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G.M. MukhambetkaliyevaKazakh Agro-Technical University named after S. Seifullin, Astana, Kazakhstan,
gulaimmm@inbox.ru**MODERN DIASPORES AS TRANSNATIONAL ACTORS**

Abstract. Inter-ethnic interaction and inter-state relations, the formation of transnational communities lead to the development of the modern ethnic communities. The interaction between the country of origin, the country of residence of the settlement and the diaspora is interpreted in different ways. In the context of globalization, there are tendencies of gradual disappearance of borders and activation of free flows of goods, people and ideas. The result of global migration flows is becoming the formation of diaspora communities. Their influence depends on its national, demographic and other features. Diasporas reach their goals at the global, regional and national levels mainly by the impact on government institutions. Conditions are developing for their independent participation in world political processes. In this regard, many of the concepts need rethinking, and among them, first and foremost, the concept of transnational spaces, migrant and diaspora communities. Modern diasporas are increasingly acting as a political tool.

The article discusses theoretical and practical aspects of the problems of modern diaspora as an actor of international relations, also the basic conceptual approaches to the definition of the term "Diaspora" by famous scientists. Key characteristics of classical and modern diasporas are given. The article is also devoted to assessing the influence of diasporas on world politics.

Keywords: diaspora, actor in the system of international relations, transnational relations, migration trends, globalization, world politics.

Introduction. The rapid growth of immigrant communities and their institutionalization forced to talk about "the diasporization of the world" as one of the scenarios for the human development. Anyway, this process deepens and takes on new forms, while the role of diasporas and their influence are intensified. The discussion that has developed in the scientific community shows how many relevant issues remain in the study of this changing phenomenon and how great the differences are in its understanding by different researchers.

Modern diasporas exist independently and participate in transnational interactions. The likelihood of participation of diasporas in such interactions increases in certain situations, for example, with the unsatisfactory status of the diaspora in the country of residence; with the growth of the prerequisites for changing the relationship between the host state and the country of origin; and in the conditions of the socio-political crisis in the country of origin. The influence of a particular diaspora depends on its national, demographic and other characteristics. The diasporas achieve their goals at the global, regional and national levels, mainly, through influence on state institutions. In addition, the grounds appear for their participation in global political processes independently from a state.

In current realities, the scale of population migration increases. This is also facilitated by globalization. Modern means of communication allow migrants to keep in touch with their relatives. Some of the migrators return to their homeland, some of them try to adapt to the realities of their new place of residence. Large communities, united according to socio-cultural characteristics, are formed on the basis of multiple connections between the territory of origin and the place of residence. Over the past 50 years, the number of international migrants has almost tripled. If in 1960 there were 75.5 million people worldwide living outside their country of birth, then 176.6 million in 2000, and already 244 million by the end of 2015. According to UN experts, now every 35th inhabitant in the world is an international migrant, and every tenth in the developed countries [1].

The sharp increase in the scale of migration goes in parallel with the consolidation of immigrant ethnic communities. Once in a new place, the migrators usually seek to unite in order not only to survive,

but also to preserve their customs, traditions, language in an alien to them, often highly hostile ethnocultural environment. To this end, they either join the existing diasporas or create new ones. As a result, the number of diasporas in the world is continuously increasing.

The diaspora is taken to mean a transnational community of migrants that maintains a material and emotional connection with the territory of origin and at the same time adapts to new requirements and opportunities of the host society.

It is usual for properties of diasporas to include the following:

- forced nature of the migration, which forms the foundation of a diasporal community;
- the desire to maintain close ties with the territory of origin;
- isolation, which helps to maintain collective consciousness.

The previously widespread individual integration of immigrants into the host society has increasingly been replaced by collective integration, which results in a different, diasporal form of a dispersion of people. Diasporas have a serious impact on the host countries. They change their demographic structure, ethnic and confessional composition. Diasporas preserve not only their traditions, customs, rituals, but often impose values on society that are alien to them. The influence of the diasporas is growing not only on the domestic, but also on the foreign policy of the host countries, since large transnational diasporas, which have significant financial resources, are actively lobbying the interests of those countries that recently have been their homeland and with whom they have close ties.

In the late 1970s, a number of works appeared that served as a starting point for further studies of the problems generated by diasporization. A great contribution to the theoretical understanding of the phenomenon of the diaspora was made by such occidental researchers as J. Armstrong, R. Brubaker, M. Dabag, J. Clifford, W. Conner, R. Cohen, W. Safran, G. Sheffer, M. Esman and others.

Two conditional trends can be distinguished in the studies of diasporas: pragmatic and complex. The interaction that has developed between them in the mid-90's of the 20 century formed a new subdiscipline - diaspora studies. The pragmatic trend is engaged in research of political and economic resources of diasporas, and developing practical recommendations on the interaction of states and diasporas. Diasporas are also able to create networks in which states become one of multiple links [2]. Researchers belonging to the second trend, turn their attention to the issues of reproduction of complex cultural systems and the problems of the formation of hybrid communities.

Within the framework of these trends, various approaches dominate to define the concept of the diaspora. The most common definition, formulated by W. Safran and expanded by R. Cohen, lists the following features defining diaspora: - expansion from a clearly fixed territorial space and migration in two or more regions or states, including change of residence for trade, employment or colonization reasons; - existence of a myth or collective memory of the homeland, its territory, history and achievements; - idealization of the past and the collective commitment to the myth of the homeland, which determine the desire for its preservation, prosperity, security, restoration, which can be understood as the creation of a separate state on the clearly fixed territory of a third country; - orientation for the subsequent return to the homeland - at least in symbolic form; - special type of identity, based on differences from the "host" state population and on the realization of a common future; - solidarity and substantial mutual understanding between members of the group and members of similar groups of the same origin in third countries - ability of the group to fully self-reproduce in "local" conditions taking into account all differences and alienation from local residents [3].

Thus, numerous studies have been devoted to the phenomenon of the diaspora, but the concept of "diaspora" is still not clearly defined and is treated by scientists in different ways. Obviously, this is due to the fact that the diaspora is the subject of study of various sciences and disciplines - history, sociology, ethnology, political science, culturology, etc., and this implies the inevitability of a variety of approaches to understanding this complex and diverse phenomenon.

Researchers also identify different types of diasporas and attempt to classify them. Thus, S.A. Arutyunov and S.Ya. Kozlov distinguish diasporas according to their formation. They include in the group of old diasporas those that existed since ancient times or the Middle Ages: the Jewish, Greek, and Armenian diasporas in Europe and West Asia, Chinese and Indian in the countries of South-East Asia.

R. Brubaker introduced into scientific circulation a new concept - "diasporas of cataclysm". The appearance of such diasporas is associated with the disintegration and dissipation of large state entities

that lead to the change in political boundaries. The main idea put by R. Brubaker in the basis of separating the “diasporas of cataclysm” is not the movement of people across borders, but the movement of the borders themselves. “Diasporas of the cataclysm”, unlike already familiar historical or labor diasporas, appear instantly, as a result of a drastic change in the political system, contrary to people's wishes. They are more compact compared to labor diasporas, which tend to be scattered in space and poorly rooted in the host countries [4]. Professor of the University of Wisconsin (USA) J. Armstrong in his classification of diasporas proceeds from the nature of their interaction with the multi-ethnic state in which they settled. He identifies two types of diasporas: “mobilized” and “proletarian”. “Mobilized” diasporas have a long and complex history, they have evolved over centuries. These diasporas have the capacity for social adaptation, and therefore they are deeply rooted in the society that has accepted them. J. Armstrong classifies primarily the Jewish diaspora (he calls it archetypal, ie, the true, original diaspora) and Armenian as a category of “mobilized” diasporas. “Proletarian” diasporas are young, emerging ethnic communities. J. Armstrong considers them “disadvantaged product of modern policy” [5].

The typology proposed by V.D. Popkov is of great interest. He classifies diasporas on the basis of eight criteria:

1. Similar historical destiny.
2. Legal status.
3. Circumstances of the appearance of diasporas.
4. Aspects of motivation for migration.
5. Specifics of stay in the settlement area.
6. Availability of “base” in the new settlement area.
7. “Cultural similarity” with the host population.
8. The existence of state entities in the territory of the country of origin.

The interpretation of M.J. Esman seems to be optimal. He suggests considering diaspora as a transnational community of migrants, supporting material and emotional ties with the territory of origin and, at the same time, adapting to the limitations and opportunities of the host society [6]. M. Esman emphasizes that between the diaspora, its so-called historical homeland and the country of its current residence there is a constant interaction, which can take a variety of forms. A characteristic feature of the diaspora is the ability to have a direct influence on events in both the country of residence and the country of “origin”. In some cases, the “native” country can seek help from the diaspora, while in others it can act in defense of its diaspora, whose rights and interests, it believes, are violated.

So-called “accidental” diasporas, or diasporas of cataclysm, resulting from changes in state boundaries, constitute a special variety. Their representatives didn't think of self-identification, but as a result of conditional migration to another state, which often didn't even mean a change of residence, suddenly turned out to be part of an ethnic or multiethnic group (minority).

An important function of the diaspora, according to the researchers, is active participation in maintaining, developing and strengthening of the spiritual culture of its people, in the cultivation of national traditions and customs, in maintaining of cultural ties with its historic homeland. In this connection, a special factor is the preservation of the native language, since it is a transmitter of the national culture, and its loss affects the spiritual sphere of the ethnic community, that is, its customs, traditions, and consciousness [7].

But the main function of the diaspora is the preservation of ethnic consciousness or sense of belonging to a certain ethnic group, which is outwardly manifested in the form of self-appellation or ethnonym. Its internal content consists of the opposition “we - they”, the idea of the common origin and historical destinies, the connection with “native land” and “mother tongue”.

In recent years, scientists, involved in the study of problems associated with diasporal processes, are increasingly talking about “eroding the usual ideas about the diaspora” and about the emergence of a new feature in modern diasporas - transnationality. According to A.S. Kim, modern diasporas are “special social groups whose identity is not determined by any particular territorial formation; the scale of their distribution allows us to say that the phenomenon of diasporality has already become transnational in nature” [8]. Considering the problem of diasporal transnationality, according to A.S. Kim, two important factors should be considered:

1) Socio-economic and political cataclysms lead to the emergence of numerous groups interested in migration to incultural, other ethnic territories: refugees, internally displaced persons, persons seeking temporary or political asylum, flows of post-colonial migrants.

2) The basis for the emergence of diasporal communities is ethnic migration. Ethnic migrants are interested not just in migration, but in settling for a long-term in the host country. But immigrants have a dilemma to some extent: successful adaptation (integration) or separation (ethnocultural isolation, and maybe return to the historical homeland).

The transformation of diasporas, according to V.A. Tishkov, was the result of a change in the spatial displacements, the emergence of new vehicles and communication opportunities, as well as activities. Absolutely other emigrants appeared. They participate in decision-making at the microgroup level and affect other important aspects of the life of two or more communities at once. Thus, due to the constant circulation of people, money, goods, and information, a single community begins to form. "This emerging category of human coalitions and forms of historical ties can be called transnational communities", thinks V.A. Tishkov [9].

As for the role of diasporas in world policy, it must be specially noted that emotional ties are at the basis of their emergence. These ties are potentially more intense than political interaction, but they are less stable than institutional communication. Diaspora is initially formed as a community that ignores existing borders and seeks to unite people on cultural specificities. Therefore, diaspora activities are transnational in nature, and influence is exercised through transnational mechanisms. Thus, the diasporas correspond to the known criteria of non-state (transnational) actors of world policy. The activities of transnational actors cover many areas and are developing so rapidly that academic science can't keep up to record and interpret it fully [10].

Despite the large number and qualitative variety of non-state actors in world policy, they have a number of common characteristics. Researchers M. Keck and K. Sicking note that transnational actors are characterized by: creative approach to the use of communication media; conviction of the possibility to make changes; adherence to principles in combination with sophisticated political strategies, including joining the coalition with other actors [11].

A characteristic feature of transnational actors is the impact on specific state or public institutions. Israeli researchers J. Shane and A. Bart enumerate situations when diasporas can have both direct and indirect influence on world policy: 1) the current social status in the "host" state doesn't satisfy the diaspora; 2) the country of origin seeks to express the opinion of all representatives of the ethnic group, including those residing in other countries; 3) actions regarding the diaspora in the "host" country may affect its relations with the motherland of the members of this diaspora; 4) the diaspora seeks to change the foreign policy of the "host" state; 5) the diaspora may influence the foreign policy of the country of origin [12].

M.J. Esman, a well-known expert on ethnicity and ethnic communities, added to the above list: 6) members of the diasporas support transnational connections, which in itself reduces the control of states over certain clusters of social life; 7) states can use the resources of the diasporas to achieve political and economic goals; 8) the diaspora can seek protection against the country of origin from the "host" state in case of aggravation of the conflict with the country of origin; 9) the diaspora becomes an active participant in the economic, cultural and political development of its homeland; 10) the representatives of the diaspora may be involved in the activities of transnational criminal (including terrorist) networks [13]. In addition, it is not uncommon for diasporas to form an alternative to the political regime of the country of origin, including government in exile, parties and social movements.

In most cases, the diaspora influences world policy through a specific state. Despite the often unfair migratory policy and individual acts of xenophobia, the diasporas don't interrupt contacts with the institutions of the "host" countries. Moreover, in the long term, both sides are interested in interaction. Many diasporas are actively involved in whole sectors of the economy of the "host" state, and most importantly - they are in demand on the labor market.

G. Sheffer draws attention to the relevance of the problems connected with the transnational character of modern diasporas. He notes that the diasporas are increasingly influencing the situation in their places of residence, as well as reaching a regional and international level of decision-making in all parts of the world [14]. Diasporas are able to break out of this “triangle”: for example, with the strengthening of the transnational segment of their activities, in the case of a conflict with the state of origin or lack of state system in the territory of origin. The above-mentioned concept of transnational interactions is used in a narrow and broad sense. A narrow sense implies that community members are involved in legal transnational structures, are members of political parties and public organizations. And as for a broad sense, it is enough that representatives of diasporas attend the events of such parties and organizations. Accordingly, in a narrow sense, transnational interactions are regular and orderly, and in a broad sense, they represent random combinations of actions and interests [15].

Trans-state networks include a variety of contacts and ties established by social groups, political structures and economic institutions across national borders. G. Sheffer believes that the ability to create cross-border networks proceeds from the essence of ethnonational diasporas and the structure of these ties is very complicated and confusing. It is impossible to control fully the flow of resources and information through transnational networks created by diasporas. G. Sheffer underlines that diasporas are not threatened with extinction. On the contrary, in the context of globalization in different states, new immigrant communities will appear, and the number of old ones will increase. Accordingly, strengthening of the diaspora organizations and cross-border support networks should be expected, and the increasing politicization of leaders and regular members of diasporas will promote their active participation in the cultural, economic and political life of the host societies [14, 170].

Taking into account the variety and network organization of the diasporas, their influence depends on the following factors: - share of migrants of the same origin in the country's population; - concentration of representatives of diasporas in certain sectors of the economy or state, regional and municipal administration; - degree of localization of the diaspora in a certain territory; - level of solidarity and the availability of political mobilization mechanisms; - degree of involvement of the diaspora in the political systems of the territory of origin and host country. The resources of the diaspora (in fact, their elites) are based on the solidarity of the members of the community. Solidarity forms a wide range of mechanisms for strengthening the entire community - from political mobilization to concentration of material resources in lobbying. Diasporas can use their own culture (literature, religious organization, cuisine specificities) to form an image that will determine the actions of other actors. According to M.M. Lebedeva, these resources are socio-political and humanitarian [16]. The consequences of diaspora activities as actors of world policy are difficult to predict. It is suggested that migration processes destruct the structure nation-state, since the nation loses its linkage to the territory, and thereby “globalizes”. There is a process of formation of global nations [17]. On the other side, ethnic and cultural diversity in the world doesn't disappear. Hence, the formation of new hybrid political structures and mechanisms for remote control is underway [18].

Conclusion. It should also be noted that the growing process of transforming diasporas into transnational networks makes significant adjustments to the understanding by researchers of the essential characteristics of the diaspora and, as a consequence, to its definition. Therefore, it seems that the discussion on all these issues that are currently underway in the scientific community will undoubtedly continue, and the diaspora theme will not lose its significance in the short term, but instead will become even more topical.

Thus, diasporas can influence world policy, using a variety of mechanisms. In most cases, the diasporas achieve their goals by influencing the state, that, however, doesn't exclude the independence of such communities. In some cases, diasporas are not only initiators of interactions, but also ensure their duration. For the fulfillment of such tasks within the diasporas, there is a kind of elite that formulates the interests of all compatriots and develops a strategy for its activities to achieve concrete results. This group within the community operates with a socio-political and humanitarian resource of influence. Given a

certain number of the community, the political and economic potentials, all of the above characterizes the diaspora as an actor of world policy.

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ЗАМАНАУИ ДИАСПОРАЛАР ТРАНСҰЛТТЫҚ АҚТОРЛАР РЕТІНДЕ

Аннотация. Этникааралық, мемлекетаралық байланыстар мен трансұлттық қауымдастықтардың құрылуы заманауи диаспоралардың өркендеуіне себепкер. Азаматтардың туып-шыққан өлкесі, тұрғылықты өмір сүретін мемлекеті мен диаспора ішіндегі қарым-қатынастары әр-түрлі себептерге байланысты. Жаһандану заманында ел шекаралары жоғалып, тауарлар мен жаңа идеялардың, ен бастысы адамдардың еркін «ағыны» басталды. Мұндай әлемдік көші-қон ағындарының нәтижесінде жаңа диаспоралар да құрылуда. Диаспоралардың тигізетін әсері оның ұлттық, демографиялық және басқа да сипаттамаларына қарай өзгереді. Олар

өздерінің жаһандық, өңірлік және ұлттық деңгейдегі мақсаттарын негізінен мемлекеттік мекемелерге сүйеніп жүзеге асырады. Соның арқасында диаспоралардың әлемдік саяси процестерге еркін қатысу мүмкіндіктері де қолға алынып отыр. Жасалған істің нәтижесін тез арада көру үшін, мигранттар мен диаспора қауымдас-тықтары жөніндегі тұжырымдамаларды да қайта зерттеу талап етеді. Себебі, диаспоралар қазіргі заманғы саяси құрал.

Мақалада заманауи диаспоралардың халықаралық қатынастардағы рөлі, теориялық және практикалық мәселелері орын алды. Сондай-ақ, «диаспора» терминіне ғылыми тұрғыда берілген анықтама өрнектері ұсынылып, классикалық және қазіргі заманғы диаспоралардың сипаттамалары берілді. Мақала диаспоралар-дың әлемдік саясатқа тигізетін әсерін бағалауға арналған.

Тірек сөздер: диаспора, халықаралық қатынастар, трансұлттық қатынастар, көші-қон үрдістері, жаһандану, әлемдік саясат.

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СОВРЕМЕННЫЕ ДИАСПОРЫ КАК ТРАНСНАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ АКТОРЫ

Аннотация: Межэтнические взаимодействия и межгосударственные отношения, формирование транснациональных сообществ обуславливает развитие современных этнических диаспор. Взаимодействие между страной исхода, страной проживания поселения и диаспорой интерпретируется по-разному. В условиях глобализации происходят тенденции постепенного исчезновения границ и активизации свободных потоков товаров, людей и идей. Результатом глобальных миграционных потоков становятся образование диаспорных сообществ. Влияние диаспоры зависит от её национальных, демографических и других особенностей. Своих целей на глобальном, региональном и национальном уровнях диаспоры достигают преимущественно путём воздействия на государственные институты. Формируются условия для их самостоятельного участия в мировых политических процессах. В связи с этим, многие понятия нуждаются в переосмыслении, и среди них, в первую очередь, понятия транснационального пространства, сообщества мигрантов и диаспоры. Современные диаспоры все больше выступают как политический инструмент.

В статье рассматриваются теоретико-практические аспекты проблем современной диаспоры как актора международных отношений, а также основные концептуальные подходы определения термина «диаспора». Приводятся ключевые характеристики классических и современных диаспор. Статья также посвящена оценке влияния диаспор на мировую политику.

Ключевые слова: диаспора, актор в системе международных отношений, транснациональные отношения, миграционные тенденции, глобализация, мировая политика.