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Return migration issues in Kazakh-Chinese relations: Mobility and immobility in migration of Kazakh diaspora in China

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Abstract

In the paper the Kazakhstan migration research is carried out, its role in social and economic life of Republic is defined, main stages are established. Recommendations on improving Migration policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan are proposed. As a result of the research, it was revealed that the current Law on Migration of the Republic of Kazakhstan may not positively stimulate the process of resettlement of ethnic Kazakhs from China. It is recommended to work directly with Kazakh youth abroad in order to give a new impetus to the process of migration of the Kazakh diaspora to Kazakhstan

Keywords: Kazakhstan, China, return migration, Kazakh diaspora, oralman.

Regreso a los temas de migración en las relaciones Kazakh-Chinas: Movilidad e inmovilidad en la migración de la diáspora de Kazaj en China

Resumen

En el documento se realiza la investigación de la migración de Kazajstán, se define su papel en la vida social y económica de la República, se establecen las etapas principales. Se proponen recomendaciones para mejorar la política migratoria de la República de Kazajstán. Como resultado de la investigación, se reveló que la actual Ley de Migración de la República de Kazajstán puede no estimular positivamente el proceso de reasentamiento de los kazajos étnicos de China. Se recomienda trabajar directamente con los jóvenes kazajos en el extranjero para dar un nuevo impulso al proceso de migración de la diáspora kazaja a Kazajstán.

Palabras clave: Kazajstán, China, migración de retorno, diáspora kazaja, oralman.

INTRODUCTION

Since the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the issue of migration has been one of the priorities of the country's internal and external policy. In the first years of independence, migration flows were chaotic and spontaneous, but in recent years this issue has been slightly adjusted. Management institutions have been established and legislative frameworks have been improved. Also, special programs are developed and mechanisms for monitoring the migration flow are launched. Taking into account the fact that unregulated migration is a dangerous

phenomenon for national security, the Government of Kazakhstan pays a special attention to migration issues. It should be noted that the migration problems of Kazakhstan in the 1990s were significantly different from the problems of migration in other parts of the world. While economic and political factors were the main causes of migration flows in other parts of the world (Griffith, 1997, Wilson, 1997, Basch, et al., 2005), the main reason for Kazakhstani migration in the early years of independence was returning to the historical homeland. This is the main reason for not only the return of the Kazakh diaspora from abroad *to* Kazakhstan, but also the reason for the emigration of the population *from* Kazakhstan (Amrekulov and Masanov, 1994, Masanov, 2002, Sadovskaya, 2007). It is clear that the Soviet Union, which had existed for more than seventy years, was a country that had destroyed the fate of many people (Pak, 1976, Kendirbaeva, 1997). It did not only play with the fate of his compatriots, but also directly participated in the lives of citizens of the socialist camp (Pohl, 2012, Genina, 2015).

The collapse of the USSR in 1991 was the main reason for the massive nature of migration processes in the post-Soviet space. People, who at a certain period of history went abroad because of political, military and economic circumstances, and those who forcibly and voluntarily moved to Kazakhstan, began to return to their historical homeland. It is clear that the migration of Germans, Russians, and Ukrainians to their historical homeland from the country was accompanied by a sharp decline in the population of Kazakhstan in 1991-1994. The policy of resettlement of ethnic Kazakhs from abroad, enacted after independence, could not immediately compensate for the number of emigrants who left Kazakhstan. Despite the fact that the policy of

returning ethnic Kazakhs from abroad is still ongoing, over the course of time, Kazakhstani migration flows began to acquire an economic character. Today's migration situation in Kazakhstan is a part of global migration processes. Today in Kazakhstan, as in other CIS countries, all types of migration processes can be observed. In particular, those are international and internal migration, permanent and temporary migration, legal and illegal migration, voluntary and forced migration, as well as labor, trade and business migration (Sadovskaya, 2008). Unfortunately, the migration of ethnic Kazakhs from abroad to their historical homeland, which was originally of a national-emotional nature, gradually began to acquire an economic background (Sadovskaya, 2009). This article examines the impact of the migration of Chinese ethnic Kazakhs, the largest Kazakh diaspora in the world, on the migration situation in Kazakhstan and their decision-making process whether to return to their historical homeland.

2. METHODOLOGY

The article discusses the migration policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan since independence. Apart from Kazakhstan's research on migration, even the scientific works of Russian scientists are not in demand in the world academic environment. It can be argued that none of the scientists from the post-Soviet countries was included in the list of 100 most cited works in the field of migration research. However, one cannot claim that the study of migration processes was not undertaken in the Soviet science at all. Research in the field of migration in the Soviet Union was mainly carried out in the context of the historical and

demographic research. At the same time, these studies had an ideological character typical for the Soviet Union. Voluntary and forced (imposed) migration of peoples was seen as an occurrence in the implementation of the Union's general political, economic and military initiatives (Chebotarev, 2002). Using socialist ideology as a weapon, the USSR considered migration movements not as a separate object for research, but as a natural movement for the sake of building communism, but also making studies of migration processes to lag behind, although it has, in many ways, a great significance for social studies. Therefore, the theoretical basis of research in the field of migration is taken from the work of European and American scientists.

Theoretical bases of research in the field of migration were originally founded in the US. Later, American sociologists first developed a classical model of empirical sociology, showing the relationship between people and society, using the method of studying personal documents of citizens. The work of Pak (1976), who developed the theory of urban ecology based on the concept of human ecology, has not lost its relevance to the present day. Modern studies of international migration are developing in the West as an interdisciplinary direction at the intersection of economic and political sciences, sociology, demography, geography, anthropology, international relations, etc. incorporating different approaches, theories and concepts. Analysis of theories shows that they are not contradicting, but complementary, that is, mutually reinforcing each other in understanding migration processes (Douglas, et al., 2009). The process of globalization has strengthened the ethno-cultural factors in the migration processes and led to the transnationalization of migrations. The theory of transnational migration introduced the notion of

'transnationalism'(Schiller, et al., 1995). Transnationalism is defined as the process of creating cross-border social spaces that cross geographical and political boundaries, in which migrants develop and support many family, economic, organizational, religious, political emotional ties. The first Kazakhstani studies in the field of migration, at the time of the Soviet Union, were conducted from the point of view of industrial power, and later studied on the basis of demographic, ethnic and anti-war processes. Historian-ethnologist N. Masanov in his work analyzes the history of natural migrations and organized replacements in the country in a complex relationship with natural and climatic, household-economic, political, ethno-cultural, socio-psychological conditions and factors(Masanov, 2002). In the 1990s, after the collapse of the USSR, in Kazakhstan the field of migration was mainly focused on ethno-demographic and ethno-political studies, while since 2000, due to the improved economic conditions and increased labor migration, the first applied research has begun. Meanwhile, the migration of ethnic Kazakhs from abroad to Kazakhstan in the first years of independence was mainly studied from statistics view and had a descriptive character. In Kazakhstan, studies in the field of migration rarely attempt to scientifically theorize the migration processes of ethnic Kazakhs from abroad to Kazakhstan. In spite of the fact that the analysis of individual situations is being conducted, special attention is not paid to the decision-making process of ethnic Kazakhs to enter migration flows. They do not take into account the fact that it is very difficult for the Kazakh diaspora in China and Mongolia to take a decision to move to another country, since it is an autochthonous ethnic group. The study of migration processes of the Kazakh diaspora from this view by American scientists such as Diener A, Cynthia Werner and Holly R. Barkus, should inspire academic circles in Kazakhstan as

well (Chebotarev, 2002). In the light of investigation problem, this type of qualitative study aimed to explore the student experience of ethnic Kazakh returnees from China, both the language aspect and social integration. The proceeding research questions were formulated which built on the research purpose to discover the phenomenon of being ethnic Kazakh returnee students:

1. What were reasons for migration and language background of ethnic Kazakh returnee students from China?
2. How do ethnic Kazakh returnee students from China describe a people experience in Kazakh-medium higher education?
3. How do ethnic Kazakh returnee peoples from China identify themselves and how do they see their social integration now and in the future?

3. RESULTS

The efforts of governments to influence cultural influence in some historical periods differed from that of foreign relations, including regulations, treaties, sanctions, treaties, and military issues, when the Chinese preemptiveism was accompanied by a military campaign to other countries, but by the time this kind of superiority was lost. And thus their organized cultural endeavor began. It has been a quarter century since the Republic of Kazakhstan gained its independence. During this time, the issue of migration in the country's domestic and foreign policy did not recede for a single moment. In the first years of independence, Kazakhstan

pursued a policy of resettlement of ethnic Kazakhs to their homeland at the state level, but could not resist the process of emigration from Kazakhstan. The collapse of the Soviet Union started an active migration of peoples, who for various reasons had been moved to the territory of Kazakhstan. The flow of emigrants began not in the first years of independence as one could think, but a little earlier. In 1989, the number of emigrants who moved from Kazakhstan accounted for more than 300 thousand people. Evidencing the number of emigrated people from Kazakhstan two or three years before the collapse of the USSR, it is not hard to notice that the Red Empire has taken the path to disintegration. Taking into account the fact that the Russian people were the core of the Kazakh emigration, it is difficult to consider that in 1988-1991 they moved to Russia in pursuit of a better life. In the last years of the existence of the USSR, the socio-economic situation in all parts of the Union was quite the same. The unrest and clashes of a national nature that arose in the late 1980s in many regions of the USSR served as the main factor for the 'core nation' to reconsider its future with the union republics. Since independence, the number of Russian emigrants increased even more. The number of Russians who moved from Kazakhstan in 1991-1997 made up 1.2 million. Along with Slavs, ethnic Germans and representatives of other nationalities who were deported to Kazakhstan during the years of the Soviet Union emigrated from the country. According to official figures from 1991 to 2015, 3.538 million people emigrated from Kazakhstan. As a result, the number of the population of Kazakhstan in the 1990s decreased by 18%. In order to compensate for these losses, since 1991 Kazakhstan has been pursuing a policy aimed at the return of ethnic Kazakhs who, for historical reasons, left or remained outside the border of Kazakhstan. According to the Committee of

Statistics of the Ministry of National Economy, from 1991 to January 1, 2016 261,104 families moved to Kazakhstan, that is, 957,772 ethnic Kazakhs acquired citizenship of Kazakhstan and accounted for 5.5% of the total population. To be more precise, 61.1% of oralmsans moved from Uzbekistan, 14.2% from China, 9.2% from Mongolia, 6.8% from Turkmenistan, 4.6% from the Russian Federation and 3.6% from other countries (Bonnenfant, 2012).

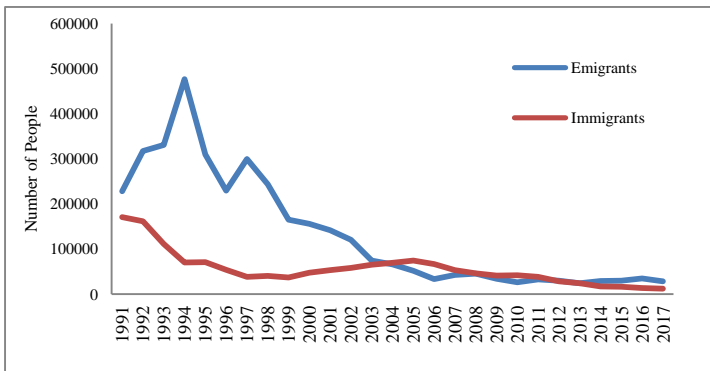


Fig.1. External migration of people of the Republic of Kazakhstan 1991-2017 (people)

Based on the data in Figure 1, it can be seen that the migration balance is not in favor of Kazakhstan. Unfortunately, the number of oralmsans was high only in the first years of independence. One can note that the main reason for the large flow of oralmsans in the early 90s was yearning for the historical homeland, which served as a ‘pull factor’ for moving to the ancestral land (Dave, 2004). Despite the fact that the economic situation in the country during these years was difficult, it was easier for the government of Kazakhstan to accept the first stream of

oralmans, since the houses and jobs of citizens emigrated to Russia and Germany were vacated. As all properties were owned by the state during the Soviet era, in the first years of independence the exact value of real estate was not determined in the Kazakhstan market. In addition, the relocation of Russians and Germans increased the supply in the real estate market. In turn, oralmans filled in the jobs and occupied empty houses in rural areas, which contributed to the preservation of infrastructure and prevented the economic depression of villages.

In recent studies on the migration of the Kazakh diaspora to Kazakhstan, researchers are more likely to note not only the ideological nature of migration of oralmans, but more economic causes. In other words, one can note that the migration of the Kazakh diaspora is becoming a part of the global migration processes, which are often of an economic nature. As an example, the number of oralmans from China is provided below.

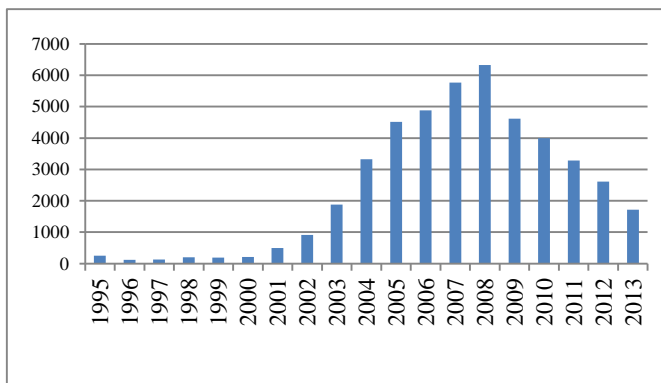


Fig.2. Number of oralmans from China to Kazakhstan 1995-2013 (people)

As shown in Figure 2, the number of oralmans from China in the first years of independence was insignificant, increasing during the years of the country's economic growth and again falling in the last years of the economic crisis. Considering this, it can be noted that the current migration of oralmans differs from the 90s. The migration of Chinese Kazakhs to Kazakhstan, which began with the independence, can be divided into three periods. In the first period, 1991-2000, the pull factor was the main reason for the Kazakh diaspora from China to take decision to move to Kazakhstan. In those years, the economic situation in China was much better than in Kazakhstan, despite this, some Kazakhs decided to return to ancestral 'homeland'. The Law on Migration of the Republic of Kazakhstan, adopted in 1997, reduced the amount of assistance provided to oralmans. These changes in the law served to reduce the migration of Kazakhs from Mongolia to Kazakhstan (UNDP 2006), but did not affect the migration of Kazakhs from China (Figure 2). For qualitative analysis in the city of Astana, interviews were conducted with Kazakhs who moved to Kazakhstan between 1992 and 2001. 75 people who took part in the interview noted that the reason for them to move to Kazakhstan was returning to their historical homeland.

The second period is 2001-2008. In these years, the economic situation of the Republic of Kazakhstan has improved with the growth of oil prices in the world market. During this period, trade and economic relations increased between Kazakhstan and China. The average growth of bilateral trade from 2000 to 2009 amounted to 36.1%. The development of trade and 'shop-tourism' between China and Kazakhstan reassured the migration of Kazakhs in China. It can be noted that the Kazakh diaspora in China tried to use this opportunity in every possible way. While in the

period from 1995 to 2002 the number of Kazakhs who moved from China to Kazakhstan accounted for only 4293, in 2005 the number reached 13,909 people. Despite the fact that the number of allocated quotas by the Government of Kazakhstan was limited, the number of Kazakhs who moved from China to Kazakhstan increased every year. If before January 1, 2007 the number of Kazakhs who moved from China to Kazakhstan was 37 788 people, then on January 1, 2008 their number reached 54 327 people. A well-known scientist E.Y. Sadovskaya notes that despite the small number of allocated quotas, Chinese Kazakhs move to Kazakhstan hoping for help from relatives and friends among oralmans from China. This opinion is supported by another well-known Kazakh sinologist Kearney, according to whom, "... there is a clear tendency to restore not only relative, but also tribal links of Chinese and our Kazakhs" (Kearney, 1995). The view that the Kazakhs relocated from China rely mainly on the help of relatives and friends in Kazakhstan has been confirmed by numerous surveys. But then the question arises, at what time they had relatives in Kazakhstan. Most of the Kazakhs living in the XUAR are autochthonous people. As a result of the agreements on the division of borders between Tsarist Russia and the Qin Empire, many Kazakhs remained in China and received Chinese citizenship. So the transfer of Kazakhs to the XUAR from Kazakhstan occurred due to political, military and economic situations in two stages: in 1916 and in the period 1930-1934. However, 300 thousand Kazakhs who moved to XUAR in 1916 were later returned to Kazakhstan in the autumn of 1918. Most of the Kazakhs who left for China during collectivization and during the "Asharshylyq" years, unable to withstand pressure from the Chinese authorities through Tibet, Afghanistan and Iran reached Turkey and formed the Kazakh diaspora in European countries. Also in 1962, when

the border between the USSR and the PRC was opened for two weeks, many Kazakhs returned to Kazakhstan. Taking into account that in the period from 1991 to 2002 the number of Kazakhs who moved from China was not numerous, again the question arises where the relatives came from, which served as a support for the numerous oralmans who returned from China in 2005-2010.

Based on the results of the interview conducted among the oralmans in the settlements Karaotkel, Koyandy, Talapker, which are located near the city of Astana, where a large number of Kazakhs from abroad are concentrated, it can be claimed that the migration of Chinese Kazakhs to Kazakhstan in 2001-2008 was “short-term- continuous”. Prior to this, Kazakhs from other countries tried to move along with ‘large families’ (*áulet - relatives of one great-grandfather*), while in the period 2001-2008, this process can be described as “short-term- continuous”. This means that it was young families and bachelors who first moved to Kazakhstan, and then, after several years, having improved their economic situation, they transported their parents and relatives. The main reason for improving the material and economic well-being of young Chinese Kazakhs in such a short time is the benevolent migration policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in relation to oralmans (having no citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan, only with a residence permit, they were allowed to purchase houses, to obtain land for the construction of houses, to engage in cattle-breeding, agriculture, individual entrepreneurship etc.). At the same time, the intensive growth of the economy of Kazakhstan contributed to the increase in trade between China and Kazakhstan, which also became the reason for improving the well-being of oralmans from China. Oralmans, who opened their business in Kazakhstan, having made

their relatives in China to be partners for their business, created a kind of business model. Even now oralmans using this business model are quite common in the country. Also, during the interview it was revealed that many of the oralmans, in order to start their business, brought their original capital along with them. In the years of economic improvement in Kazakhstan, the relocation of numerous oralmans from China may seem to be part of the global labor migration, but there is no evidence that oralmans who moved to Kazakhstan ever transferred remittances to relatives in China. This means that oralmans closely link their future with Kazakhstan. In the third period, which began in 2009, the migration of the Kazakh diaspora directly correlates with the economic situation of China and Kazakhstan.

Table 1. GDP per capita of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China. (Compiled according to the World Bank data)

	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Kazakhstan	1 230	3753	9 005	11 553	12 300	13 789	12 712	10 435	7 456	8 585
China	959	1 766	4 524	5 583	6 329	7 081	7 702	8 167	8 123	8 583

In 2010, Kazakhstan's GDP per capita was twice as large as in China's, while in 2017 they equaled. However, taking into account that since 2014 China has been the first economy in the world by PPP GDP, Kazakhstan's economy is no longer attractive for Kazakhs in China. This situation is considered as a negative factor for the Kazakhs from China to take a decision to move to Kazakhstan. It can be noted that the age of Kazakhs moving from China is getting younger. The younger generation of Kazakhs from China, who was born after the 1990s, notes that the main reason for their move to Kazakhstan is the opinion of their parents. The

policy of the Chinese government to modernize the western regions of China negatively affects the national identity of Chinese Kazakhs. According to sinologist Kalamkas Yesimova, currently 90% of Kazakh children living in Xinjiang are studying in bilingual schools (Pohl, 2012). According to the results of a survey conducted by the candidate of sociological sciences, director of the 'Public Opinion' Research Institute, Rakisheva, and 94% of the respondents noted that they worry about the future of their native language (Rakisheva and Abibulayeva, 2016). Parents, who are worried that their children will forget their mother tongue and finally assimilate with the Chinese, try to send their children to study in universities in Kazakhstan after graduating from high school. Students who study at the L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University in Astana say during the interview that despite ignorance of the Russian language and poor knowledge of the Kazakh language, and that some of their parents still live in China, connect their future with Kazakhstan anyway. In recent years, studies on the migration processes between Kazakhstan and China, statistics on the number of Kazakhs who have moved from China often encounter inconsistencies. A well-known researcher on migration issues Y. Sadovskaya writes that in 2013 about 1700 people moved from China to Kazakhstan, while in 2014 it was 500 people (Sadovskaya, 2009). At the same time, sinologist S. Kozhireva gives the following data: in 2013 6 160 people moved from China to Kazakhstan, in 2014 it was 2 324 people, and in 2015 it accounted for 320 people (Dave, 2007). According to the Committee of Statistics of the Ministry of National Economy of the RK, the number of Kazakhs who came from abroad, aside from the CIS countries, was 2 582 in 2013, 1154 people in 2014, 1 724 people in 2015, and 2 518 people in 2016 (Taldau). Given that aside from the CIS countries, the largest Kazakh Diasporas live

in Mongolia and China, one can notice that the data in studies on oralmans from China does not correspond. That is, there is a clear need for a qualitative analysis of migratory processes of oralmans in recent years.

4. DISCUSSION

Experts often criticize the Kazakhstan' Law on Migration, arguing that it is discriminatory. They note that financial support along with multiple benefits is provided to oralmans, which, in turn, legislates discriminating norms not only against other foreign citizens staying in Kazakhstan, but also the citizens of Kazakhstan, including its indigenous population - Kazakhs (DAVE, 2007). But as can be seen from Figure 2, even such measures of the RK Government are not sufficient to induce Kazakhs from abroad to move to Kazakhstan. Another negative factor for the Kazakhs' move to Kazakhstan, and in some cases returning them back to China, is the high cost and rising prices for real estate due to rising oil prices on the world market. State aid is often not sufficient to start a new life in a new place, for this reason, many ethnic Kazakhs abroad are hesitant to abandon their usual way of life. In addition, many oralmans, using the privileges provided by the Law on Migration of the RK, are reluctant to obtain the citizenship of Kazakhstan. This can be seen from the data provided by the Office of the Migration Police under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan. 17.7 thousand Oralmans who moved from China to Kazakhstan before October 1, 2014, having a residence permit, retained the citizenship of the PRC. In order to streamline this situation, the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan

should review the procedure for obtaining a residence permit and citizenship.

It should be noted that oralmans from China take a special place in the issues of the country's migration. The Kazakh diaspora in China is not only the largest in the world, but also lives on the territory of the state, which is the second economy of the world and a strategic partner of Kazakhstan. The Kazakhs who live in China know the language and mentality of this country, received Chinese education, being able to determine the economic potential of the state, and mastering the knowledge and skills to conduct independent business. Moving in a large number, ethnic Kazakhs from China to Kazakhstan not only helps to increase the population of Kazakhstan, but also will have a positive impact on deepening Kazakh-Chinese relations. Some experts see ethnic Kazakhs as a threat to the social, even national security of Kazakhstan. A well-known Kazakh sinologist K. Syroezhkin asserts that among the immigrants from China there may be 'unstable elements' and even 'recruited' ones who will form the 'fifth column' in the republic, as a result of which provocations and conflicts can be inevitable (AM, et al., 1970). However, it should be noted that this statement cannot be true. First, China is a country for whom instability in Kazakhstan is not beneficial. China has long struggled with Uyghur separatism and religious extremism in the west of the country. If an unstable situation arises in the bordering region of Kazakhstan, security issues in the west of the country will become even more acute. Therefore, it is difficult to say that China is interested in Kazakhstan becoming an unstable state. Second, close trade and economic relations between Kazakhstan and China have been established. If we take into account that according to the global Xi Jinping

project 'One belt, one road' the main roads will pass through the territory of Kazakhstan, China is more interested in the stability of our country. Thirdly, it is difficult to believe that among the immigrants from China there may be 'unstable elements' that will form the 'fifth column' in the republic. During the years of independence about 140 thousand oralmans moved from China, but they are not concentrated in one place, they are located all over Kazakhstan, which means they do not have sufficient capacity to destabilize the situation in the country. For 27 years there have been no data that oralmans from China participated in destructive measures. Taking into account that most immigrants from China are engaged in trade, it can be noted that their everyday life is directly connected with China. And many of their relatives still live in China. Therefore, it would be wrong to consider oralmans from China as a threat to the country's national security.

At the present, the level of sinophobia in the country is very high. The Kazakhs have a concept, "When the end of the world comes, the Chinese will overflow the whole world" (Akyrzamanbolgandakarakytaikaptaidy). It is no secret that we view every Chinese as a security threat. It is for this reason that we see a threat from the oralmans who migrated from China.

5. CONCLUSION

Relations between China and Kazakhstan have been good for more than two decades now and they enjoy excellent economic relations. Recently, still, security concerns have crept into the relationship between

the two countries. It is clear that under the conditions of globalization, Kazakhstan cannot develop outside the world migration processes. Labor migration associated with the economic situation will remain the main issue of domestic and foreign policy of the country in the future. At the same time, Kazakhstan is intending to continue the policy of resettlement of the Kazakh diaspora living in other countries. It considers the differences in Kazakhstani migration from the world migration processes and the impact of ethnic Kazakh resettlement on the migration situation in the country. It also gives a detailed analysis of the process of resettlement of Kazakh's largest diaspora in the world living in China to Kazakhstan. The migration of Chinese ethnic Kazakhs in its dynamics of development was divided into three periods. The decision-making process on the migration of Kazakhs from China was described in detail using the result of interviews with oralmen. The issues of mobility and immobility in the process of migration of the Kazakh diaspora in China were considered as well as describing how this affected the decision to move, and that the Kazakh diaspora in China is an autochthonous people.

As we can see from the study, the migration of Kazakhs from abroad to Kazakhstan had different nature in different periods of time. During the 27 years of independence, more than 1 million ethnic Kazakhs moved to Kazakhstan, which contributed to a significant increase in the population of the country. However, despite the fact that the Kazakh diaspora living in China is the largest in the world, it accounted for only 15% of all oralmen who moved to Kazakhstan during the years of independence. The main reason for reluctance of Chinese Kazakhs to move to Kazakhstan is that they are an autochthonous people. It is this position that adversely affects the decision of Chinese Kazakhs to move to

Kazakhstan. It was also revealed that the migration of Kazakhs from China is determined economically. The decline in economic growth in Kazakhstan in recent years and the steady growth of the Chinese economy have reduced the attractiveness of Kazakhstan for ethnic Kazakhs from China, which means that the migration of Kazakhs from China will be even more diminishing in the future. Studies of recent years show that Kazakhs in China are very worried about the preservation of their native language and national identity. This is a push factor for the resettlement of Chinese Kazakhs to Kazakhstan in recent years. The older generation, worried about the preservation of their national identity, associates its future with Kazakhstan, the confirmation of which we can see from the desire of Kazakh youth from China to study in universities of Kazakhstan. Considering that one of the priorities of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan is the development of relations with ethnic Kazakhs abroad, the government faces the task of more actively pursuing a policy of attracting ethnic Kazakhs from abroad to Kazakhstan. As it was revealed from the study, the benefits granted to oralmans according to the current Law on Migration of the Republic of Kazakhstan regulating the migration processes of the country, did not manage to sufficiently stimulate the migration of Kazakhs from China to Kazakhstan. Also, the economy of Kazakhstan is no longer attractive to Kazakhs abroad. In the future, in order to give a new impetus to Kazakh migration, the government will need to work directly with Kazakh youth abroad. For this, it is necessary to increase the social and economic attractiveness of Kazakhstan. Then the Kazakh youth will be willing to start their adult life in Kazakhstan, which will give a new impetus to the development of the migration of Kazakhs.

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