“INVISIBLE” PROBLEMS OF ETHNIC MIGRANTS IN KAZAKHSTAN: LEGAL REGULATIONS AND ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS

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ABSTRACT
This paper analyses the process of migration of ethnic Kazakhs to their historical homeland and the difficulties they face after arriving to Kazakhstan. The main focus of this article is the legal status of migrants and their rights to obtain social benefits equitably with the local community. The author examines in particular the education system and role of repatriates in education. Based on a survey of 193 repatriate students, the author portrays the reality in which students live. The results demonstrate repatriates’ problems with discrimination and inequality, and reveals other “invisible” challenges and difficulties that ethnic migrants face in everyday life. Moreover, the author analyses the relationships of young repatriates with their parents, classmates, teachers, government, and the indigenous population.

Key words: ethnic migrant, legal status, human rights, Kazakhstan, education system

INTRODUCTION
One of the important challenges facing the modern world is military conflict: in Syria, in Turkey, in France, and in other parts of the planet. All of this brings suffering to people who are in search of a normal life and are leaving their homeland to go to look for better conditions for themselves and their children. Conditions today are reminiscent of a time long past; in the 1930s, when under pressure of Soviet Union policy, many Kazakhs left their historical homeland and moved to other countries. According to researchers nowadays more that 5 million ethnic Kazakhs are settled around the world. However, after becoming independent country in 1991 Kazakhstan started to carry out a migration program to return ethnic Kazakhs to their historical homeland. In legal
documents this category of citizens is described as oralman which means returnee. Having declared a national program to return of ethnic Kazakhs to their historical homeland, the state assumed a number of obligations concerning the creation of corresponding civil, economic and socio-cultural support for repatriates. The main aspect from which government needs to start repatriation process should be legal regulation. As international experience shows, each country that implemented this type of policy first created a legal foundation of this process and described each step of repatriation which ethnic migrants can follow to. It gives solid position and understanding of how this mechanism needs to work and who is responsible for each part of this action. The second important step is the creation conditions for migrants to adapt and integrate into accepted society, which means to provide language course, physiological help, give them rights to get education and feel free to express their opinion, to be at the same position as a local community member. However, in practice ethnic migrants have some problems with processes of adaptation and integration. We can call this problems “invisible,” because during twenty-three years of repatriation they still exist and have not been solved.

The solution of these problems is the state prerogative, first of all. But now it is clear that the state’s efforts to support oralmans in adapting to local conditions are insufficient and as a result the problems and tensions have increased. Many of the oralmans who returned from countries whose cultural and social environments strongly differed from those in Kazakhstan found it difficult to adapt to Kazakhstani sociocultural values.

Moreover, oralmans create a new group of society, segregating from the local community, which has negative impacts on the development of the country. That is why the government needs to reconsider their policy and create a solid legal platform for the repatriation process and support repatriates until they became the full members of society.

We assumed that all problems that repatriates face in everyday life related to the weak legislation, legal illiteracy of ethnic migrants, and irresponsibility of officials caused not clear distribution of powers of each state administrators. Moreover, without basic regulation other “invisible” problems
occur which impact on the social and physiological wellbeing of repatriates and the local community.

**HISTORICAL ASPECT OF REPATRIATION IN KAZAKHSTAN**

The republic of Kazakhstan is a multicultural and a multinational country with a population of 17.3 million people. The ethnic composition of the state represents more than 130 ethnic groups among which Kazakhs is more than 60%, Russian 21%, Uzbeks 3%, etc. However, the formation of the independent country was not an easy path for Kazakhstani society, and especially, for Kazakh ethnos.

Historically, Kazakhs surpassed ordeals and many other difficulties to get independent and sovereign country. There were many problems such as repression, genocide, hunger, migration.

The problem of Kazakhs who were forced to leave their homeland appears in the twenties and thirties of the twentieth century during the time of Stalin's regime: over a million Kazakhs fled the political chaos, repression, forced collectivization and famine, which significantly reduced the majority of the Kazakh population. According to official census data, the number of population in the country decreased from 3.63 million people in 1926 to 2.31 million people in 1939\(^1\). As a result of this large and massive emigration abroad, the Kazakh diaspora was formed. It was created by immigrants over large areas, and initially had a time and then passed into a constant duration of a number of crossing external borders. First, the migration flows went from Kazakhstan to China, the Central Asian states, Afghanistan and Iran, and then on, they spread around the world\(^2\).

Since 1991, the newly formed sovereign Republic began to actively come citizens of other countries - ethnic Kazakhs who consider Kazakhstan as their historical homeland. This process went in parallel with the departure from the country of Kazakhstan citizens of other nationalities - Germans, Jews, Russian, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Poles, Moldavians, Chechens and others.

The motives that led the migrants to return home can be very different. The main ones are the following:

\(^1\)Census of the year. - M., 1930. - T. 42. - 41.1926 S.
- Poor economic conditions in the host country as a result of unemployment and lack of demand on the professional qualities of immigrant decides to return to his homeland, where is the demand for their personal and professional qualities;
- The lack of necessary for normal functioning of social status and adverse attitude of the government or the public to the country;
- Family reunification or serious family problems, for example, when one of the parents needs daily care due to illness or disability. It should be noted that the family factor plays an important role in the process of repatriation of Kazakhs as a family is understood belonging to a particular tribe;
- "Attract" factors driving return home bearing both moral and emotional when the thought of returning to the land of their ancestors and reunification with their ethnic group leads to a deep moral satisfaction, and pragmatic - the ability to give a good education to their children, and so on. 
For example, in Uzbekistan lives up to 1.5 million ethnic Kazakhs. The most part of them live in areas of ecological disaster Aral and Kyzyl-Kum desert. The reasons for the move, in addition to economic and environmental factors, referred to as "junk" policy of the Uzbek authorities in the selection of cadres and to educate children in their mother tongue.
About 70 thousand ethnic Kazakhs lived in Turkmenistan. However, the sharp deterioration of the economic situation in the country became as a reason of the growth in the flow of migrants to Kazakhstan.
Statistics show that approximately 1 million Kazakhs have come to the country and impacted the increasing number of ethnic Kazakhs in the country by 28% compares with 1939³.

³ Ethnodemographic situation in Kazakhstan on ide.go.jp (unidentified source)
Table 1. Historical view of the ethnic composition of the population of Kazakhstan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhs</td>
<td>58.52%</td>
<td>37.84%</td>
<td>30.02%</td>
<td>32.39%</td>
<td>36.02%</td>
<td>39.69%</td>
<td>53.40%</td>
<td>63.07%</td>
<td>66.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>20.57%</td>
<td>39.97%</td>
<td>42.69%</td>
<td>42.42%</td>
<td>40.80%</td>
<td>37.82%</td>
<td>29.96%</td>
<td>23.70%</td>
<td>21.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbeks</td>
<td>2.09%</td>
<td>1.96%</td>
<td>1.47%</td>
<td>1.62%</td>
<td>1.79%</td>
<td>2.02%</td>
<td>2.48%</td>
<td>2.85%</td>
<td>3.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>13.88%</td>
<td>10.70%</td>
<td>8.19%</td>
<td>7.24%</td>
<td>6.12%</td>
<td>5.44%</td>
<td>3.66%</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uighurs</td>
<td>1.01%</td>
<td>0.58%</td>
<td>0.64%</td>
<td>0.94%</td>
<td>1.01%</td>
<td>1.13%</td>
<td>1.41%</td>
<td>1.40%</td>
<td>1.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatars</td>
<td>1.29%</td>
<td>1.76%</td>
<td>2.06%</td>
<td>2.19%</td>
<td>2.13%</td>
<td>1.99%</td>
<td>1.66%</td>
<td>1.28%</td>
<td>1.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>0.82%</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
<td>7.09%</td>
<td>6.53%</td>
<td>6.13%</td>
<td>5.82%</td>
<td>2.36%</td>
<td>1.11%</td>
<td>1.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other nations</td>
<td>1.82%</td>
<td>1.17%</td>
<td>7.84%</td>
<td>6.67%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6.09%</td>
<td>5.07%</td>
<td>4.51%</td>
<td>4.52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see in Table 1, Kazakhs represents one of the major ethnicities in the country with a total population of 17 Million people. As a result the ethnic Kazakhs who moved to Kazakhstan play a vibrant role in the socio economic, cultural, political development of the country.

According to official statistics from the Committee of Migratory Police of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, since independence about 1 million ethnic Kazakhs have returned to the republic from foreign and neighboring countries. The majority of oralmans, 60.5%, returned from Uzbekistan, 13.1% from Mongolia, 10.6% from China, 7.5% from Turkmenistan, 4.2% from Russia and 4.1% from other countries. As we can see the largest proportion of repatriates came from neighboring countries (Figure 1).

Working-age oralmans account for 54.4% (448,459 people), children under 18 for 41.2% (339,433 people) and retired persons for 4.4% (36,278 people). Among persons of working age 9.1% have a higher education, 20.9% have a secondary vocational education, 63.4% have a general secondary education, and 6.6% - have no education.

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Oralmans are “human capital” for Kazakhstan who, by having previous experience and knowledge can have a positive impact on the country’s development.

Many foreign Kazakhs, especially those living in China, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, have extensive experience in agriculture. Accordingly, repatriated Kazakhs will be a great help in the development of agriculture in Kazakhstan with their many years of experience in the field and under similar climatic conditions. One cannot fail to take into account the mentality of Kazakhs. Foreign Kazakhs have kept the Kazakh language, which is important for the development of the Kazakh language in Kazakhstan.

However, the integration and adaptation of Kazakh returnees in Kazakhstan is constrained by negative factors. These include a lack of knowledge of the Russian language, lack of job skills, lack of education, ignorance of the law, and the psychology, mentality and culture of the local population.

Figure 1. Map of the Republic of Kazakhstan and its neighbors[^5]

[^5]: MAP was taken from www.mapsofworld.com
Of course, all of these aspects influence the situation in the country and the social benefits that repatriates need to bring to society.

In this case it is important to see how the law works, how repatriates adapt in society and how governments and other stakeholders interact with oralmans.

**METHODOLOGY**

This research shall examine the legal status of repatriates, the issues of human rights, the relationship between government and ethnic migrants; the interactions repatriates have with the repatriating society; and the process of adaptation and integration to Kazakhstani society as the macro-level focus of this paper.

As a micro-level focus of this study, the paper shall analyze the role of young ethnic migrants in the education system of Kazakhstan, the issue of discrimination and inequality faced by repatriates due to language problems, low incomes, different education backgrounds, problems in the process of repatriates obtaining education, the weaknesses of government policy towards repatriates, etc.

In this paper several quantitative and qualitative research methods were used which provided a deep analysis of problems faced by ethnic migrants in Kazakhstan.

This paper represents the results of a survey of 193 repatriates who are attending universities. The survey consists of 52 questions about social-economic backgrounds, relationships with parents, teachers and friends, attitudes toward the government and school/university administration policy, perceived problems in the education process and with choosing a language, etc. The survey was conducted in the period January – September, 2015. At the same time, we use some data from previous research which was conducted in the period of 2009-2010 among 1000 ethnic Kazakhs who returned from abroad.

Moreover, the author also used methods of concept mapping, observations, investigation of the statistical data, and completed a literature review and official documents.
LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE REPATRIATION OF ETHNIC KAZAKHS

The repatriation process is an important aspect of the national policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The state has developed legal regulations for the process of repatriation, and provided a necessary social help and annual quotas on the return of ethnic Kazakhs to the historical homeland. During the 22-year period of this process it is possible to draw certain conclusions on what contribution was made by repatriation to the Kazakhstani society:

1. Increase in the indigenous population of the country (to 66 percent);
2. Development of the Kazakh language;
3. Development of Kazakh traditions;

However, today it is necessary to admit the fact that there are certain issues:

1. Internal and secondary migration;
2. Unemployment among repatriates;
3. Separation of repatriates;
4. Issues with the adaptation and integration of repatriates;
5. Discontent of repatriates and their protests

All of these problems occur because of weaknesses of government bodies regulating the migration process, and some omissions and gaps that allowed some stakeholders to exploit the process. That is why it is important to review the legal aspects of the repatriation process and see how it works.

The first piece of legislation directly regulating the legal status of migrants was the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On Immigration", dated 26 June 1992, which at that time was the legal basis for the regulation and organization-oriented software migration to the republic of ethnic Kazakhs, creating the necessary conditions of life in a new place for refugees, for persons and families returning to their homeland.

The purpose of this law was to organize the resettlement of Kazakhs from abroad, which was planned to create a special immigration authorities, as well as the formation of the National

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Immigration Fund. It also established annual immigration quotas. To regulate the migration processes the Republic of Kazakhstan made the following regulations in the 1990s: Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On Citizenship" from December 20, 1991⁸, Presidential Decree "On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Republic of Kazakhstan" dated 19 June 1995⁹; Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On the procedure of granting political asylum to foreign citizens and stateless persons in the Republic of Kazakhstan" dated July 15, 1996 [6]; Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On the order of consideration of issues related to the citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan" dated September 27, 1996 ¹⁰.

After the adoption of the Law "On Migration" on December 13, 1997, ethnic Kazakhs were granted potential immigrant status. In December 1997, the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On Migration" was passed. The purpose of the law is to regulate social relations in the field of migration and the definition of the legal, economic and social foundations of migration processes, as well as creating the necessary conditions of life in a new place for individuals and families returning to their homeland¹¹.

A substantially expanded conceptual framework introduced new articles, greatly extending the provisions of the Law "On Immigration" of 1992. From a theoretical point of view there was a change in the concept of "repatriation" in the Act. So, as amended on December 13, 1997, the first article gives as the concept of repatriation the example of repatriation of prisoners of war, displaced persons, refugees, immigrants, and Oralman. And, as amended on January 12, 2007, repatriation was already treated as the voluntary or forced return of citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan to their homeland. On the basis of this law, Kazakh immigrants first got official status as immigrants. Thus, immigrant-available categories of persons of the indigenous nationality who are victims of

mass political repressions, as well as their descendants were created. As amended by the Law "On Migration" from December 20, 2002, Oralman referred not only to victims of mass political repression, but also to foreigners and stateless persons of Kazakh nationality, who had made permanent residence abroad at the time of the acquisition of the sovereignty of the Republic of Kazakhstan and then arrived in Kazakhstan with the objective of residence.

September 5, 2000 saw the approval of the Concept of Migration Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, according to which should be given full support resettlement and local reception to Oralman, their adaptation to the place of residence. It is necessary to create conditions for successful adaptation of the Oralman the local social environment, taking measures for psychological recovery survivors in armed conflict. All of the above has been identified as the most binding priorities of migration policy to address Oralmans in Kazakhstan. The current Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “About Migration of Population” defines repatriates as “oralman - an ethnic Kazakh, who has resided at the time of acquisition of the sovereignty of the Republic of Kazakhstan abroad, and his children of Kazakh nationality, born and has been resident since the acquisition of sovereignty by the Republic of Kazakhstan abroad, came in the Republic of Kazakhstan for permanent residence in the historic homeland and received (got) an appropriate status in the manner prescribed by this Act.” Regarding repatriates there are some main purposes of the law:

1) The organization of rational resettlement of repatriates in the interests of the demographic and socio-economic development of regions;

2) The support and development of relations with former compatriots and ethnic Kazakhs living abroad, including in the field of cultural cooperation and information support;

3) Promoting resettlement of the historical homeland of ethnic Kazakhs;

Above all, the main basis of regulation for the legal status of repatriates is described in the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The Constitution of 1993 and 1995 fix such inalienable human rights and freedoms as the right to free movement within the territory of Kazakhstan and the free choice of residence; the right to leave the Republic and for its citizens - the right to freely return to the Republic.\(^{14}\)

The last law “About Migration of Population” provides differentiated allowances depending on the region of settlement Oralman end up in and additional factors added to the base rate. In particular, in the northern regions of the country Oralman will receive benefits 2.4 times greater than in the south.

Ethnic Kazakhs that independently entered the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan and stay on the territory of our country applied for inclusion in the immigration quota for oralman through the migration police and the Territorial Department of the Interior. A resident outside the Republic of Kazakhstan, specifying the intended place of residence in Kazakhstan from overseas, can apply at an embassy. After receiving the committee’s decision to consent to the inclusion in the quota, the overseas representatives will assist in the resettlement of ethnic Kazakhs. However, the diplomatic and consular missions of Kazakhstan have not provided for this effectively. Under the new law Oralman included in the immigration quota may receive a lump sum benefit and funds for the purchase of property only after admission to citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan and on presentation of identity documents, including for all adult family members, except for family members of non-Kazakh nationality. And in case of failure to be included in the immigration quota for Oralman to acquire citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan, lump sums and means for the acquisition of property are not charged and (or) are not paid.

This norm, according to the legislation, excludes cases where people receive benefits and compensation based on forged documents. As recognized in the migration service, up to 2011 such cases were not uncommon.

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According to the Law of Migration of Population «The priority for inclusion in the regional admission quota of repatriates are ethnic Kazakhs in the following sequence:

1) have the appropriate education, skills and experience in a particular specialty;
2) families with many children;
3) young adults, having the opportunity to study at higher education institutions. "\(^{15}\)

Moreover, according to Article 23. State support measures provided by repatriates, ethnic Kazakhs and their families: "2. Persons who have received the status of oralman, and their families are provided with:

1) free adaptation and integration services in the center of adaptation and integration of repatriates;
2) medical care in accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the field of health;
3) places in schools and pre-schools on a par with the citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the possibility of education in accordance with the allocation of quotas for admission to educational organizations of technical and vocational, post-secondary and higher education in the amount determined by the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
4) social protection on a par with citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
5) assistance in employment in accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

3. Oralman working in private farming, gardening, or construction may receive available land on the right of temporary gratuitous land claims from the lands of rural settlements, agricultural land, the immigration land fund, the special land fund and the land reserve in accordance with the land legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Oralman who are conducting a farm or commodity agricultural production are given land that includes land on the right of temporary land use of the agricultural land, the special land fund, the immigration land fund and reserve lands. "

In the first view it seems that everything is good for repatriates and they have enough resources and benefits to move to and adapt in Kazakhstan. However, there are some issues which gave them some problems.

First, according this law, repatriates can get all these benefits because of their status of “oralman”. However, without this status they cannot get all this social support. According to the Article 25 of this law:

Status oralman is terminated:

1) after receipt of oralman citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan;

2) In case of cancellation of a permanent residence permit in the Republic of Kazakhstan on the grounds stipulated in Article 49 of this Law;

3) one year after the date of receipt of oralman status.

However, in the previous version of this law it was written:

3) at the end of seven years from the date of receipt of oralman status if they did not have to apply for admission to the citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan;

4) In the case of internal migration oralman independent of the will of their own outside the region defined for settlement upon receipt of oralman status, during the first five years of residence in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

As we can see, the number of years was drastically reduced and oralmans have just one year to get citizenship. In practice this is not enough time to get all these benefits due to problems of repatriates and ineffective work by government bodies. Moreover, the background of oralmans does not allow them to quickly adapt in society and find the right way to apply for all benefits. Also, it is a negative impact on children’s future especially for those who are in the process of graduating school and applying for university. If they live in Kazakhstan more than one year after getting status as “oralmans” they will automatically lose their rights to get a quota. Another consequence of this law is that many oralmans will move back to the country where they lived before.
HUMAN RIGHTS OF ETHNIC MIGRANTS:

As stated, ethnic migrants have theoretical access to huge amounts of social benefits that the government provides them. The human rights framework protects civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights that include:

The right to health: the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, including access to all medical services, nutrition, sanitation, and clean water and air;

The right to food: freedom from hunger and access to safe and nutritious food;

The right to housing: access to a safe, secure, habitable, and affordable home with freedom from forced eviction;

The right to work: the opportunity to have fulfilling and dignified work under safe and healthy conditions and with fair wages affording a decent living for oneself and one’s family. It also provides for freedom from unemployment and the right to organize;

The right to education: the right to an education that enables all persons to participate effectively in a free society and is directed to the full development of the human personality;

The right to social security: everyone regardless of age or ability to work is guaranteed the means necessary to procure basic needs and services, etc.\(^\text{16}\)

As previous researches demonstrate

In our work we focus on the rights of repatriates to education, especially we try to analyze the issue of discrimination and inequality in the education process.

Decree number 264 of 28 February 2012 of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan, in accordance with the technical, vocational, post-secondary and higher education institutions, states that admission to educational institutions offering training programs approved by the representatives of the Kazakh Diaspora will be guaranteed a 2 percent quota for repatriates. Repatriates also participate in general competition for obtaining scholarships, and after that, if they did not get such support, they automatically are considered for the 2% quota.

\(^\text{16}\) What are the Basic Principles of the Human Rights Framework?// https://www.nesri.org/programs/what-are-the-basic-principles-of-the-human-rights-framework
For example, in the 2013/2014 academic year, 769 oralmans obtained a scholarship, and from this number 163 got it through general competition and 606 were included under the 2% quota. In the 2014/2015 academic year 722 repatriates received scholarships, by general competition 167 and 555 by quota.

Members of the Kazakh expatriate community are equally eligible to use all facilities as other citizens of Kazakhstan, including the opportunity to partake in the contest for educational grants (scholarship) allocated on HEIs every year, if there are free grants due to drop out cases among previously awarded students. Thus, if repatriate students have excellent academic performance results, they will be able to apply for this scholarship twice a year.

Apart from that, repatriate student as holders of educational grants have monthly scholarships and the opportunity to cover travel expenses twice a year as well.

Excepting the mentioned admission facilities, according to the annual Kazakh Government’s Decree, members of Kazakh expatriate communities in other countries could have extra places in foundation programs in any HEIs. For instance, in last three years according to Kazakh Government’s Decrees 1400 places in foundation programs in Kazakhstani HEIs have been devoted especially for members of the Kazakh expatriate communities from abroad, and 482,720 million tenge has been budgeted to spend for that purpose during the 2015-2016 academic year.

According to the official documents form September 10, 2015, N558 Ethnic Kazakhs who live abroad and do not have Kazakhstani citizenship are eligible for 1400 foundational scholarships to study in Kazakh universities.

### Table 2 Allocation of scholarships for foundational teaching for ethnic Kazakhs who are not citizens of Kazakhstan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Numbers of scholarships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Al-Farabi Kazakh National University</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Atyray State University</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>S. Amanzholov East Kazakhstan State University</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Shakharim State University at Semei city</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Zhansugurov Zhetysy State University</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>E. Buketov Karaganda State University</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The government policy is to attract more ethnic Kazakhs to Kazakhstan’s universities by giving this kind of support. Results of the survey show that the main reasons repatriates get education in Kazakhstan are an opportunity to get a scholarship (45.1%) and the quality of education (41.5%). As we can see the 2% quota which government provides for oralmans plays an important role for ethnic Kazakhs to move to Kazakhstan and obtain an education.

Table 3. Motives of repatriate students to study in Kazakhstan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motives</th>
<th>Numbers (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The quality of education</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An opportunity to get a scholarship</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough money to study abroad</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to study at my homeland</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to study in Kazakh</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not far from country I live</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be useful for Kazakhstani economy in future</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal reasons</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The discrimination process is not normalized in Kazakhstani society. It is protected by Constitution of state, which holds that everyone in the country cannot be treated differently due to his religion,
language, sex, and ethnicity\(^{17}\). However, the results of our experiments demonstrate that young ethnic Kazakhs face some inequality and discrimination because of their status as “oralman (returnee)” or ethnic migrant.

**Table 4. Problems at 1st year of study at University**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Numbers (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination by classmates</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination by lecturers and HEI's administration</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarcity of textbooks, literature and other sources in Kazakh</td>
<td>31.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak infrastructure of HEIs</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological problems</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard to study</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing a family</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High costs for education</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems with adaptation</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have not faced any problems</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 4 the repatriates faced difficulties, most of them related with psychological problems (22.8%) and scarce of textbooks, literature and other sources in Kazakh (31.2%). This number shows that there is an inequality issue for repatriates due to language.

“...in Mongolia at school I was quite good at almost all subjects. Difficulties started when I entered to university in Kazakhstan. First, there were not enough good books in my language (Kazakh). Second, another academic environment...” (Arman, 28 years old, moved from Mongolia)

The fact that many Kazakh University do not have enough materials in Kazakh is one of the big issues that the government is trying to change. According to official information from the Ministry of Education and Science, since 2011 they have carried out extensive work on writing and publishing textbooks in the Kazakh language using the state budget. At the same time they have translated and published in Kazakh language huge amount of foreign textbooks. Libraries of

\(^{17}\) Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan // http://adilet.zan.kz/eng/docs/K950001000_/links
universities have received about 300 new titles of which were published over 350 thousand copies in all\textsuperscript{18}.

On the other hand, from the narratives of other students who moved to Kazakhstan from Mongolia in 2008, we can see that 32.3\% of respondents have not faced any problems with discrimination or inequality.

However, some of the respondents have met discrimination from classmates (2.1\%) and lectures and HEI’s administration (2.6\%). Even if these are not large numbers, it influences the adaptation process of repatriates. As a researcher states, “adolescents’ perceptions of discrimination have a critical impact on their socio-emotional well-being, self-identification and later life outcomes”\textsuperscript{19}.

As a result many of repatriate student show psychological problems (22.8\%).

**CONCLUSION**

The results of our investigation have revealed many problems which repatriates faced. If one of the biggest problems for ethnic migrants has been the adaptation process, now we can see that there are many other invisible problems that did not give ethnic Kazakhs a fair chance be part of society, get citizenship and use social benefits.

As we can see, the first problem occurring in this process is contradictions in the laws. So, repatriates do not have rights for all goods which government can provide them if they become citizens. Moreover, our analysis shows that ethnic Kazakhs face many challenges because of lack of knowledge of languages (Russian or Kazakh), and their classmates and teachers discriminated against many of them because of their status as “Oralman”. Also, repatriate students faced inequality because of the “scarce of textbooks, literature and other sources in Kazakh” (31.2\%).

\textsuperscript{18}http://bnews.kz/ru/news/obshchestvo/avtonomiya_vuzov_mozhet_realizovivatsya_v upravlencheskom_finansovom_i_akademicheskom_napravleniyah__tbalikbaev-2014_05_26-924061

\textsuperscript{19}Maria Medvedeva *Perceived Discrimination and Linguistic Adaptation of Adolescent Children of Immigrants* Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 2010, Volume 39, Number 8, Page 940