

УДК 316

Importing a mahalla model to ethnic repatriates in Southern Kazakhstan: the case of Asar settlement (pros and cons)

Kassymova Didar

Candidate of historical sciences, assistant professor, KIMEP University. Kazakhstan 050010, Almaty, 2, Abai Ave., office 115. E-mail: didarkas@yahoo.com, didar@kimep.kz.

Abstract. The article deals with the policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in relation to returnees. The author interprets the challenge of immigrants' integrating in the Kazakh community and the accompanying changes of this community. The author's attention is given to integration problems of immigrants from Uzbekistan in the Kazakh community. Ethnic Kazakhs accustomed to Uzbek reality, to the way of life in the frames of traditional Uzbek Institute – Mahalla, have developed specific distribution of social roles within the family and the community as a whole, as well as special forms of social control, cultural habits, etc. The author of this article carries out the analysis of the returnees' adaptation on the example of the South-Kazakhstan village of Asar.

Key words: ethnic repatriation; adaptation; social capital; oralman; Asar; civic identity

Big inflow of Kazakh Diaspora has become a considerable factor of changes in economic and social-cultural spheres in the country. In the light of the rising problems, the recipient state and society have to work out a deliberate strategy of the repatriation and integration processes management. That means, first of all, the central role of state in the mutual adaptation of recipient society and the migrants. But the ongoing strategies and practices of migrants also play serious role. They to great extent depend on the cultural context of the countries they came from. Ethnic Kazakhs (about 5mln. as of the World Association of Kazakhs data) living in neighboring and distant states have been encouraged to repatriate to historical homeland. Ethnic repatriates by 2016 make up about 10% of population. Since 1991 till January 1, 2016 to the Republic of Kazakhstan returned and received the status of oralman 261 thousand 104 families or 957 thousand 772 ethnic Kazakh, it is 5,5% of total number of population of the country.

The repatriation policy was developed to meet three interconnected trends: 1) population control (challenges of ethnic depopulation), and distribution of repatriates along the country to meet demographic-economic challenges; 2) economic revival-compensate shortage of man power in economically active zones; 3) global migration trends - population growth by ethnic component accentuation. That fell into multiplicity of objectives: 1) demographic misbalance – fill the population gap; 2) regional disproportions – northern rural areas; 3) state and nation building policies; 4) correction of historical injustice; 5) realization of state strategic plans – agricultural development and breakthrough geoeconomic projects – search of labor force. Ethnic repatriation in Kazakhstan since it was launched has been a **state policy**, aimed to support **state-nation building project**, creation a **civic nation with strong ethnic core** – Kazakh history, Kazakh culture, Kazakh language. The **designed/imagined** (to be constructed) identity formation for all people living in the country is **Kazakhstani** with geopolitical framing could be Eurasian based on historical and civilizational grounds. The state objectives/interests as desirable outcome are envisioned as: 1) maintenance of inter-ethnic stability; 2) creation of conditions for gradual harmonious integration of repatriates into the Kazakhstani community; 3) contribution to statistical increase of ethnic Kazakhs.

The evolution of state approach to ethnic repatriation goes under the influence of domestic imperatives and external constraints, and fall into several subperiods:

– **1991-1997** – the state **strongly emphasized ethnic motivation** – the **right to return to historical homeland based on blood, soil and soul principle** administrative support.

– **1997-2008** – when the state made a **shift towards social and economic aspects, and ethnic repatriation became a component of migration policy** and oralmans were supposed to be incorporated into three stream process: 1) under the state general support and local administrative arrangements in sites of residence, the group/individual initiatives backed on the bottom level. The main document for the repatriates accommodation were «**The Law on Migration Policy of 1997**» and state program «**Strategy 2030**».

For the period of 2008-2015 was adopted a geoeconomic approach and implemented the «**Nurly Kosh**» program (2008-2011), backed by strategic plans realization «**Strategy of territorial development**» (2011) in line with the new version of the **Law on Migration** (2011), to meet ambitious perspective put forward in the «**Strategy 2050**» (2012).

Since 2015 – state discharges itself from integration policy, and repatriates are to cope on their own problems. The state has **changed approach to ethnic repatriation** so that oralmans are seen now as building bricks to fulfill strategic plans of prosperous Kazakhstan formation.

The outcomes of ethnic repatriation are designed to serve state – nation building long-term objectives, outlined in the strategies of the Kazakhstani government. Although at the bottom level the interests and set of alternative outcomes of the parties diverge, the integration objective is the most essential motivation. Thus, the parties in the post-repatriation processes differ at levels and dimensions. Internally, the parties in the integration field are:

- 1) state/regime and its institutions;
- 2) recipient community;
- 3) incoming repatriates (vary by countries).

The tempo of the ethnic repatriation program launched by the government of Kazakhstan since 1990s proved to be uneven and uneasy and it has been postponed to uncertain time (from summer 2012). Migration waves are growing mostly from Uzbekistan due to the political regime and policies towards ethnic minorities. The migration trends from Uzbekistan also would increase because of the geopolitical situation in the region – bilateral relations between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, border problems. Economic situation in Uzbekistan is critical – lack of economic progress due to the nature and progress of economic reforms, population pressure, land shortage, strict administrative control over natural resources access, etc.

Although the economic situation in Kazakhstan looks better than in Uzbekistan but the population growth in South Kazakhstan where most of repatriates from Uzbekistan reside seriously affects the social and economic situation there. It might complicate the adaptation and integration processes of repatriates. The social costs of ethnic repatriation are high both for the society and the repatriates. Kazakhs living abroad with different religious and civic cultures adopted many of them, or on the contrary conserved many traditional life organization techniques that characterize them ethnically but proved to be outdated for modern day Kazakhstan.

The post-repatriation process of integration of oralmans to great extent depends on forms of communication between the state institutions, host community and repatriates. Regional differences are revealed in forms of spatial organization to differentiate between old and new population, social-economic life organization and forms of interaction between two communities – old and the new.

The negative scenario of poor understanding and improper management of the post-repatriation processes for the Kazakhstani society is creation of new inner-ethnic social groups out of the repatriates from different countries, they might grow more isolated and alienated from the rest of the society that would challenge the prospects of one nation building for the leadership.

The repatriates have to establish new contacts that turn into a psychological, social and cultural ordeal for both parties – repatriates and local residents. The repatriates lived for a long time in isolation from the Kazakhstani realities, although Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan used to be part of the same soviet state complex, the cultural differences were enormous. Since 1991 the differences in transit period and models of state-nation building grew more that influenced the ethnic groups perspectives in both countries. Local patrimonial networks left intact have been strong in Uzbekistan and serve the basis for the state-nation building and key marker of Uzbek identity. The faces of social realities in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are contrasting. History of Kazakhs' life in Uzbekistan must be closely viewed from the lenses of how they managed to keep the traditions and customs and what they borrowed from the Uzbeks for the sake of easy and smooth collaboration for survival or pragmatic purposes. Challenges to the Kazakhs from Uzbekistan also may come from the fact that they lived accustomed to other model of social life within mahallas, and developed different family code with gender roles and in the family and in public – women status, cultural habits, life strategies and forms of social control.

The only positive model of adaptation and integration is **Asar** settlement (microdistrict in Shymkent city, South Kazakhstan). Ethnic repatriates from Uzbekistan (living in Asar) with the hopes for the best future brought a rich expertise of life cycles' social-cultural organization framed in traditional Central Asian mahalla¹ system in **Ak Ordasy** corporation interpretation. All stages of repatriation and integration of the Asar inhabitants are controlled via the embedded hierarchically structured traditional and «invented» institutions and established norms of proper conduct. The deviations from the fundamentals for the centrally managed community-based life are differently interpreted by the common folk and the administration as freedom of choice, common good or betrayal of the ancestors' dream. Conflicts of interests, individual and corporate managed collective modes of social conduct through intrusion of the bigger Kazakhstani community are interpreted in the paper as a social-cultural transit into new identity generally shaped by the external environment but filled with the individual content. Comparison of accepted norms and deviations at four levels (repatriates and their communities, corporation management and the recipient Kazakhstani community) would help to develop an integration minimizing risks model.

Assessment of the traditional social structures' employment can contribute to civic society and identity building in modern day Kazakhstan². The social-economic and cultural realities of South Kazakhstan posit a great challenge to the smooth realization of the corporation's plan to integrate Asar people into Kazakhstani society. The case of Asar administration is interesting as it interlinks three structures – grass root traditional mahalla and its top management body – council of elders and central authority – Ak-Ordasy Corporation. The adaptation and integration model of ethnic repatriates from Uzbekistan settled in Asar³ microdistrict under Shymkent city

¹ «Mahalla» from Arabic- camp, system of social-economic life organization of people living in one place.

² The empirical data collected in March- July 2012 during visits to Shymkent city in South Kazakhstan and its suburbs, obtained through open and semi-structured interviews.

³ «Asar» in Kazakh language means «altogether» or community aid to one family. As of 2012 the population of Asar microdistrict is about 20,000.

in South Kazakhstan under patronage of the Ak-Ordasy Corporation is assessed in the article as model of adaptation and integration into the Kazakhstani society.⁴ The first part of the paper provides the brief introduction into history of Asar settlement formation in Shymkent suburbs, structural hierarchy in Asar and the role of Ak-Ordasy⁵ corporation. The second part shows life organization in the – discursive and symbolic imaginary. The third part summarizes pros and cons of the mahalla model for the integration and adaptation for ethnic repatriates in Kazakhstan.

The waves of ethnic repatriation in Kazakhstan since 1991 to great extent generated by the political leadership differ in time and countries of origin specifics. Being Kazakhs by appearance and model of conduct, repatriates nevertheless bear special forms of social-cultural adaptation to the recipient society generated by the rich experience of co-existence in alien cultural environment. Ethnic repatriates from Uzbekistan come from the nationalizing state identity building where the regime strictly controls all aspects of formation and endorsement of the ethnic identity. Kazakhs, as ethnic minority passing through the *identity sieve loyalty* developed the need to co-relate their identity with the strong/weak policy of the state/regime.

Asar settlement creation history. Asar inhabitants are from three oblasts of Uzbekistan – Tashkent, Jizak and Sur-Dariya, whose ancestors from the times immemorial used to live on those lands and became part of the Uzbekistan society as result of the soviet administrative reforms of 1920s and international legal agreements between two states – Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan – reached after 1991. (Koblandin, Mendikulova 2009). Asar can be viewed as a poly-functional cluster composed of the forms of social-economic units to handle various aspects of its inhabitants life (mahalla committees and informal associations of neighborhoods and friends – gaps) in Kazakh version, promotion of business and political interests of Ak-Ordasy corporation, and accomplishment of the historical mission of the leaders of Kazakh diaspora in Uzbekistan to settle repatriates in the ancestral homeland delegated to the Kalybekov family, and realization of the Kazakhstan's leadership ethnic repatriation policy. Kazakh repatriation from Uzbekistan is a lengthy complex multifaceted phenomena covering several key actors within that process: 1) states – recipient Republic of Kazakhstan and country of origin – Republic of Uzbekistan; 2) Kazakh diaspora in Uzbekistan and its leadership at different levels (central, regional and local); 3) ethnic repatriates and the patronizing organizations (if any).

The Kazakh diaspora leadership in Uzbekistan traced pros and cons on the way of the repatriation and worked out a strategy of sending a vanguard group to create favorable conditions for integration and adaptation. Competition for the economic resources in South Kazakhstan, especially in the densely populated Shymkent area – the city and its suburbs and hierarchically structured system of relations between its people along mostly clan and family relations forced the leadership of the Kazakh diaspora in Uzbekistan to seek the ways and mechanisms of exodus from Uzbekistan to the ancestral homeland. In 2004 after series of consultations with the seniors (about 2000 men) the Kazakh diaspora leadership set up a group that delegated the mission to start preparatory works for integration in South Kazakhstan to the Kalybekovs (four brothers). Their relatives play important role in Uzbekistan since soviet times, and after 1991 Kalybekovs became successful businessmen in Kazakhstan. In South Kazakhstan they set up Ak-Ordasy Corporation that has a wide range of business interests.

⁴ Integration in the article means the political objective aimed to create designed social order with high level of social coherence for all social groups sharing common values.

⁵ «Ak Orda» in Kazakh means «White Horde», historical name of one of the semi-independent political segments of disintegrated Golden Horde on the territory of modern day Kazakhstan.

The Shymkent city was selected for permanent settlement of repatriates due to: 1) proximity to Uzbekistan; 2) favorable climate and potential for agriculture development; 3) close life ways with the Kazakhs from Uzbekistan – language, mental and cultural practices; 4) educational, social and business opportunities.

The repatriation under Kalybekovs included several stages: 1) planning to fulfill the assigned the mandate to arrange the migration and settlement; 2) legal arrangements – residence permits obtaining for 65 pioneers/volunteers to legalize land purchase (300 hectares under Shymkent city) from the Kazakhstani authorities⁶; 3) search of the financial resources to construct a cottage village and the construction process itself; 4) arrangements for the arriving people – social and economic conditions; 5) administrative and social-economic networks and infrastructure in the village; 6) institutionalization of the repatriation – internal and external frameworks. All the stages went hand in hand with the creation of the social control mechanisms to bind people with the real and imagined ties of new identity building – Kazakhs on the ancestral homeland.

The financial crisis of 2008 affected the construction process, but the Ak – Ordasy Corporation managed to get the financial resources through the state program for repatriations and integration– «Nurly Kosh»⁷ and were backed by the President of Kazakhstan – N.Nazarbayev, who visited the Asar village in April 2008 and blessed the process. The Asar people now view 30th of April and 1st of May as their new holidays.

Theoretical frameworks. General methodological foundations for the analysis of Asar model of social organization and the role of Ak Ordasy corporation are based on the phenomenology (Husserl, 2001), symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969) and social constructivism (Berger, Luckmann 1966). Theories of social identity (Tajfel, Turner 1986), social control (Merton 1938) and collective behavior (Blumer 1951) were employed to understand the Asar village inhabitants' social life. The most valuable were sociological approaches of P.Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1984) to understand the processes within the social structures - concepts of habitus, dispositions, forms of capital, fields, doxa, and misrecognition.

Ak Ordasy corporation role. Corporation is the embodiment of quazi state authority; and acts through the EI Amanaty administration, and real instruments are materialized in constellation of mini councils – from the council of elders/aqsaqaldar kenesi⁸ through ulichkoms (committees for the streets' control) – to the apalar kenesi⁹. Legitimization of the rights of the Ak Ordasy corporation to chair the people and hold the key top administrative positions gives the corporation leadership solid grounds to claim the right to run for the political management at regional and national levels.¹⁰

The corporation created a hierarchically structured system composed of: 1) corporation leadership that administer external affairs – creation of favorable political and legal foundations to facilitate its business and political interests at local, regional, national and international levels (cooperation with the Chinese companies); 2) Asar village administration operating by the traditional mahalla scheme – EI Amanaty; 3) structural units and subdivisions within Asar – districts' and streets'

⁶ 65 families entrusted their documents to arrange legal procedures in Kazakhstan – registration and then started working at the construction of houses.

⁷ «Nurly Kosh» - the state program launched in 2009 for creating social-economic conditions for ethnic repatriates – building houses, schools and kindergartens.

⁸ Council of elders (male)

⁹ Council of old women

¹⁰ At the solemn ceremony dedicated to the 20th anniversary of Asar, on 1 of May 2012, one of the aksakals blessed the head of the corporation Sagidulla Kalybekov for political career.

administrations and traditional social institutes – elders councils, neighborhood communities, gaps; 4) system of formal (parents and families, schools and kindergartens) and informal control over the socialization and education processes (neighbors, seniors). The competition between authorities is eliminated through the operational division of powers and duties.

The Asar settlement infrastructure development, its administration, business activities for the Asar people and corporation, security are financed and supervised by the corporation. Part of the Asar inhabitants is working within the network of corporation units. The system of basic unwritten rules aggregated within the centuries of community life administration serves the interests of the corporation. The variations of the mahalla model have been adjusted to the Kazakh mentality and cultural practices. The valuable experiences of communal life arrangements for survival are employed for adaptation and integration in post-repatriation times to transit to new reality and statuses. But on the other side, the Asar version is closely tied to the Ak Ordasy corporation administration activities and personalities at different levels of management. The Asar inhabitants immortalize the historical saga of migration and resettlement in songs, legends, films, and monuments. The main heroes are the founding fathers (seniors, Kalybekovs) and the first migrants (pioneers).

EI Amanaty within the Asar structure. Council of elders is instrumental in establishing general frameworks for the activities of the corporation and Asar authority – EI Amanaty¹¹ administration¹². It is a hybrid construction linking modern and traditional forms of governance, politically and judicially incorrect but justified by the needs of the transit times. For administrative purposes Asar is divided into six districts headed by the elected respected people – biis¹³. The biis are under supervision of tobe bii (the senior), under termless authority. They act to partisan the interests of the corporation, maintain social stability, raise issues of common concern and interests, and mobilize resources for the common good.

The mission of the traditional authorities, in the words of the EI Amanaty chairman Munaibek Sailibayev, is to reconstruct forgotten or deformed Kazakh practices of social and cultural existence and form conditions for breeding new citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan out of repatriates. The Asar inhabitants transit from one reality to another through the direct and indirect participation in self-administration due to paternalistic politics. The Asar people correlate independent decision-making and selection of survival strategies for their families with their potential and expected support from the corporation and Asar as a social construct. The corporation controls economic resources, and distributes the resources among the populace is based on real, imagined and prescribed qualities.

Mahalla within the Asar system. Traditionally mahalla in the Central Asian societies with predominant sedentary population activities engaged in agriculture and cotton production that demand orchestrated collective efforts for maintaining irrigation system played great role in social-cultural and religious life. Depending on the regime that controlled the territory and population, mahalla responded to the political-ideological order. The choice of mahalla model by the Ak Ordasy corporation for collective life management of repatriates can be explained not only by the attachment to tradition but by the deliberate strategy. Supporting each other to overcome hardships and sharing valuable recipes to arrange better life, communicating on various occasions, the repatriates do not lose links with the past.

¹¹ «Amanat» in Arabic means «confidence to someone». EI Amanaty is interpreted as People's confidence

¹² It manages routine economic and technical affairs for effective maintenance of the Asar infrastructure.

¹³ «Bii» was a lawyer/judge in Kazakh society until mid 1920s, the term comes from «biik»- «high or elevated».

Many repatriates are challenged by the cultural and psychological differences in Kazakhstan despite the likeliness of their cultural and language practices with the Kazakhs of the South.

The past is present not only in family memories but in community life organization. Mahalla in neighboring Uzbekistan «outlived» the soviet period and is recognized by the modern Uzbekistani regime as «cradle» of ethnic identity, fount and generator of most precious genuine traditions, rites, customs and social-cultural practices. By Uzbek folk saying «for every Uzbek mahalla is like father and mother». The Uzbekistani authorities employ mahalla institute as one of the instruments of civic society building in the state/nation building process, the primary element in breeding social and civic responsibility and management training for the populace. The only limitation for mahalla activities is territorial; within its borders its administration is authorized to handle a wide range of issues - from economic to legal – administration, legal control over all life aspects, way of life conduct, family building strategies, education and socialization of young generation, keeping the basics of family morale, age behavior models, etc. The Uzbek state authorities appoint the head of mahalla. But Kazakhs had to introduce ethnic interpretation necessitated by the need to counter balance (not oppose) Uzbek influence. In Asar, elders/aksakals arrange and preside at important events, and take meaningful decisions, thus form a new social reality for repatriates on the Kazakh land through «correct» arrangement and decoding of life cycles' rites – sundet/circumcision, marriages, weddings, funerals, commemorations and social practices (support to widows and orphans). Our respondents avoided telling about their life in Uzbekistan, and just told that have a good command of Uzbek language. But when we came in our conversation to the differences in housing prices in two countries, they became talkative. They could not sell their houses and gardens in Uzbekistan for the desired price because mahalla «fixed» the final price that could not be changed. The prices on land and houses in two countries are incomparable.

Mahalla is a unique laboratory for social space creation and forced adaptation of people to environment. People acquire this or other form of identity considering the external world requirements. Mahalla inhabitants develop mechanisms of personal and family protection from the «other worlds» correlating their dispositions with the specific zone/place inside the community and its structures, differentiate between one's people and «aliens», create distinguishing codes of behavior and symbols that serve as internal and external markers for sorting out people, language patterns, psycho types, behavioral models for various situations, compassion, complementarity and co-responsibility as forms of collective behavior and forming a diffuse individual. Visible part of mahalla life negative aspects are seen in limitation of life space, as people cannot get out commonly accepted forms and norms and conduct and thinking, and they have weak canals for protest and search of alternative. They have to invest a lot in the efforts to differ from others and develop high competitive spirit. When we asked the chairman of El Amanaty: «What do women in Asar do besides housekeeping and child rearing?» he responded: «They make preparations for various events and compete in culinary and handicrafts' contests». From the conversation with the Asar inhabitants we concluded that the most respected are people whose children managed to be successful in the competitive life of modern day Kazakhstan – study abroad or in the country by state grants, have migration mobility within the country, incorporated into the administrative structures and built families with locals. Our respondents measured their material status not in economic as income and its components, but in socially significant terms – ranking within the mahalla and achievements of their children in wider – Kazakhstani – community.

Council of elders maintains public order through keeping the balance between various groups and transmits the interests of the higher units to the public and vice versa, settles the conflicts and disputes and manages communal affairs. Authoritarian forms of administration in Asar are taken for granted by the inhabitants. The elders judge on the basis of consensus factors to subordinate the interests of the individuals and families to the interests of the community. The respective units formulate the frameworks for intervening strategies, partnership and consensus building. The mahalla model is viewed as practical realization of the social imaginary in which the tradition dominates the interpretation of the new changes and challenges in form of dominance of the elders over the younger generations (gerontocracy), male dominance over female (patriarchy). Women in Asar are not marginalized but their roles are limited to family mostly.

But there are some inconsistencies in promoting mahalla model in Kazakhstani realities in legal aspects. In Uzbekistan, two laws regulate local administrations and principles of their formation and over seventy legal norms define mahalla institute activities. In Kazakhstan, mahalla is not recognized as a local governance body, even for social life administration, although Uzbeks in South Kazakhstan live by its principles. The process of civic society building in Kazakhstan rests on the balanced observance of interests of state and individual though creation of economic and social foundations – development of entrepreneurship, small and medium size business and middle class.

Hierarchical subordination within Asar structures provides the corporation to control all aspects of life in the settlement through multiplex and multifunctional practices and relationships – old and new ones, like corporate solidarity and loyalty, and ascribed right to interpret demands and establishments of the Kazakhstani authorities, form a new type of identity. Life strategies of Asar people are directly connected with the realization of business strategies of Ak Ordasy corporation irrespective their position in the Asar hierarchy. Competition for statuses is possible inside the Asar and in form of achievements from the external world.

We should also mention positive sides of life systemic organization by mahalla principle: 1) lower economic costs of social-economic infrastructure maintenance by free collective labor; 2) minimization of expenditures for internal control and security; 3) lesser efforts of individual family on family stability keeping, breeding children, organization of life cycles events and social gatherings and celebrations (weddings, funerals, religious and national holidays); 4) accumulation (directly or indirectly) of social capital forms as moral compensation – mutual aid, respect, prestige, reputation to serve future generations; 5) creation of new identity through common vision of the present - individual experience becomes collective, and provides feedback, foundation and framework for the development of shared patterns and schemata. Relations within the Asar community are hierarchically structured to meet the traditional society specifics and state requirements interpreted by the corporation. Intra-community hierarchy and the charisma factor (with some reference to democracy) play positive role for training in administration and rotation, generate competitiveness, and at the same time are flexible to accommodate personal specifics. There is no radical gap between the rich and poor; redistribution of the public good follows the principle – to the most needy from the richer ones. More educated people had better chances for promotion within the Asar structures and Ak-Ordasy corporation that invests in training of the workers to be capable to exploit expensive technical equipment. The achievements in the wide community correlate with the status in Asar - the higher the better. Our respondents focused more on the participation in community life (compared with the neighbors) rather than into the

wider community that has more negative aspects that it had been expected before (illusion of relative stability).

New form of kinship is being formed based on the common interpretation of the time of repatriation and building of new life and future, social and functional differentiation between the inhabitants. Central idea of the social framework in Asar is to set up an organized form of institutionalized locality (fixed in time and space) to maintain common heritage and appeal to the common ancestors to seek their patronage and assistance and regular reporting on implementation of their covenants – return to the ancestral land and organize life according to renovated practices. An opportunity for collective interpretation of traditional practices and their observance is seen as form of impelling participatory development.

Age by age socializing of children in Asar seems to go easier as they are surrounded by many adults caring about their proper education in traditions in Kazakh way due to the modern demands. The positive part of that is social responsibility for «correct» upbringing is spread to all members of the community not only to biological parents. Codified models, comparisons, imitation, competitions are being produced in the community life. Submission of the personal interests to the public good, sacrifice, solidarity, and loyalty are accompanied by competition, showcases, and achievements' discourse.

Deviant behaviors are monitored within the community frameworks and rules of mahalla social conduct and measures are taken by different structural units at all levels to prevent or stop it – educational centers (kindergartens, schools), districts and neighborhood units. Modalities and motifs of mahalla model employment by the corporation are justified by the transit times challenges to provide succession of times and generations. The deviant behavior in Asar way¹⁴ is referred as non-participation in social events, delay in credit payments in favor of excessive expenditures (weddings, commemorations and celebration, purchase of expensive goods), reliance on the aid from the «blue», passivity in making the future tangible by individual efforts, loss of credibility in the authority, etc. Despite that fact that all inhabitants of Asar are required/demanded to grow vegetables in their greenhouse to cope with the bank credits, some of them are not willing to go in that direction and long for the cattle breeding as used to practice in Uzbekistan. In his jubilee speech S.Kalybekov gave a detailed calculation that Asar people earn enough from the greenhouses to be payable their bank loans though they complain being almost bankrupt.

Conclusion. The Ak Ordasy leadership established stratified layers of supervisory units; remodelled customary authority based on rule of central authorities, and applied traditional (with regional specifics)¹⁵ patron-client schemes to system of administration and appeals to law of tradition. The employment of mahalla model by the Ak Ordasy corporation was necessitated by the limited time and space specifics and the nature of the population under their responsibility. Elements of mahalla work as the form of social-political control over time and space in transit period through social cultural and economic mechanisms.

On one side, in the light and course of the decentralization and devolution of central power, emergence and activities of the local administrations based on the traditional practice - councils of elders is quite justifiable. But the question is how far

¹⁴ The list of deviations was given in the jubilee speech of the Ak Ordasy president S.Kalybekov, 1st of May, 2012.

¹⁵ The Shymkent region is densely populated and highly centralized (centered around chief clans) despite the devolution of central authorities practices and emergence and independent activities of a new unit (like Asar and its patron Ak Ordasy) can produce a negative spillover effect.

they go, and who must be in charge of these processes – the central or regional administration of the forces that let these structures operate in transitional period and for the coming time might employ them in their ambitions realizations – electoral basis, mobilization for the political and social movements, or serve as a curtain or pretext for business schemes operations. Conducive traditional institutions' mechanisms are used to monitor and handle intended and unintended consequences of the post-repatriation processes. The Asar model as strong potential in security building at personal and family levels, societal – Asar and for corporation's business and political networking. The limitations are in attempts to re-establish traditional authority and delegitimize the state structures, risk of institutionalizing the traditional structures, especially those imported from the other states.

Ak Ordasy corporation is praised and lauded only by the repatriates – Asar inhabitants and part of the administrative establishment that recognized Asar model as the most effective so far. But they deny that by the other repatriates that accuse them in creating a lucrative channel for the financing their businesses and political ambitions. Asar people pay tribute to their elders and pioneers of Asar building epical sago. In the songs composed to the jubilee, the authors rationalized and justified the founding fathers' and major actors' objectives, behaviors, choices, expressed understanding of the nature on ongoing and future processes and give the «proper meaning's acceptance» to administration's policy. Temporally valid normative practices of transit period get institutionalized if endorsed by the Asar authorities. The strategic plans of the corporation and Asar people in general coincide. Being part of the Asar community is seen as a form of relative security that could not get if they were part of another repatriates group living nearby. That eventually tends to marginalize the differences between the locals and other groups of repatriates.

In Kazakhstan within the soviet and post 1991 period were formed regional elite groups that have occupied strategically important lucrative positions in many spheres and are not willing to share those niches with the newcomers. The Asar model is an example incubator of the political claims of the selected group of repatriates to mobilize them to support their leadership claim to be among the state level administrators.

The corporation has to employ the traditional institutes of authority condensed in mahalla¹⁶ - council of elders (for males and females) and biis (elected representatives of the folk), neighborhood communities – gaps (age/gender specified), business and security units, educational centers (schools and kindergartens) and cultural establishments in various forms (new holidays and calendar, social time interpretation, new identity building mechanisms) to fulfill its mission – design an «Asar man» model, values and norms of common life, «lenses» to see and interpret new reality, topicality of problems selection and their orderly arrangement, etc.

Список литературы/ Әдебиеттер тізімі

1. Berger P.L., Luckmann T. The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. – Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1966.
2. Blumer H. Symbolic Interactionism; Perspective and Method. Englewood Cliffs. – NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
3. Blumer H. Collective Behavior// Principles of Sociology/ ed. A.M. Lee – New York: Barnes & Noble. –1951. – P.67-121.
4. Bourdieu P. Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. – London: Routledge, 1984.

¹⁶ The bedrock of the rural Kazakh community in Uzbekistan used to accommodate to the Uzbek realities living in mahalla (form of community life organization) under strict control of the state and its structures.

5. Husserl E. Logical Investigations. / Trans. J. N. Findlay. Ed. with translation corrections and with a new Introduction by Dermot Moran. With a new Preface by Michael Dummett. – London and New York: Routledge, 2001. A new and revised edition of the original English translation by J. N. Findlay. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970. From the Second Edition of the German. First edition, 1900-01; second edition, 1913, 1920.
6. Koblandin K., Mendikulova G. Ozbekistandagy kazakhtardyn tarihy zhane bugingi damuy. – Almaty, 2009.
7. Merton R.K. Social structure and anomie// American Sociological Review. –1938. – №3. – P.672-682
8. Tajfel H., Turner, J.C. The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour // Psychology of intergroup relations / Eds. S.Worchel & W.G.Austin. – Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall, 1986. – P.7-24.

References

- Berger, Luckmann 1966 – Berger, PL, Luckmann, T 1966, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, Anchor Books, Garden City, NY. (in Eng).
- Blumer 1969 – Blumer, H. (1969) *Symbolic Interactionism; Perspective and Method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Blumer 1951 – Blumer, H 1951, Collective Behavior, in A. M. Lee, ed., *Principles of Sociology*, Barnes & Noble, New York, P.67-121. (in Eng).
- Bourdieu 1984 – Bourdieu, P 1984, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Routledge, London. (in Eng).
- Husserl 2001 – Husserl, E 2001, *Logical Investigations*. Vols. One and Two, Trans. J. N. Findlay. Ed. with translation corrections and with a new Introduction by Dermot Moran. With a new Preface by Michael Dummett. London and New York: Routledge. A new and revised edition of the original English translation by J. N. Findlay. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970. From the Second Edition of the German. First edition, 1900-01; second edition, 1913, 1920. (in Eng).
- Koblandin, Mendikulova 2009 – Koblandin, K, Mendikulova, G 2009, *Ozbekistandagy kazakhtardyn tarihy zhane bugingi damuy*, Almaty. (in Kaz).
- Merton 1938 – Merton, RK 1938, Social structure and anomie, *American Sociological Review*, №3, P.672-682. (in Eng).
- Tajfel, H., Turner 1986 - Tajfel, H, Turner, JC 1986, The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations*, Nelson-Hall, Chicago-IL, P.7-24. (in Eng).

Этникалық репатрианттардың Оңтүстік Қазақстанға махалла үлгісін енгізуі: Асар кентінің мысалында (артықшылықтары мен кемшіліктері)

Касымова Дидар

тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, ҚМЭБИ профессор ассистенті. Қазақстан Республикасы, 050010, Алматы қ, Абай даңғылы, 2, офис 115. E-mail: didarkas@yahoo.com, didar@kimep.kz.

Түйін. Мақалада репатрианттарға қатысты Қазақстан Республикасының саясаты қарастырылады, автор репатрианттардың қазақстандық қауымдастыққа шоғырлану мәселесі және оған сай сол қауымдастықтың өзінің өзгеруін ой елегінен өткізеді. Өз назарын мақаланың авторы Өзбекстаннан репатрианттардың қазақстандық қауымдастыққа шоғырлану мәселелеріне аударады. Өзбекстандық шынайылық жағдайындағы өмірге бейімделіп этникалық қазақтар дәстүрлі өзбек институты – махалла шеңберінде өмір салтын игерді, оларда жанұя және қауымдастық ішінде өздеріне тән әлеуметтік ролдерді бөлу, жалпы, әлеуметтік бақылаудың ерекше формалары, мәдени әдеттер қалыптасты. Мақала авторы Оңтүстік Қазақстан Асар ауылы мысалында репатрианттардың бейімделуіне талдау жасалынады.

Түйін сөздер: этникалық репатрианттар; бейімделу; әлеуметтік капитал; оралмандар; Асар; азаматтық бірегейлік.

Импортирование модели махалли в Южный Казахстан этническими репатриантами: на примере поселка Асар (плюсы и минусы)

Касымова Дидар

кандидат исторических наук, ассистент профессора Университета КИМЭП. Республика Казахстан 050010, г.Алматы, пр. Абая, 2, офис 115. E-mail: didarkas@yahoo.com, didar@kimep.kz.

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается политика Республики Казахстан в отношении репатриантов, автором осмысливается проблема интеграции репатриантов в казахстанское сообщество и сопутствующие ей изменения самого этого сообщества. Свое внимание автор статьи останавливает на проблемах интеграции в казахстанское сообщество репатриантов из Узбекистана. Привыкнув к жизни в условиях узбекистанской действительности, этнические казахи усвоили образ жизни в рамках традиционного узбекского института – махалля, у них выработались специфическое распределение социальных ролей внутри семьи и сообщества, в целом, а также особые формы социального контроля, культурные привычки и т.д. Автором данной статьи осуществляется анализ адаптации репатриантов на примере южно-казахстанского поселка Асар.

Ключевые слова: этнические репатрианты; адаптация; социальный капитал; оралманы; Асар; гражданская идентичность.