani Kazakh. "Since I studied Chinese from kindergarten, received a school education in the Chinese system, grew up in their culture and mentality, I consider myself as a person from China, I realize that China is my homeland, although I returned to Kazakhstan, to my historical homeland" (Respondent 6, 27 years old, female). Six respondents demonstrated a kind of "hybrid" identification, on the one hand, it seems quite natural for them to see themselves as a Kazakhstani Kazakh, this is an important element of their self-determination, but at the same time, they "continue to think of themselves as a qandas".

Satisfaction

In the last block of questions, we were interested in the satisfaction of the qandastar with their life in Kazakhstan. Life satisfaction included satisfaction with interpersonal relationships, financial status, and career. We have used the well-known and still relevant Life Satisfaction Scale, developed in 1985 by a team of scientists (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). When asked about satisfaction with their lives in Kazakhstan, five respondents answered that they were satisfied - "My life situation is wonderful", seven people rated it as average - "Mostly satisfied", two people admitted that they are not satisfied with their living conditions. One of the respondents did not speak on this topic.

Satisfaction with interpersonal relationships was measured using a one-item scale, in which participants were asked to rate their degree of satisfaction with the number of friends and acquaintances, as well as the quality of their relationship with them: no friends (0), up to two close friends (1), from three to ten close friends (2) and more than ten close friends (3). We asked to estimate the number of close friends, excluding their parents, partner, or children in this list, but it was possible to include other relatives. The average indicator on our three-point scale was 2.37, which indicates a high level of social ties of repatriates within Kazakhstani society. This is important because friends are an important part of a social resource.

In terms of satisfaction with their financial position, 12 respondents rated their financial position as "average", "slightly above average", "slightly below average". One person is completely dissatisfied with his financial situation; two of our interlocutors are completely satisfied. In the area of careers, 12 respondents said that they work in their specialty or have a full-time job, and in general, they like what they do. Two people are not satisfied and would like to change the field of activity. One interlocutor plans to leave Kazakhstan in search of other opportunities abroad.

Table 2. Satisfaction indicators

	Fully satisfied	Incompletely satisfied	Unsatisfied	No answer
Life satisfaction	5 (33%)	7 (47%)	2 (13%)	1(7%)
Financial satisfaction	2 (13%)	12 (80%)	1(7%)	-
Career satisfaction	12 (80%)	2 (13%)	1(7%)	-

Discussion

The present study applies the general theory of emigration motivation (Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001), according to which people emigrate to facilitate the achievement of their general motivational goals, expressed in their personal value preferences. The qandastar who come to Kazakhstan are driven by a strong motivation for self-development and a less pronounced materialistic motivation. As the interview data showed, migrants return to Kazakhstan mainly for non-economic reasons, although among the interviewed persons, eight people noted that their living conditions in Kazakhstan are better than they were in the country from which they came. Nevertheless, most of them return to Kazakhstan to develop their abilities, acquire new knowledge and skills, and a higher social status. Can we conclude based on the data obtained about the achievement of self-development by our interlocutors and the growth of their social status?

All interviewed interlocutors have received higher education or are in the process of obtaining it. According to the Committee on Statistics of the Ministry of National Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, which conducted a sample survey of the quality of life of the population in 2020, 63.5% of respondents (according to subjective assessment) are satisfied in general with their life (Kazistaev, 2020). Our data on qandastar in the "completely satisfied" category gives a result of 33%. Thus, if we sum up the indicators "completely satisfied" and "incompletely satisfied", and it is this calculation that is carried out by the Committee on Statistics ("satisfied in general"), then they will give a much higher figure of 80%, which is higher than the general Kazakhstani indicator.

The level of satisfaction with their financial situation in the country is 41.6%. This figure includes both those who consider themselves to be in the middle level of income, who make up the majority (63.3%), and those who consider themselves high - 0.7% and low - 0.3%. (Kazistaev, 2020). On this basis, we can summarize in our data those who are completely satisfied and incompletely satisfied, and this will be significantly higher than the country indicator, namely - 93%, and, indeed, people with an average income level among them are the majority - 85%. The degree of satisfaction with the career of repatriates, that is, having a job in their specialty, based on the interview data, is high - 80%. This is higher than in Kazakhstan as a whole, where, according to 2017 data, 77% of survey participants are satisfied with their work (inform.kz, 2017).

Self-identification of migrants, as well as the perception of "homeland" influenced their decision to return (Tartakovsky et al., 2016). All the respondents we interviewed, of course, are ethnic Kazakhs, they were Kazakhs abroad, and even more so, they continue to consider themselves as such in Kazakhstan. The emphasis in the interview was on something else - whether they felt themselves to be a part of the civil society of this country, given that it is somewhat broader than the concept of "Kazakh ethnos". This is, indeed, a very sensitive topic, since discussions about the creation of a national Kazakh state on an ethnic basis vs. a Kazakh state on a civil basis have arisen since independence and periodically flare up with varying degrees of intensity. It is not surprising that repatriates, fueled by romantic feelings, come to the land of their ancestors, to the "country of

Kazakhs". "Before visiting Kazakhstan, we dreamed of it, dreamed of it as a distant country like the United States. This happened because of watching Kazakh channels, modern programs, and musical shows. Then the opening of Kazakhstani YouTube channels had just begun, the flow of information from Kazakhstan became open. I believe that this had a great cultural impact on the oralmans, weakened the processes of assimilation (or "sinification") of the Kazakhs of China. We came for the sake of the future of our offspring" (Respondent 1, 38 years old, male). However, after arrival, many find themselves not in the Kazakh, but the Kazakhstani environment, in which the Russian language, which is a foreign language for them, occupies a strong position in public life, and knowledge of their native Kazakh language, is not always sufficient for official and unofficial communication. One of the interlocutors expressed this as follows: "It is impossible to fully penetrate this (Kazakhstani) society, this is a Russian-speaking society that has a different mentality and psychology that came from the Soviet Union, the way of life is also completely different. Therefore, Kazakhs returning from China get involved in an adventure and inevitably sacrifice themselves" (Respondent 1, 38 years old, male).

Thus, the process of adapting to their home country turns out to be more complicated than initially assumed, while the ties with the country of origin for many have weakened, although they have not completely disappeared, and in their historical homeland, they feel discrimination and bureaucratic obstacles to varying degrees. This led to the fact that some of our respondents, judging by the interviews, combine "hybrid" identification, feeling themselves not completely ethnic Kazakhs from abroad, but not quite citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan, which indicates the incompleteness of the adaptation process. The nostalgic identification with their homeland, based on the stories and memories of several generations of older relatives, obviously came into conflict with the real situation in Kazakhstan and was reflected in the group and individual identity of the qandastar. The data obtained are consistent with the conclusions of some studies that immigrants before migration can idealize life in their ethnic homeland (Tartakovsky, 2009), the return to which is described both by the inviting party and by the migrants themselves as a return to their "roots" or "to the land of their ancestors". One of the goals, as we have seen, is to prevent their children from experiencing negative stereotypes or any kind of discrimination in a society where they are a minority. At the same time, repatriates, as a rule, do not refuse to maintain social ties with the country where they were born and where their relatives very often stayed. This can explain the complex "hybrid" identity felt by some interviewees (Tartakovsky et al., 2017).

Migration entails dramatic changes in the social environment, the loss of social capital in the country where young people have been from the moment of birth, have had multiple and varied social ties, social status, certain protections, and guarantees. Such significant social changes can be compatible with a high level of self-development motivation and openness to values change since they are associated with the desire for novelty and changes in life, as well as the realization of the desire to independently determine their actions (Tartakovsky & Schwartz, 2001). If for some of the qandastar the return was dictated by the desire to return to their historical homeland to avoid the "dissolution of national identity" in the dominant foreign culture (Roth, 2020), then another part of the migrants moved to an economically more growing country, which contributed to the achievement of materialistic motivational goals expressed in values self-improvement (achieving high social

status and control over people and resources).

We see that the repatriates assessed their economic status rather positively than negatively, and they assessed the changes in their economic conditions over the past year well. At the same time, the interpersonal adaptation of the returnees was less successful: some migrants felt discriminated against and were less satisfied with their interpersonal relationships. According to the qandastar, there have been situations when society can perceive the qandastar as strangers and discriminate against them. However, it should be noted that, in general, returnees reported a relatively low level of perceived discrimination.

The level of material well-being at which, in their opinion, they are now, makes them strive for a higher one: "I am realized, there is room to grow and there are opportunities, the rest depends on me" (Respondent 7, 39 years old, woman), "Good, but it still needs to be improved" (Respondent 8, 36 years old, male). Also, all interlocutors have the advantage of living in a megalopolis or a large city, as opposed to the "hinterland" and rural areas. In a big city, there are much wider opportunities for employment and, therefore, protection against unemployment. All interviewees highly value the opportunity to have a job "I have a job. I like it. I am grateful" (Respondent 9, 35 years old, woman), "Many Kazakhs from China are engaged in business, but teaching is my spiritual choice. Thus, for me to be a businessman with a high income or a military man with a low salary (30 thousand tenge) is equally unattractive, in both cases, I am not in my place (Respondent 1, 38 years old, male). In addition to the presence of a developed chain of interpersonal relationships in our society, ethnocultural or national belonging to the so-called "titular nation" plays a significant role, which can also serve as a social resource (Yadov, 2001). On the other hand, in terms of cultural identity, the results obtained partly support Sussman's model (2010), which argues that the majority of returning migrants simultaneously belong to the country of emigration and the country of origin. Therefore, the analysis of the results obtained allows us to conclude that the qandastar are mostly more endogenous people, those who take responsibility for their actions on themselves, are more confident in the future, value education as a resource of competitiveness, besides, they are free from the burden of Soviet action patterns (Konstantinovsky, 2000), speak foreign languages, at least the language of the country where they came from. All these factors are an additional resource for employment and mobility.

Rising to a higher level of generalization, we observe today social interaction between the qandastar group and society, which can be defined by the concept of social capital. Its components are the advantages created by the position of the studied group, which we considered in our study, as well as by the result of the interaction of these two parties, that is trust. We mean the trust of repatriates to other social groups, social and political institutions, their confidence, and hope that society will fulfill its obligations, promises, etc. The adaptation process is impossible without mutual trust. From the point of view of the repatriates, responding to the call of Kazakhstan, the tribesmen came to the country, which is an act of great confidence in the government on their part, passed the established procedures, entered local universities, studied and worked for the development of the country, fulfilling their obligations to society. Kazakhstani society, in turn, with more or less success, is trying to fulfill its obligations to fellow tribesmen within the framework of educational grants programs, legal

registration of status, and resettlement. It would be an exaggeration to say that everything is going well. Nevertheless, the emergence of some barriers in the application and improvement of legislative norms and the policy of adapting qandastar, in general, does not reduce the degree of trust of repatriates in society, although it affects their emotional and psychological assessment of the environment around migration processes. Thus, the social capital of this group of qandastar, although it can undergo various kinds of changes, looks generally stable.

Perhaps the limitation of this study is the sample of qandastar, which was small; moreover, it was not accidental, since we interviewed only those who received higher education in Kazakhstani universities within the framework of the grant program for this group of repatriates. Participants were recruited from different geographic regions and different countries of origin. Thus, even though this sample is small and not random, it can be sufficiently representative for the studied issue.

Conclusion

Many countries are trying to attract their citizens living abroad to return, focusing on business and employment opportunities that currently exist in their home country. This policy can be successful given the predominantly materialistic motivation and self-development motivation of returning migrants. The social group of qandastar, which was the object of our study, was attracted to the greatest extent by the opportunity to get higher education in the universities of Kazakhstan, that is, to increase their social capital and social status. Answering the question of our research - to what extent the expectations of students-qandastar coincided with their real self-realization, we can state that a modern repatriate, student or graduate of a Kazakh university, is generally satisfied with the conditions of his/her life in Kazakhstan, more or less satisfied with his/her financial situation and career, open to change and self-improvement values. He/she perceives the existing negative aspects of the adaptation process in the host community with the hope of positive changes. The results obtained demonstrate that the repatriates, although they differ from the local population in their value preferences, group identification, and socio-psychological characteristics, are prone to quick adaptation as a condition of their growing into the Kazakh society and strengthening the status of a citizen of Kazakhstan.

Recommendations

In order not only to train but also to keep graduates in this country, to enable them to apply all the acquired skills, abilities, professional knowledge, satisfy their aspirations and make society richer and more prosperous, they must be provided with the conditions for further self-realization - employment opportunities, preferably in the specialty they received, as one of the most important components of life satisfaction, the provision of citizenship of Kazakhstan without long delays, a compulsory package of services, etc., that is, the state's obligations after the presentation of a higher education diploma do not end.

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