

National Research University Higher School of Economics

As a manuscript

Olga Brednikova

The integration of migrants from Central Asia in the Russian society

Thesis Summary

for the purpose of obtaining academic degree PhD in Sociology

Academic Supervisor:

PhD in Sociology

Oksana Zaporozhets

Moscow, 2020

Statement of research problem

Migration of the population has been a popular topic both in public and academic space for several decades now. The reason for that is the mass character of the phenomenon as well as social transformations that follow. Mass migration changes contemporary societies quite rapidly and impactfully. Together with that, researchers document significant changes in the very phenomenon of migration. Previously, migration used to be predominantly a postcolonial movement (following the vector of colony-metropolis). Nowadays, on the other hand, migration is multi-directional as people move in many directions all around the world. Labor migration has stopped being a dominant migration script as many other types of migration (such as family or environmental migration) have become more well-spread.

The changes in the research on migration were caused by abandoning of the sedentary approach that regards sedentism as a norm. This approach had dominated the academic literature up until 1980ies¹. The so-called mobility turn, which is connected first of all with the name of John Urry², has changed the sedentary perspective. According to the new paradigm, it is a recent and potential movement³ that organizes and structures modern life as a whole. The mobility turn is also connected to Castels' concept of flow society⁴, "deterritorialization" and 'nomadology' of Deleuze and Guattari⁵, liquid modernity of Bauman⁶, etc.

Transnationalism is a popular conceptual trend in migration research, which suggests that one regards migration as a two-way phenomenon which impacts the development of both the society of origin and the receiving society and at the same time binds them together. Within the framework of this approach, a migrant is viewed as an individual living in two and more societies at the same time⁷. Despite the general popularity of the concept, it is barely developed in Russian academic debates (except for the works of S. Abashin⁸).

¹ Трубина Е. Г. Мобильность и седентаризм в социально-теоретическом дискурсе // Известия Уральского федерального университета. Сер. 3: Общественные науки. 2012. № 2 (103). С. 22–34.

² Urry J. Mobile sociology // *The British Journal of Sociology*. 2000. Vol. 51 (1). Pp. 185–203; Urry J. *Mobilities: new perspectives on transport and society*. Routledge, 2016. 384 pp.; Урри Дж. *Мобильности*. М.: Праксис, 2012. 576 с.; Урри Дж. *Социология за пределами обществ. Виды мобильности для XXI столетия*. М.: Издательский дом НИУ ВШЭ, 2012. 336 с.

³ Sheller M., Urry J. *The New Mobilities Paradigm* // *Environment and Planning A*. 2006. Vol. 38. Pp. 207–226.

⁴ Кастельс М. *Информационная эпоха: экономика, общество и культура* / Пер. с англ. под науч. ред. О.И. Шкаратана. М.: ГУ ВШЭ, 2000. 608 с.

⁵ Deleuze G. and Guattari F. *Nomadology: The War Machine*. New York: Semiotext(e), 1986. 160 pp.; Deleuze Gilles, Guattari Felix. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Vol. 2 / Transl. and Foreword by Brian Massumi. London and New York: Continuum, 2004. 585 pp.

⁶ Бауман З. *Текущая современность*. СПб.: Питер, 2008. 240 с.

⁷ Glick Schiller N.G., Basch L., Blanc-Szanton C. *Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration* // *Towards a transnational perspective on migration: Race, class, ethnicity, and*

Massive movements of people tackle issues of social and cultural diversity of societies in a new way. The concept of multiculturalism, which has become popular in the migration research since 1980ies⁹, is now being substituted by the concept of superdiversity¹⁰. This being said, attempts are made to find new explanation schemes of “coexisting of different”, including the concept of conviviality¹¹. In that regard, the notion of integration processes, that are not regarded as obligatory and total inclusion of migrants in the receiving society, is changing, too.

The normalization of migrations, acceptance of the superdiversity of societies and development of transnational perspective in academic debates have caused the rejection of binary approach and assimilation model of migration. Within this approach, any movement of a person is not viewed as a turning point in the biography, but as a permanent mobile state of an individual that constitutes his or her everyday life and states the question of migrants’ integration (how, where, to which degree, etc.) in a new way. In the dissertation research, attempts are made to answer this question.

Literature review

The dissertation research has been conducted at the intersection of two large thematic fields and conceptual approaches in migration research – the concept of transnationalism (1) and the concept of integration (2).

1) The main conceptual framework of the research is **transnationalism**. The concept of transnationalism has been first mentioned in a publication of co-authors under direction of Nina Glick-Schiller at the beginning of 1990ies¹². Researchers presented their critique of classic migration research, according to which migration communities must necessarily be located somewhere and have a local culture. In order to become a part of the receiving society, migrants had to adaptor assimilate in the native culture. The authors introduced new basic terms – transmigrants and transnationalism. Within the new paradigm, transnationalism is defined as

nationalism reconsidered / ed. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992. Pp. 1–24.

⁸ Абашин С.Н. Среднеазиатская миграция: практики, локальные сообщества, транснационализм // Этнографическое обозрение. 2012. № 4. С. 3–13; Абашин С. Возвращение домой: семейные и миграционные сценарии в Узбекистане // Ab Imperio. 2015. № 3. С. 125–165.

⁹ См., например: Kimlicka W. Introduction: An Emerging Consensus?, Special Issue: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Liberal Democracy // Ethnic Theory and Moral Practice, 1998, 1(2). Pp.143-157.

¹⁰ См., например: Artekar S. Super-diversity as a methodological lens: re-centring power and inequality // Ethnic and Racial Studies. 2019. Vol. 42 (1). Pp. 53–70.

¹¹ Padilla B., Azevedo J., Olmos-Alcaraz A. Superdiversity and conviviality: exploring frameworks for doing ethnography in Southern European intercultural cities // Ethnic and Racial Studies. 2015. Vol. 38 (4). Pp. 621–635.

¹² Glick Schiller N.G., Basch L., Blanc-Szanton C. Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration.

social process, during which migrants create social fields that cross geographical, cultural and political borders. Migrants become transmigrants in case they develop and maintain various family, economic, social, organizational, religious and political bonds that cross borders¹³. The receiving society does not interpret migrants as temporary inhabitants anymore, because in case of migration they act as active subjects and get incorporated in the economy and moreover, adopt new patterns of everyday life. However, at the same time they maintain social bonds and manage transaction at the everyday level, they are included in economic, political, cultural institutes of sending societies and national governments, too.

At present time, the concept of transnationalism mostly represents a set or a corpus of concepts and theories. In the dissertation research, two basic statements of transnationalism are crucial – forming of a united transnational space and transnational society.

2) The second major theoretical framework is **the concept of migrant integration**, which, as well as the concept of transnationalism, can be regarded as a whole corpus of approaches and research perspectives. Despite a large number of publications dedicated to this theme, the concept of migrant integration seems to be not so well elaborated. This is first of all due to the fact that the notion of integration exists in two discourses at the same time – political and academic. Non-critical borrowing and drifting of the term from one discourse to another often take place. The notion of integration is as a rule directly connected to the politics of the receiving society. In this regard, different societies have different, even opposite, understanding of what integration is and how it must occur¹⁴.

An indication of mutual borrowing of political and academic discourses is the definition of the term of integration in academic papers through quoting political documents. V. Malahov addresses this borrowing in his overview of the notion “integration of migrants” in the western European literature by defining integration as “a category of practice”¹⁵. This being said,

¹³ Кайзер М., Бредникова О. Транснационализм и транслокальность (комментарии к терминологии) // Миграция и национальное государство: сб.ст. / Под ред. Т. Бараулиной и О. Карпенко. СПб.: ЦНСИ, 2004. С. 133–146.

¹⁴ Ager, A., Strang, A. Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework // *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 2008. Vol. 21 (2). Pp. 166–191; Loch, D. Integration as a Sociological Concept and National Model for Immigrants: Scope and Limits // *Identities* 2014. Vol. 21 (6). Pp/ 623–632; Sotkasiira T. Integration, Finnish Somalis and Their Right to Everyday Life // *The Contexts of Diaspora Citizenship: Somali Communities in Finland and the United States* / ed. by Päivi Armila, Marko Kananen, and Yasemin Kontkanen. Berlin: Springer. 2018. Pp. 111–127.

¹⁵ Малахов В.С. Интеграция мигрантов: концепции и практики. М.: Фонд «Либеральная Миссия», 2015. С. 38.

researchers admit that sociopolitical discourses tend to normativity and domination, which to a significant degree parts with expectations and wishes of migrants themselves¹⁶.

At present time, the understanding of migrants' integration is significantly changing. Researchers discuss migration from the point of view of emancipation, greater opportunities and transformation of subjectivity, underlining migrants' ability to act and make individual decisions¹⁷. Indeed, whereas in the past scientists often underlined the importance of acquiring various cultural and social competences, now integration is more frequently defined in a connection with the experience of general autonomization.¹⁸

Within Russian migration debates, integration research is utterly popular in the literature on migration starting from the middle of 2000ies. This being said, as a rule, researchers implement working definitions of the term that are relevant for certain empirical studies and do not make an attempt to generalize and conceptualize the approach. An exception is probably the works of V. Malahov¹⁹, V. Mukomel²⁰ and E. Varshaver and A. Rogacheva²¹, who understand integration as a two-part phenomenon that unites structural (in the existing social institutes of the receiving society) and cultural integration²². Researchers E. Varshaver and A. Rogacheva regard integration as a three-part phenomenon within which integration is analyzed at the level of relations between people, purposes, and institutes²³.

In this work, integration is considered on a different scale, mostly as a phenomenon of everyday life, as a part of which migrants learn to live in transnational contexts and construct routine interactions as "everyday negotiations" with a large number of integration agents. Simultaneously, integration processes develop in a variety of directions in accordance to specific life situations²⁴.

¹⁶ Grzymala-Kazłowska A., Phillimore J. Introduction: Rethinking Integration. *New Perspectives on Adaptation and Settlement in the Era of Super-Diversity // Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 2018. Vol. 44 (2). Pp. 179–196.

¹⁷ См., например: Slany K., Kontos M., Liapy M. (eds.) *Women in New Migrations: Current Debates in European Societies*. Cracow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2010. 330 pp.; Anthias 2012); Anthias F. *Transnational Mobilities, Migration Research and Intersectionality. Towards a Translocational Frame // Nordic Journal of Migration Research*. 2012. Vol. 2(2). Pp. 102–110.

¹⁸ Sotkasiira T. *Integration, Finnish Somalis and Their Right to Everyday Life*.

¹⁹ Малахов В.С. *Интеграция мигрантов: концепции и практики*.

²⁰ Мукомель В. *Интеграция мигрантов: вызовы, политика, социальные практики // Мир России. Социология. Этнология*. 2011. № 20 (1). С. 34–50.

²¹ Варшавер Е.А., Рочева А.Л. *Интеграция мигрантов: что это и какую роль в ее осуществлении может играть государство // Журнал исследований социальной политики*. 2016. № 14 (3). С. 315–330.

²² Малахов В.С. *Интеграция мигрантов: концепции и практики*.

²³ Варшавер Е.А., Рочева А.Л. *Интеграция мигрантов: что это и какую роль в ее осуществлении может играть государство*.

²⁴ Erdal M., Oeppen C. *Migrant Balancing Acts: Understanding the Interactions Between Integration and Transnationalism // Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 2013. Vol. 39 (6). Pp. 867–884.

Research question

How do the labor migrants integrate in the Russian society in their everyday life in the context of transnationalism?

Aims and objectives of the study

The goal of the dissertation study is to analyze integration processes of labor migrants in the Russian society under the circumstances of transnationalism (exemplified on the phenomenon of labor migration from the countries of Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan) to Russian cities (case of Saint-Petersburg)).

The goal of the study should be achieved by the following objectives:

- 1) To adapt and to broaden the concept of transnationalism in concern to the analysis of migrants' everyday life;
- 2) To determine major migration scripts of migrants and the connection of these scripts with the integration processes in the receiving society;
- 3) To reconstruct major indications of integration through the lens of the analysis of migrant's biographic trajectory;
- 4) To analyze the dependence of integration strategies on the character and intensity of migrants' bonds with the sending society and diaspora;
- 5) To review transnationalism as a methodological base for the research on integration processes.

Methodology

The object of study:

The theoretical object of the dissertation study is represented by the mobile subject (non-located and regularly ²⁵moving in space) and transmigrant (maintaining economic, social, cultural and other bonds with sending and receiving societies²⁶).

Temporary labor migrants coming to the Russian Federation (case of Saint-Petersburg) from the countries of Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan) in accordance with the visa free migration regime with an intention of earning money represent the *empirical* research

²⁵ Бауман З. От паломника к туристу // Социологический журнал. 1995. № 4. С. 133–154; Урри Дж. Мобильности.

²⁶ Glick Schiller N.G., Basch L., Blanc-Szanton C. Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration.

object. One has to make a note that in this study, country and cultural differences are not crucial, the research focuses on migrants who find themselves in one and the same legal and social context. The duration of migration experience of main informants is more than three years; this parameter seems to be important, because migrant has already experienced life in Russia and has reflected on this experience. Moreover, the study focuses on family members of migrants that remained in the motherland.

The subject of the dissertation study is represented by integration processes of transmigrants in the receiving society. At the same time, transmigrants are in the conditions of transnationalism and maintain a variety of social, economic, political, cultural, etc. bonds with the sending society.

Theoretical framework of the research:

The dissertation research bases on three conceptual approaches – the concept of transnationalism, the concept of integration and biographical and script approaches:

1) Transnationalism as a conceptual frame and methodological framework of the research

Transnationalism as a theoretical lens implies quite a wide range of topics and objects of study. The dissertation research bases on the following tenets:

1. The rejection of a lineal, dichotomic model of integration. Unlike other migration concepts, transnationalism does not deal with localized individuals but “transmigrants”²⁷, who live “a double life”²⁸, which allows to develop and sustain various trans-border interrelations (including economic, cultural, political, and family relations), owing to which the “transnational social space”²⁹ is constructed. Such social space combines features of two communities – the community of origin and the receiving community. According to Levitt and Jaworsky, migration is not a monodirectional process of assimilation”, but constitutes a process where migrants simultaneously but to a different degree are involved in various spheres at different levels of transnational social spaces where they are present. Such approach allows for the rejection of assimilation model and enables researchers to reconsider integration models, in the framework of

²⁷ Glick Schiller N.G., Basch L., Blanc-Szanton C. Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration.

²⁸ Portes A., Guarnizo L. E., Landolt P. The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field // Ethnic and racial studies. 1999. Vol. 22 (2). Pp. 217–237.

²⁹ Pries L. (Ed.). Migration and transnational social spaces.

which migrants are expected to fully integrate into existing social structures, institutes, and communities.

2. Transmigrants appear to exist in a dual reference system, simultaneously becoming “us” and “them”, “legal” and “illegal”, “of a family nature” and “not of a family nature”, “rich” and “poor”, etc., transitioning from one to another when necessary³⁰, owing to which a “transnational habitus”³¹ is formed, which enables migrants to switch between reference systems and integrate in different societies. In this regard, integration can be viewed as an ability to correctly assess different social and cultural contexts as well as change the reference frameworks and patterns of behavior that correspond to them.

3. Transnationalism works not only at the global level but also at the level of every day life. Material things, fashion, patterns of behavior migrate together with people and both ways³². According to research, migrants that transfer goods home basically prepare the ground for their own reintegration³³. Transnationalism specifies integration process; particularly, integration becomes fragmented – it takes place not in all spheres of life at the same time, but where (and to what degree) it is relevant for migrants themselves. For instance, if there are no children involved in a migration process, a migrant does not become involved in the sphere of education or he/she studies Russian to the degree which is necessary for his/her work. Moreover, in the framework of transnationalism integration ought to be considered as a process (constant movement); as at least three-directional process (integration in the receiving society, the society of migrants at the place of migration and reintegration in the society of origin) and as a process that does not become finite.

In this paper, transnationalism acts not only as the main conceptual framework, but as a methodological basis as well. Its tenets are the following:

-The rejection of methodological nationalism, which is understood as a tendency to treat national states and their borders as a given shape, where the research must fit,

³⁰ Абашин С.Н. Среднеазиатская миграция: практики, локальные сообщества, транснационализм. С. 10.

³¹ Kelly P., Lusia T. Migration and the Transnational Habitus: Evidence from Canada and the Philippines // *Environment and Planning A*. 2006. Vol. 38 (5). P. 831–884.

³² Levitt P., Lamba-Nieves D. Social Remittances Revisited // *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 2011. Vol. 37 (1). Pp. 1–22.

³³ Cassarino J.-P. Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited // *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IMS)*. 2004. Vol. 6 (2). Pp. 253–279.

considering that territorial borders and the boundaries of social spaces in the contemporary world do not generally match³⁴;

-The shift or the research optics from the receiving society towards a proportionately equal research of the receiving society and the society of origin.

The society of origin and its members that do not directly participate in migration are no less important for the understanding of the phenomenon than migrants themselves or the representatives of the receiving society. Those who never left their place of birth become a part of transnational social system and play a certain part in it, too;

-Family as the main unit of analysis. Migration strategies are mostly formed not by a single individual but by a nuclear or extended family, which shifts the focus of the transnational flows analysis from separate individuals to transnational families³⁵.

2) Integration as a multi-directional and fragmented process.

This paper rejects the structural functionalist approach as well as the approach of cultural determinism and ethnic exclusivism. Here, integration is regarded as an everyday phenomenon and is defined as a form of social process, in the framework of which migrants adapt to changing conditions and integrate in different communities of the receiving society or the community of compatriots and other migrants. Together with this, integration is the process of constant interaction and negotiations of migrants and non-migrants, individuals, groups, and communities³⁶. The focus of the research is migrants' everyday life and their routine interactions with their family members, compatriots, locals, etc., as well as "connectors" and "gaps" in such interactions which stem from various contexts of transnationalism.

3) Script and biographical approaches to the analysis of integration. Intersectionality.

Migrations are a specific biographical product which has its own goals and developmental logic and which is integrated in a general life trajectory of a person. In this respect, this research is interested in the approach, in the framework of which life project becomes a normalized and disseminated trajectory.

³⁴ Wimmer A., Schiller N. G. Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation–state building, migration and the social sciences; Chernilo D. A social theory of the nation-state...

³⁵ Bryceson D., Vuorela U. (Eds.). *The transnational family: New European frontiers and global networks*. Oxford: Berg, 2002. 288 pp.; Baldassar L., Merla L. (Eds.). *Transnational families, migration and the circulation of care: Understanding mobility and absence in family life*. NY: Routledge, 2013. 304 pp.

³⁶ Erdal M., Oeppen C. *Migrant Balancing Acts: Understanding the Interactions Between Integration and Transnationalism*.

Biographical trajectory in migration research originates from a classical work of W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki about the life of Polish migrants in American society³⁷. Its further development in the 1980ies is connected to the increase in biographic research and, more generally, research that employs quality methodology³⁸. In this way, migration is viewed in the context of a person's whole life and is linked to his/her past and anticipated future as a process, the meaning of which corresponds with a certain life step and changes over the course of time³⁹. The research of migrants' biographies enables scholars to outline a wide spectrum of relevant questions: how mobility is integrated into and interpreted in biography, how migrant's identity is constructed (which is especially crucial for understanding transmigrants' identities) and how identities are connected with the choice of migration scripts and integration strategies.

Script approach is considered to be a heuristic tool of description and analysis of life trajectories. Initially popular in gender research⁴⁰, it started to appear in works dedicated to migrations, the example of which could be the work of Israeli sociologists about migrants from Russia and their integration scripts⁴¹. In this paper, script is understood as a certain scheme of successive steps⁴² – an ideal model that describes life strategies and everyday practices of migrants. It is in a way a normalized and disseminated biography, which people reproduce in the situation of migration. It is also possible to regard script as a metaphor – as lines known to actors and as a course of action performed with a portion of improvisation. Script approach in this dissertation research allows to outline the range of all possible migration scripts for labor migrants from Central Asia and to analyze integration strategies that correspond to them.

³⁷ Thomas W., Znaniecki F. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Vol. 1. Primary-group organization. N.Y.: Richard G. Badger; Gorham Press, 1927. 1150 pp.

³⁸ Например: Breckner R. *Collective Identities in Migration. Biographical Perspectives on Ambivalences and Paradoxes* // *Sociology and Anthropology*. 2014. Vol. 2 (1). Pp. 15–24; Рождественская Е.Ю. *Биографический метод в социологии*. М.: Издательский дом НИУ ВШЭ, 2012. 386 с.

³⁹ Breckner R. *Case-Oriented Comparative Approaches: The Biographical Perspective as Opportunity and Challenge in Migration Research* // К. Schittenhelm (ed.). *Concepts and Methods in Migration Research*. Study Group "Cultural Capital during Migration": Conference Reader. 2007. P. 118.

⁴⁰ Например: Темкина А.А. *Сценарии сексуальности и гендерные различия* // *В поисках сексуальности / Под ред. Е.А. Здравомысловой, А.А. Темкиной*. СПб.: Изд-во Дмитрий Буланин, 2002. С. 247–286.

⁴¹ Например: Лернер Ю., Рапопорт Т., Ломски-Федер Э. *Русскоязычные студенты в Израильском университете: как работает «этнокультурный сценарий» советских евреев в эмиграции* // *Диаспоры*. 2009. № 2. С. 62–90.

⁴² Lerner J., Rapoport T., Lomsky-Feder E. *The Ethnic Script in Action: The Regrounding of Russian Jewish Immigrants in Israel* // *Ethnos*. 2007. Vol. 35 (2). Pp. 168–195.

Intersectional approach⁴³ enables us to identify the assemblage of relevant social characteristics of a migrant and his/her biographical situation that creates inequalities which influence integration processes.

Methods of data collection and analysis

In the dissertation research, not only transnationalism is regarded as the main conceptual frame but also as a methodology. Hence, the object and space of study were expanded. The research was carried out in Saint-Petersburg and in Central Asian countries – main donors of labor migration (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan). The focus of the research includes not only migrants (as main informants) but also their family members that were left behind. Moreover, the methodology of transnationalism implies focusing on links that connects the two.

Case-study method was chosen as a research strategy. The main cases were seven migrants and their family members. Three families are from Tajikistan, two are from Uzbekistan, and two from Kyrgyzstan. The research is a longitudinal study: over the course of five years (2014-2018) the changes in informants' life trajectories were being analyzed, which enabled us to track, on the one hand, the mobility of migrants in time and in connection with the changes of institutional context (including the changes in migration policies (mass deportations in 2015-2016), changes in legislation (introduction of the patent system), economic crisis that resulted in the exodus of migrants). On the other hand, it allowed to track the mobility of migrants that is connected to changing jobs, place of stay, and changes in migration strategies. Altogether, fifty-three interviews with migrants and forty-six interviews with their family members were gathered.

Recruiting of the informants took place both in Russia and in countries of origin: we were looking for informants in Saint-Petersburg and in Central Asian countries. The rapport was established due to gradual entering in the field and the duration of the relations with the informants.

The main methods of data collection and analysis are:

-Interview (with its recording) / regular conversations (with diary entries). Interview guide consisted of a number of set questions that repeat from year to year as well as additional questions connected to the current changes in migrant's life and new emphases and focuses of the research (integration, relationships over the course of time,

⁴³ Yuval-Davis N. Intersectionality and Feminist Politics // *European Journal of Women's Studies*, SAGE Publications (UK and US). 2006. Vol. 13 (3). Pp. 193–209.

relations with home, using cell services, diasporas and network with compatriot communities or other migrants in general). Each interview was transcribed;

-Observations. They were conducted at workplaces as well as in informants' homes and at their family members' homeland in the country of origin. The results of the observations were documented in a diary. There were more than hundred entries total.

Interview texts and diary entries were analyzed using thematic analysis approach as well as the analysis of social categorizations.

Contribution to the discussion of the problem in existing literature and statements to be defended

1. Within the framework of the dissertation research, the integration of labor migrants was innovatively considered from the perspective of transnationalism. At the same time, the author managed to catch the work of transnationalism at the everyday level, when different local contexts require special competencies from the migrant to read these contexts and to switch the framework of references accordingly.

2. A scenario approach has been developed to explain migration patterns. The main scenarios are identified - the immigrant scenario, the gastarbeiter scenario, the adventure scenario and the scenario of restoration of social status. Based on these scenarios, the integration processes were analyzed and integration criteria were identified.

3. For the first time, a bilateral / transnational longitudinal study of labor migrants and members of their families was conducted on the Russian material, which allowed: to discover the significant mobility of the "mobile subject"; to link the change in migration scenarios and integration strategies with the saturation and density of ties with the family left at home, and, more broadly, with the sending society, as well as with the change in the biographical situation of migrants.

4. In the dissertation research, the transnational methodology was tested and reflected, and the particularities of transnational narratives were revealed. Gaps and contradictions in the narratives of members of one family or community, multiple versions of the same event, myth-making and deceptions are very informative. Through them, different rules can be reconstructed for different communities in which a transnational migrant lives, when the "correct" narratives are presented to the interviewer, which, in his opinion, correspond to requests from the host society and do not contradict the requirements of the sender.

Analysis of data and findings

1) Migration scripts and integration strategies

Script approach is considered to be a heuristic tool of description and analysis of life trajectories. The script is understood as an ideal model which determines life strategies and predetermines migrants' everyday practices; it is a sort of normalized and disseminated biography, which people reproduce when they migrate. However, the actions of a certain person who gets into certain life conditions will vary and scripts will replace one another or combine. Employing the script approach enabled us to identify the main criteria for migration scripts; describe their repertoire (immigration, "Gastarbeiter", adventure, and social status recovery scripts); analyze transformation and continuity of the scripts as the result of changes in structural conditions and migrants' biographical contexts.

Table 1. - Repertoire of migration scripts (scenarios)

Types and criteria of a migration scenario description	Knowledge of Russian	Social networks	Life activities	Adaptation to the urban space / "building" home
1. Immigration script (the goal is to change the place of living)	Learning Russian actively	Actively building networks with locals	Labor activity and leisure time are balanced.	Active adaption to the urban space and active "building" of a new home
2. "Gastarbeiter" script (the main goal is to earn money for the family that was left behind)	Learning Russian by the necessity to a degree required for work	Relations mostly with compatriots	Labor activity prevails	Adaption to the urban space only near the workplace. Daily routine and home life are practically absent
3. Adventure script (main goal is to find joy in adventure and to get new experience)	Learning Russian by the necessity to a degree required for work	Relations mostly with compatriots	Leisure time besides labor	Knowing leisure places besides working places. Daily routine is minimized.

<p>4. Social status recovery script (the goal is to restore the social status)</p>	<p>Learning Russian by the necessity to a degree required for work</p>	<p>Relations mostly with compatriots</p>	<p>Labor activity prevails, however, active communication with other migrants exists as well</p>	<p>Adaptation to the urban space only near the workplace.</p>
---	--	--	--	---

2) The connection between migration scripts and integration processes

Transnationalism as a phenomenon of forming a unified transboundary social space and as an ability of migrants to live simultaneously in two societies (the society of origin and the receiving society) has an impact on integration process. Depending on the migration script, migrant chooses certain integration strategies and practices. Thus, within the “Gasterbeiter” script, integration to the receiving society goes only to the degree necessary for labor activity. With choosing of an adventure script one may speak of migrant’s spatial integration when migrants adapt to and even modify urban spaces by actively moving around the city using city courtyards for picnics etc. Accordingly, it is reasonable to view integration as a fragmented process.

Transnationalism not only doubles the reference frames making migrants simultaneously live in two different systems of rules where “double norms” are divided by the space. On the basis of migration, a community forms, which brings about new social norms, rules and patterns and also demands every member to respect them. Migrant is also put in a situation of a least triple reference system. As a criterion of success in everyday integration of a migrant one may take his or her ability to read social contexts correctly and to respond to requirements actualized by a specific interaction situation. A good example of this is the manipulation of the hijab by female migrants, who repeatedly wear and remove it throughout the day, depending on where they find themselves or what kind of contacts and interactions they face. Breaking the rules and following sanctions are suggestive of migrant’s bad integration.

3) Integration criteria

This research shows how less obvious but more informative criteria may act as integration indicators: the constitution of the house, social networks and information field.

4) Gender, age and marriage specifics of migration scripts and integration strategies (intersectional approach):

According to the research, the choice of a migration script and integration strategies depends not only on goals, but also on predetermined social factors. The strategy is determined by gender, age and marital status of a migrant. Other social characteristics, such as place of origin, education, professional affiliation, work experience, etc., do not bear the same level of significance.

5) Transnationalism: living under tension

The transnationalism phenomenon as a practice of living simultaneously in two or more worlds causes not only positive effects such as doubling of resources and capital but it also brings about certain tensions and conflicts, often presenting conflicting demands to a migrant.

6) The concept of “temporality” in the situation of labor migration

Roots of special features of migrant time lie primarily in the temporary position of migrants. On the one hand they treat migration as “temporary”, on the other hand they are also perceived as “temporary” by the receiving society. There is a whole repertoire of reasons that make migrants move, including the desire to earn money, a search for adventure, repeating a normalized and replicated scenario, and a desire to change social status. At the same time, the most popular and legitimate explanation of migration causes that all migrants reproduce is the specific goal of “making money for ...” - home, weddings, cars, children’s education, etc. It may seem that this approach makes migration just a temporary project which has its own finale if the goal is achieved. Nevertheless, the research shows that goals multiply clinging to one another and migration continues and becomes long-lasting. This is a kind of “extended timing”, short-term life projects with a delayed, open finale or even without it. Similar attitude could be categorized as momentarity (in Z. Bauman’s words) which is associated with ease, openness and concentration on the present. Life in a mode of extended time gives mobility and lightness to a migrant, which manifests not only in the movement itself but also in the frequent change of workplaces, residences in migration, partners, etc.

Migrant time is associated with multiple life designs when a whole repertoire of different life scripts is developed. He makes investments in all of these scenarios at the same time hoping that one of them will work and turn out to be the most relevant to his life goals. Thus, a migrant simultaneously invests in building a house in his home country, hoping to return in time; at the same time he draws up Russian citizenship in order to possibly remain in the Russian Federation; and at the same time collects information for possible migration to Sweden. All those things take place within the framework of short-term life projects which represent a range of growing opportunities.

Migrant time is also momentary because within its framework the future is “postponed”, it is localized outside of migration period, appears where migration ends. There is basically no career within the migration project, they are not building it choosing the ease of momentarity and preferring a quick profit to the detriment of the greater benefits and long-term bonuses. Studies have shown that migrants design the future as “calm” (without labor activity) old age. Moreover, the effect of deterritorialization is manifested here. "Calm old age" is not necessarily associated with the return, often it is not localized.

Life in migration can be treated as a life postponed for later. Now all the effort and all the time is devoted to making money, and “the real life will begin later, upon return” (female, migrant worker from Tajikistan, 32 years old). Such an attitude just characterizes the momentary life exclusively in the present, without the past and future, which only exist in another life.

The situation of “temporality” certainly influences the integrative strategies of migrants. And the attitude to migration as a temporary project with its end contributes to the fact that a migrant integrates into the receiving society only on those scales and scopes that are relevant “right here right now” without plans and projects for the future.

7) Transnational methodology opens up new perspectives for understanding the processes of integration to the receiving society. The rejection of methodological nationalism allows us to understand the choice of a migration script; to reveal the density and saturation of the migrant’s ties with the family left at home and the society of origin as a whole; to pin down the forms of “presence” of migrants at home. The research material demonstrates that migrants (guest worker migrants in particular) are actively “present” at home - they take part in daily planning and household management, participate remotely in raising children, live in the information field of the society of origin, etc. The expansion of research optics allows us to better understand migrant integration strategies.

Rich analysis material is provided by transnational narratives. Discussion of the same events with migrants and members of their families showed significant gaps in interpretations, revealed the existence of secrets and gaps in the information flows. The plurality of interpretations and breaks successfully reveal the multiple frames of reference and the increase in the number of “transnational worlds” in which migrants live.

General conclusions of the research

In conclusion, these are the main findings of the research related to the peculiarity of the processes of integration of labor migrants from Central Asia into Russian society:

- the research allowed to record the greater mobility of the mobile subject. Migrants not only move in space but also quickly and dramatically change their lives, regularly changing jobs, residences, partners, updating their support networks and more. At the same time, initially choosing one migration script, they can repeatedly change it in connection with changes in structural conditions or biographical contexts during migration. Migration scripts are associated with the choice of integration strategies. In this regard, one can talk about the multiplicity of integration strategies, their variability and fragmentation (migrants can be well integrated in one area of life and completely excluded from another);

- integration processes include not only the migrants themselves but also representatives of the society of origin and the receiving society. An analysis of integration processes should include all involved agents. Everyday integration is manifested in the routine interactions of all agents;

- integration processes may change direction due to the change of scripts. Often one may get the impression of the so-called disintegration - a process opposite to integration. However, this is only an evidence of a change in a migration script. In this regard, integration should be viewed not as a limited project, but as a process that cannot be completed;

- integration indicators are associated not only with the involvement of a person in institutions, but also with learning the language and basic natural patterns. Integration can be revealed by analyzing the practicing bodies of “home”, relations with societies of origin, migrant time and projections of the future, practicing the development of urban space, configurations of information fields migrants live in, etc.

- transnational optics and methodology open up new perspectives for understanding phenomenal integration. In particular they reveal how relations with the family and the society of origin influence the choice of integration strategies.

Publications

The works published by the author in journals indexed in the international databases of indexing and citation, as well as on the list of high-level journals of the HSE:

1. «On labor migration to Russia: Central Asian migrants and migrant families in the matrix of Russia's bordering policies» // Political Geography. 2018. Vol. 66. Pp. 142–150 (co-ath. with Elena Nikiforova).

2. (Non)return: could the migrants become 'ex'? // *Ethnographic Review*. 2017. № 3. P. 32–47. (in Russian)

3. Children in the migrant families: parental strategies in transnational contexts // *Anthropological forum*. 2015. № 26. P. 127–150 (co-auth. with G. Sabirova) (in Russian).

Other publications on the topic of dissertation:

1. Labour Migration and the Contradictory Logic of Integration in Russia // *The EU's Eastern Neighbourhood, Migration, Borders and Regional Stability* / Edited by Ilkka Liikanen, James W. Scott, Tiina Sotkasiira. Routledge, 2016. Pp. 148–192 (в соавт. с О. Ткач).

2. Дом для номады? // *Laboratorium*. 2010. № 3. Pp. 72–95 (в соавт. с О. Ткач).
URL: http://www.soclabo.org/UserFiles/Journal/2010.03/Art_pdf/06_article.pdf. Home for Nomade // *Laboratorium*. 2010. 3. Pp. 72-95.

3. Reshaping Living Space – Concepts of Home Represented by Women Migrants Working in St.Petersburg // *Cultural Diversity in Russian Cities: The Urban Landscape in the post-Soviet Era* / Ed. by Cordula Gdanec. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010. Pp. 70–93 (в соавт. с О. Ткач).

4) Транснационализм и транслокальность (комментарии к терминологии). // *Миграции и национальное государство* / Под ред. Т. Бараулиной и О. Карпенко. СПб., 2004. С. 133–146 (в соавт. с М. Кайзером). Transnationalism and translocality (comments for the terminology) // *Migrations and national state* / ed. by T. Baraulina and O. Karpenko. SPb. 2004. Pp. 133-146.

5) "Caucasians" in St. Petersburg: Life in tension // *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia* [Armonk]. 2002. Vol. 41 (2). Pp. 43–89 (в соавт. с О. Паченковым).