

INTERSUBJECTIVE UNDERSTANDING OF VIOLENCE: THE LIFEWORLD
OF TAJIK IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA

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OF TAJIK IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA

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To my wife Dilorom and my daughters Afifa, Farëna and Ozoda, who inspired me to seek knowledge.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADC	Anti-Discrimination Centre Memorial
CESR	Central Eurasian Studies Review
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CISR	The Centre for Independent Social Research
CPRF	Communist Party of the Russian Federation
CSS	Centre for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
DGRF	Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation
DGRT	Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
FDI	Foreign direct investment
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FIDH	International Federation for Human Rights
FLRF	Federal Law of the Russian Federation
FMS	Federal Migration Service, Russia
FN	Field Notes
GAMI	General Administration for Migration Issues, Russia (former FMS)
GDP	Gross domestic product
GNI	Gross national income
<i>Gosduma</i>	State Duma, the lower house of the parliament of Russia
GoT	Government of Tajikistan
ICRMW	International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
ILAB	Bureau of International Labor Affairs
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MIA of Russia	Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation

MFA of Russia	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation
MN	[<i>Majlisi Namoyandagon</i>], lower house of parliament of Tajikistan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OGRT	Order of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
RF	Russian Federation
RT	Republic of Tajikistan
Rosstat	Russian Federal State Statistics Service
SIZO	[<i>Sledstvennyy izolyator</i>], pre-trial detention center
SOVA	Center for Information and Analysis
TajStat	Statistical Agency under President of the Republic of Tajikistan
TJS	[<i>Somoni</i>], Tajik currency
TMS	Tajik Migration Service
TSNU	Tajik State National University
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
MOHSP	Ministry of Health and Social Protection of Population, Tajikistan
UN	United Nations
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
VSIOM	Russian Public Opinion Research Center
WB	World Bank
WGI	World Governance Indicators
WHO	World Health Organization

GLOSSARY OF TAJIK AND RUSSIAN WORDS

<i>barakah</i> (Taj.)	Arabic word for blessing or grace from God.
<i>blat</i>	a systemic form of corruption, a system of acquaintance or contacts used for personal purposes and infringing on the interests of third parties.
<i>Doshirak</i>	a Korean brand of instant food products sold in precooked and dried blocks in Russia and CIS countries.
<i>druzhinnik</i>	voluntary organization of citizens helping police to maintain public order.
<i>dvornik</i>	a janitor, an employee who maintains the cleanliness and order in the yard and on the street near the houses.
<i>Idi Qurbon</i> (Taj.)	feast of sacrifice. Both words in this phrase come from the Arabic language, the first part <i>id</i> is a holiday, and the second part <i>qurbon</i> is a sacrifice. This is one of the greatest Islamic holidays. On this day, Muslims commemorate the memory of Abraham and his son Ishmael by offering sacrifices.
<i>kidat'</i>	throwing; in the context used in this dissertation means “clearly, brazenly deceiving”.
<i>krysha</i>	a group of people who provides protection to someone or serves as a cover for any activity. It is typically a criminal group.
<i>mezhetnicheskii</i>	inter-ethnic (see also <i>mezhnatsional'nyi'</i>).
<i>mezhnatsional'nyi</i>	inter-national. In Russian context, the term <i>mezhnatsional'nyi</i> [inter-national] is used interchangeably with <i>mezhetnicheskii</i> [inter-ethnic]. Both can be interpreted in English as ‘interracial’ in the sense that these terms are deployed in the Russian media (see also <i>mezhetnicheskii</i>)
<i>muhajiri kori</i> (Taj.)	labor (im)migrant
<i>mullah</i> (Taj.)	a religious leader, expert on the Koran and religious rites. The word mullah comes from the Arabic word mawla, which means "master" and "guardian".
<i>oblast</i>	a type of administrative unit in Russia. The term is translated into English in different ways, as “province”, “area”, or “region”. In the

	successor states of the former Soviet Union some still use a cognate of the Russian term. In Tajikistan, it is used as <i>viloyat</i> .
<i>patent</i>	a document that allows foreign immigrants arriving in a visa-free regime to legally work in Russia.
<i>pilaf</i>	a dish of rice and meat. It is arguably one of the most popular cross-cultural foods in the world. Tajiks call it "palov".
<i>ponayekhavshiy</i>	the word is formed from the verb <i>ponayékhat'</i> , which means 'come in large numbers'. The notion has a derogatory connotation and is used to emphasize the fact that immigrants arrive in large numbers and are not welcome.
<i>Russkaya zachistka</i>	Russian cleansing, including ethnic cleansing. <i>Zachistka</i> operations were conducted against immigrant vendors (see also <i>zachistka</i>).
<i>Sakharovo</i>	Moscow Migration Center. Sakharovo is the name of the village. In 2015, a multifunctional migration center of the FMS was opened near the village. The migration center also has a special detention center for immigrants awaiting deportation.
<i>somoni</i> (Taj.)	Tajikistani somoni, TJS, is the currency of Tajikistan.
<i>tawakkal</i> (Taj.)	The concept means believing in God and relying completely on him. For a believer, this word simply conveys an acceptance of God's will and needs no further rationalization (see also <i>tawakkal ba Khuda</i>).
<i>tawakkal ba Khuda</i>	This study used its reduced form, <i>az tawakkal</i> . It means having complete confidence in God or trusting in God's plan. For many Tajik believers therefore, the <i>tawakkal [ba Khuda]</i> simply means "justice". Whatever happens after that is considered just (see also <i>tawakkal</i>).
<i>tozherossiyane</i>	the word is formed from adding an adverb <i>tozhe</i> [also] to the noun <i>rossiyane</i> (the name of the citizens of Russia regardless of their nationality). This word is used in relation to non-Russian citizens who came to Russia, especially labor immigrants. The literary meaning of the word is "also are Russians".
<i>ustad</i> (Taj.)	term of honor for highly respected teachers and artists in Tajik, Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and many more languages of the Muslim world.
<i>votchina</i>	a Russian (historical) word. It refers places where labor immigrants feel and behave like masters, "masters of the place".

zachistka

a term meaning “cleansing”, including ethnic cleansing (see also *Russkaya zachistka*).

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes the phenomenon of violence in the context of labor migration from Tajikistan to Russia. It examines the legal framework for migration policy and asks how sociology can understand the experience of violence and how social phenomenology can contribute to this understanding. I apply Alfred Schutz's theory of intersubjectivity to understand migration violence.

Migration violence in Russia has been interpreted as an abstract phenomenon rather than the experience of labor immigrants. It is a reductive understanding of violence that ignores the perspectives of the immigrants themselves. Such interpretation of violence is incompatible with its intersubjective understanding. The understanding of migration violence in this thesis is not only what is recognized as the violence of one subject against another, but the essence of this violence and its real picture which lie deeper in state policies and the stories of labor immigrants themselves. In studying these stories and the relationship between labor migration and violence I show how Tajik labor immigrants experience institutionalized and noninstitutionalized violence.

An intersubjective understanding that I propose in this thesis is founded upon the relationship between the perspective of labor immigrants and the social context. Moreover, I show how understanding is constituted in infusion of mass media information into a social context. In this sense, the lifeworld perspective of immigrants

or, as Schutz notes, their 'biographical situation' provides a basic frame of orientation that guides me to generate understanding in a complex lifeworld of labor migration.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The daily life of Tajik labor immigrants in Russia is continuously challenged by the power relations. The main aspect of these power relations is the nature of everyday interactions between residents of Russia and immigrants of Tajikistan. Immigrants face challenges and threats when interacting with local residents, representatives of the police and the *Federal Migration Service* (FMS).¹ These relationships often end with violence against Tajik labor immigrants.

I began this research looking at domestic media to gain deeper meaning of the content of the problem being studied. The frequent media reports about unemployment, labor immigration and violence have indeed provided a base to form an analytic framework of current research. Having understood the essence of the problem and faced with many unanswered questions, I decided that research into the problem of violence against Tajik labor immigrants would require more critical work. I was thus convinced that such a study would lead to a deeper understanding of the problem and result in an improvement in the situation of Tajik labor immigrants at work and their social life.

Thus, the objectives of the thesis are as follows:

– to analyze the full reality of violent behavior of Russian residents towards Tajik labor immigrants in Moscow and St. Petersburg;

¹ I mark and interpret all Russian and Tajik words and phrases in the Glossary section. They are interpreted in their first usage. All Tajik words followed by [*Taj.*], otherwise they are Russian. In the body text, I mark them in italics, but I do not use italics in cases of commonly used words. Informant names have been changed; the names of the experts are original. The quotations are verbatim; they are transcribed and translated from recorded interviews and conversations. All audio recordings of these interviews and conversations in the original language and their transcripts are kept by the author.

- to examine potential factors causing the inhospitable behavior of Russian residents in relation to Tajik labor immigrants in Russia;
- to assess the migration policy of Russia and Tajikistan from a sociological perspective in due conformity with the legislation in force and, a possible adaptation of Tajik labor immigrants to Russian realities.

1.1 Topic and Thesis

No modern society can be understood without understanding the situations of violence in it. The very phenomenon of violence in sociological thinking is a highly problematic and controversial concept and sociologists were unable to agree on what exactly violence means (Imbusch 2003:19). In my opinion, in defining and grouping different forms of violence, motivation is the main criterion. At least in my own attempts to define types of violence, I have focused on this principle. Violence may have hostile or instrumental, as well as aggressive or defensive motivations. In my study, I could distinguish all these types of violence depending on the motivation of the actors. During fieldwork, I observed when the actor simply acted irrationally and with rage to inflict harm (hostile violence), or the actor sought to assert his dominance (instrumental violence), or his or her actions tended to be proactive (aggressive violence) or reactive (defensive violence). The last type, defensive violence, is based on a response to aggression or provocation, and I can conventionally call it the “*immigrant violence*”, when an immigrant responds to violence with violence. I discuss this in the introductory part of the third chapter of this thesis. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the outbreak of chaos in post-Soviet societies, Russian society rapidly became multicultural

due to increased migration. Even if many emigrated to Russia, they lived there within their ethnic group and titular nation. They lived in relatively isolated sociocultural fields formed by relatives and friends. Each such sociocultural field had its own norms, values and rules for interpreting things and actions, as well as its own nuances of understanding. People lived in one society, but in a separate social world. Each social and cultural field produced a separate social world, or, one might say, 'a small social lifeworld'. Outside of one's lifeworld and the field of understanding, *Others* worked and lived. However, in everyday life, these small lifeworlds and artificially created 'us' and 'others' cannot get away from each other, and they are destined to live together.

Russian residents and foreign immigrants live in such a space of isolated lifeworld. They live nearby in physical space, but infinitely far away in social space. The atmosphere of sociocultural isolation contributes to the growth of various misunderstandings and hatred. Others are "strange" and "troubled", or even "dangerous" because of their otherness. The barrier of misunderstanding is fraught with otherness and alienation at best, and violence or bloody conflicts at worst. Violence in the former allegedly 'non-conflict society' has become a sort of everyday norm.

Migration violence has been a frequent topic in news and public discourse in Tajikistan since the 2000s. Tajik labor immigrants in Russian society are more vulnerable to violence and xenophobia than in any other society (Mukomel 2014; Jurayeva 2014). This violence also leads to potential deaths. In particular, youth violence against Tajik immigrant children unleashed by xenophobic nationalism, can only be called dehumanizing violence (Chernina and Lokshin 2013; Chupik 2015; Bessudnov 2016). This type of extreme violence is characterized by a mixture of xenophobic nationalism

and ultra-subjective violence. This dissertation examines violence against Tajik labor immigrants in St. Petersburg and Moscow between 2000 and 2018. In this thesis, I argue that migration violence in Russian society is driven by the processes of new religious and political ideologies, nationalism and neoliberal thinking (Panov 2010:86). On the other hand, factors such as the civil conflict in Tajikistan (1992-1997), followed by high unemployment were the key driving forces of the evolution and escalation of violence.

The title of my dissertation informs how authentic and objective social knowledge is possible. I believe that the first question a researcher should ask himself is whether he considers his position objective. This is especially important in my position as a representative of one side of the research object. This truth points to the fact that the issue of intersubjectivity of knowledge is important in this study, which will be detailed in Chapter 3.

An intersubjective understanding that I would like to propose in this dissertation arises from the study of the relationship between the thoughts of labor immigrants themselves and the social context. At the same time, I will also discuss the problems of nescience, knowledge gaps, the infusion of mass media information into a social system, and non-knowledge as inherent features of the process of understanding formation. In this sense, the thoughts of immigrants or, as Schutz notes, a “biographical situation” (Schutz 1999: 167) provides the basic frame of orientation that guides me to generate understanding in a complex social world of labor migration. Such an approach is drawn from a lifeworld perspective. I believe such a novel approach is needed due to a knowledge gap in understanding violence against labor immigrants.

The value of this study is in its intersubjective nature of understanding. There is no objective truth in subjective experience; it is an indisputable fact of our own experience. We can only experience our own lives. Therefore, a non-subjective state of perception is impossible. And because we are limited by subjective experience, an objective perspective is not feasible. Therefore, I argue that violence against labor immigrants cannot be understood without a description of intersubjective experience. This is a prerequisite for understanding violence against Tajik labor immigrants.

The issue of violence against labor immigrants in Russia is currently within the framework of complex and uncertain and, therefore, unresolved issues. These uncertainties and complexities further complicate the situation of labor immigrants. At a phenomenological level, the question of how immigrants' ethnicity and experiences relate to the problem of violence largely depends on how they actually know and use their rights and responsibilities. Therefore, my goal is to elicit how Tajik immigrant workers interpret their everyday experiences in the social, cultural and political world in which they live and work. Labor migration in itself should not be seen as a problem for Tajikistan; it does not in itself lead directly to violence. Today the whole world is faced with migration. But the consequences of labor migration for Tajikistan, violence, remittance and death of labor immigrants in Russia, should be viewed as a “Tajik issue”. Therefore, I believe that it must be understood (and resolved) as one of the most important foreign policy problems of Tajikistan.

1.1.1 Tajikistan, Tajiks and Labor Migration

Public debate in Tajikistan over emigration to Russia is everyday debate. Consequently, a management of immigrant problems is one of the first social tasks in Tajikistan. The reasons and motives for migration to Russia have their roots in mass consciousness. Hence, studying migration and its impact on labor markets is important not only for Russia, but also for Tajikistan due to the nature of mass migration of population. According to my observation, much of Russian scientific works on labor migration avoid the issues of violence, nationalism and xenophobia. This study is one of the very few studies that tackle the issue. The need for study about migration violence is caused by serious difficulties in the understanding of this problem. This problem encompasses a formation of the process of migration in Tajikistan to the nature of migratory behavior and adaptation of immigrants into Russian communities. This is one of the mutual responsibilities of the states and public structures both in Russia and in Tajikistan. Below I would like to summarize the political and economic situation in Tajikistan (Map 1). The main event that distinguishes the social, political and economic situation of modern Tajikistan from the situation of other post-Soviet states is the Tajik civil war of 1992-1997 (Laruelle 2007:104). This largely determines the situation with labor migration, as well as the social and legal status of Tajik labor immigrants in Russia and other countries. Apart from Russia, Tajikistan has bilateral agreements with Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar.

Tajikistan is a country with a high unemployment rate. According to experts, the unemployment rate ranges from 35 to 45% of the working age population. Every year, from 1.5 to 2 million Tajik citizens leave for Russia for labor migration, which is about 90% of all Tajik labor migrants (Sharipov 2014). Millions of Tajik migrants have left

their country over the past two decades. While the great majority of those Tajiks traveled to the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan was the second most popular destination (Olimov 2003). In addition, they could be found throughout Europe and North America, but in very small numbers. Obviously, these transnational connections frequently offered Tajik migrants and their country, as well as their host societies, tremendous advantages. But the history of Tajik emigration and immigration per se was internal migration within the former USSR, which after its collapse automatically turned into external migration. It is a known fact that the people of the Soviet Union were isolated from the outside world. Those people moved within multilingual and multiethnic contexts and lived in transcultural communities made up of *sovetskii narod* (Soviet people) thinking about building a society of “brotherhood and friendship of peoples” (Suny 2012: 30).

Map of Tajikistan.



Map 1: Map of Tajikistan.

Source: Austin Public Library, University of Texas. Available online.

According to Tajik media and TV news reports, the Tajik authorities want to reduce their dependence on Russia and redirect the flow of labor migration to the Arab

East, to the markets of Kuwait, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. These states need qualified doctors, engineers, builders and drivers from Tajikistan. But the Tajik government tends to send only builders and drivers and sign labor contracts with those who wish and guarantee medical care, housing, work and decent wages. The conditions for sending and the legal status of Tajik labor migrants to these countries have been discussed for several years. The government could not manage labor migration problems, and this still becomes the reason for the mass departure of Tajik citizens to Russia. Meanwhile, hundreds of Tajik citizens have long worked in Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia. They got there through employment law firms in Tajikistan. Although these firms have assured labor migrants of safety and compliance with all contract clauses, in reality they have faced enormous social problems and hardships (Chorshanbiev 2017). In fact, the redirection of labor migration to the developed countries of Asia and Europe is a complex issue for Tajikistan. First, these countries mostly need highly qualified personnel that Tajikistan is not able to provide, and second, language challenges make it difficult for migrants themselves. At the same time, Russia has always been and still is the main recipient of labor migration from Tajikistan; 97.6% of the total number of Tajik labor migrants leave for Russia and only 2.3% go to Kazakhstan (Chorshanbiev 2017).

There are also historical moments that affect the process. In Soviet and post-Soviet academia, when the Tajik nation has been researched, scholars generally held a so-called country-centrist perspective within political boundaries. This approach has always made Tajiks a part of the history of Russia and Uzbekistan, and always kept them dependent on them (Foltz 1996). At that time, the political and historical facts of the

Tajik history were always hidden. This led to the fact that the cultural landscape of Central Asia was completely restructured. Canadian-American scholar Richard Foltz (2019) took a different approach, which radically disrupts the prior Soviet and post-Soviet perspectives. According to him, Tajiks are the eastern branch of the Persian-speaking Iranians, but historical events “have created divides and distinctions between Persians and Tajiks that are very real” (Foltz 2019: 2). Their political separation from Iran dates back only to the middle of the eighteenth century. For Foltz, Tajiks are ‘Iranians of the East’ (Foltz 2019). He defined Tajiks as a Persian-speaking sedentary people of Iranian origin, whose homeland is the interfluvium of Central Asia from Herat and Balkh to Bukhara, Fergana and Badakhshan.¹

Foltz’s book *A History of Tajiks* (2019) looks at the history of Tajikistan through the eyes of an outsider, but a sympathetic observer. While attending the University of Missouri, I had the opportunity to speak with many Iranians of modern Iran. Obviously, they studied the history of their country and the Tajik history from other sources. For them, Tajiks are the same Persians living in the eastern territories of Greater Khorasan [*Khorāsān-e Bozorg*]. This is, in fact, similar to what I read in Foltz’s book: “The term ‘Tajik’ bears some discussion and clarification, especially in its relationship to the better-known designation of ‘Persian’. One might object to using it at all, since in a broad sense Tajiks and Persians can be considered as a single people and Tajikistan merely one of the eastern territories of Greater Iran” (Foltz 2019: 2). Then he describes another interesting

¹ Although these historical facts directly affect the state of today’s Tajik labor migration, I would not go into details here. Richard Foltz counts the history of Tajiks from the middle of the 8th century. According to him, Bukhara during this period was the center of the Iranian world, which, after two centuries of Arab rule, successfully combined the ancient Iranian culture with Islam. And the Tajiks were the main agents of the cultural revival of the 10th century, who spread from Bukhara further to the west of Iran.

story: “I was surprised during a visit to Alamut castle north of Qazvin in the spring of 2015 when I asked locals...” about the language they spoke. “I was told, their language is called *Tājikī*” (Foltz 2019: 7). Obviously, today there are many differences between the Tajiks of Tajikistan and the Persians of Iran. But the identification of Tajiks with Persians 200 years ago did not raise doubts, since from the 8th to the 18th centuries the concepts of “Persian” and “Tajik” were synonymous. Artificially separated from their origins and separated by an ax from their roots, the Tajik population turns out to be a small nation in the Soviet and post-Soviet context (Akiner et al., 2013). I will not go deeper into this issue here. Shortly, these political changes, as well as the Russification and Uzbekization of the Tajik population, occurred mainly in the period from 1924 to 1929 (Hirsch 2000; Fierman 2005; Blakkisrud and Nozimova 2010; Kassymbekova 2016).

1.1.2 Economic Situation and Labor Migration

With the collapse of the USSR, the economic situation in Tajikistan has deteriorated dramatically. In addition, the situation was aggravated by the internal civil conflict (1992-1997). I shall not go into details of the reasons for the outbreak of the civil war. It resulted in many people leaving the country, especially Russians and Russian-speaking people. Thus, the initial stage of migration from Tajikistan to Russia is mainly associated with political events (Yudina 2005). In the 1990s, the most confident, productive and entrepreneurial people left Tajikistan, as well as those who had relatives in Russia. And it was more political than labor emigration. The growth of labor migration of the mainstream population of Tajikistan to Russia has been observed mainly after the 2000s. And from that moment on, the economy of Tajikistan became dependent on

remittances of labor immigrants. So, the moment of birth of labor migration in Tajikistan fell on the period of the civil war, namely the end of 1993 and beginning of 1994 (Laruelle 2007:104). It was during these years that Tajikistan experienced an economic recession and a rapid rise in unemployment. As a result of the worsening socio-economic situation, the citizens of Tajikistan began to go to work as labor immigrants. Most of the labor migrants left for the Russian Federation. 1996 was the most difficult year for the country's economy. GDP in 1996 was only 32.5% compared to the pre-war 1991 level. In the given prices in 1996 it was 1502.1 million somoni, while in 1991 this figure was 4615.7 million somoni. In dollar terms, these figures were \$138.9 million in 1996 and \$462.6 million in 1991. Gradual economic growth began in 1997; in 2000 the GDP amounted to 39.1% of the 1991 level (Sultonov 2013).

Remittances received (% of GDP) by Tajikistan in 2008.

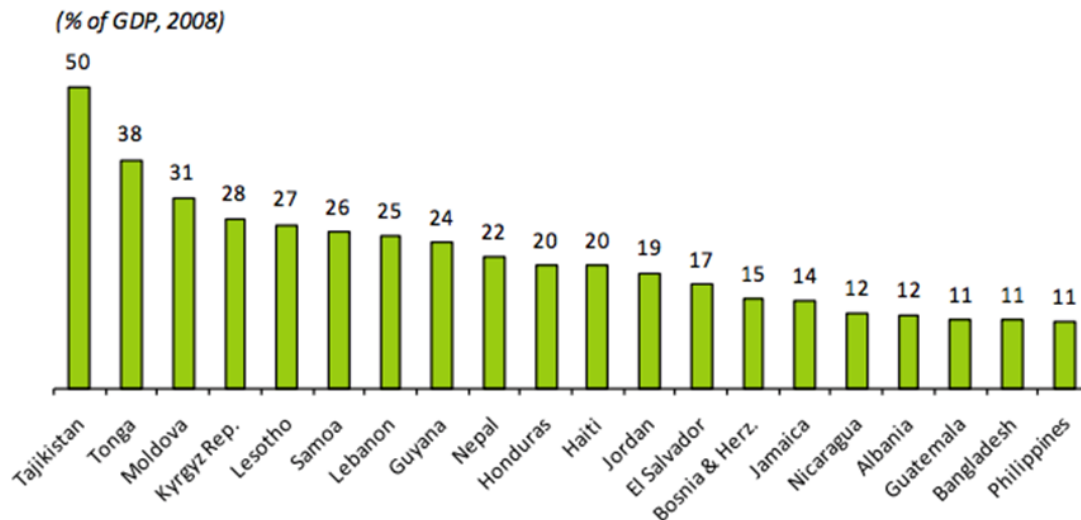
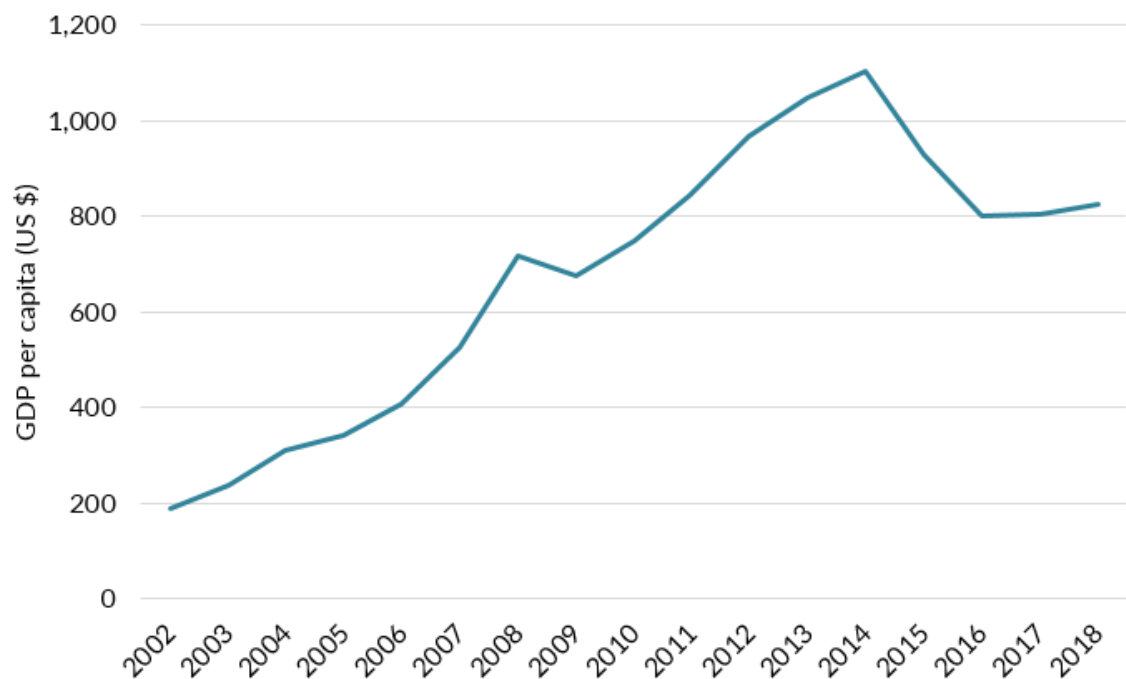


Figure 1. Remittances received (% of GDP) by Tajikistan in 2008.
 Source: Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011.

Tajikistan's economy is most dependent on remittances as a share of GDP (Nekbakhtshoev 2012; Azevedo et al, 2014). According to IMF and World Bank

estimates, the remittances of labor immigrants amounted to 50% of GDP in 2008 (Figure 1). The figure shows that half of the country's GDP directly depends on the remittances of labor immigrants from Russia; 90% of Tajik labor immigrants are in Russia (Farchy 2014). Tajikistan was the largest recipient in terms of the share of remittances in GDP among other developing countries in 2008. Below I will add charts (Chart 1 and 2) to better understand the economic situation and the correlation between GDP and immigrant remittances.

Chart 1. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per Capita in Tajikistan, 2002-2018.

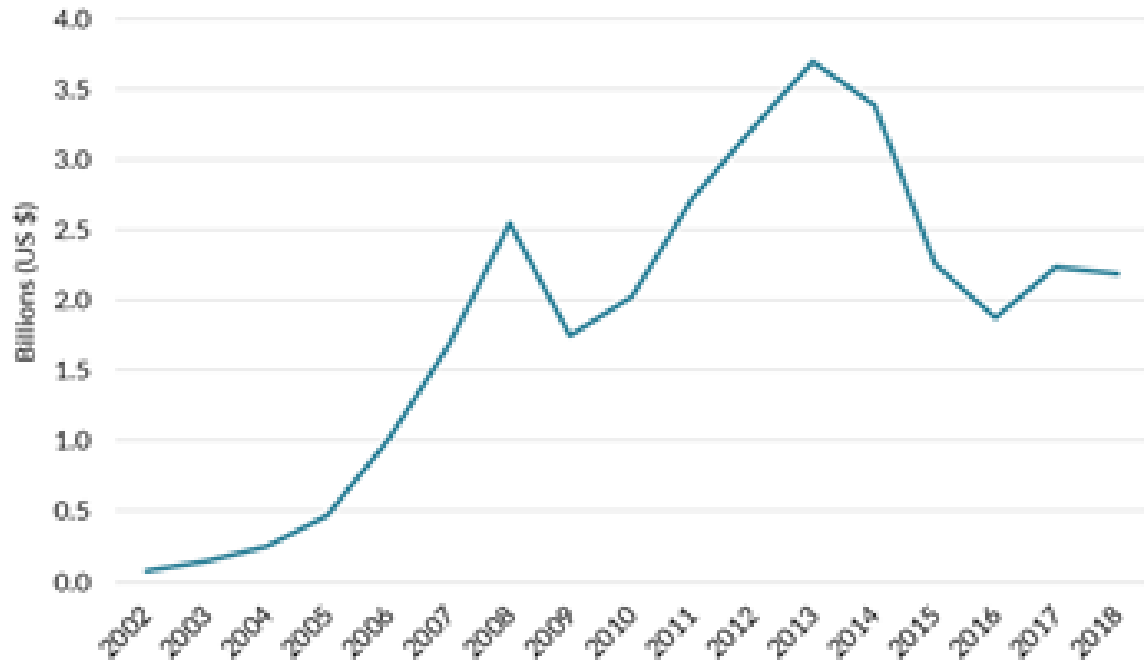


Source: World Bank, "GDP per capita (current US\$) – Tajikistan," accessed November 11, 2019.

Wages in Tajikistan are among the lowest in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), with an average of just over US\$100 (FIDH 2015). Although Tajikistan was the poorest country in the Europe and Central Asia region, during the first decade after the civil war (1992-1997), the country's economic growth and the pace of poverty reduction were among the fastest in the region. The poverty rate over the years has

declined from 73% in 2003 to 47% in 2009 (Azevedo et al., 2014: 7). Even if in 2009, due to the global financial crisis, the pace of growth in the country slowed down, subsequently it resumed (Figure 2).

Chart 2. Remittances received by Tajikistan, 2002-2018.



Source: World Bank, “Personal remittances received – Tajikistan,” accessed November 6, 2019.

In all subsequent years after 2008, Tajikistan remained the most dependent country on remittances in the world. As remittances declined in 2014, economic growth slowed to 6.7 percent from 7.4 percent in 2013 (Figure 2). Thus, remittances and labor earnings played a crucial role and have been the main drivers of poverty reduction in these years. The role of other factors and sources of income, such as pensions and social assistance, was rather insignificant. But there was another key factor that could affect the Russian economy. Russia is an energy-dependent country and falling oil prices negatively affects the economic situation in Russia. This, in turn, affects the economic situation in Tajikistan. Because of this situation, Tajikistan may face the most serious and direct consequences of the slowdown in Russian economic growth. Wages grew after 2009 and

doubled over the period 2009-2013 (Figure 2). The employed population has also increased over the years, mainly in the agricultural sector with the lowest and average wages and less in higher paid sectors such as construction and services (Azevedo et al., 2014: 19).

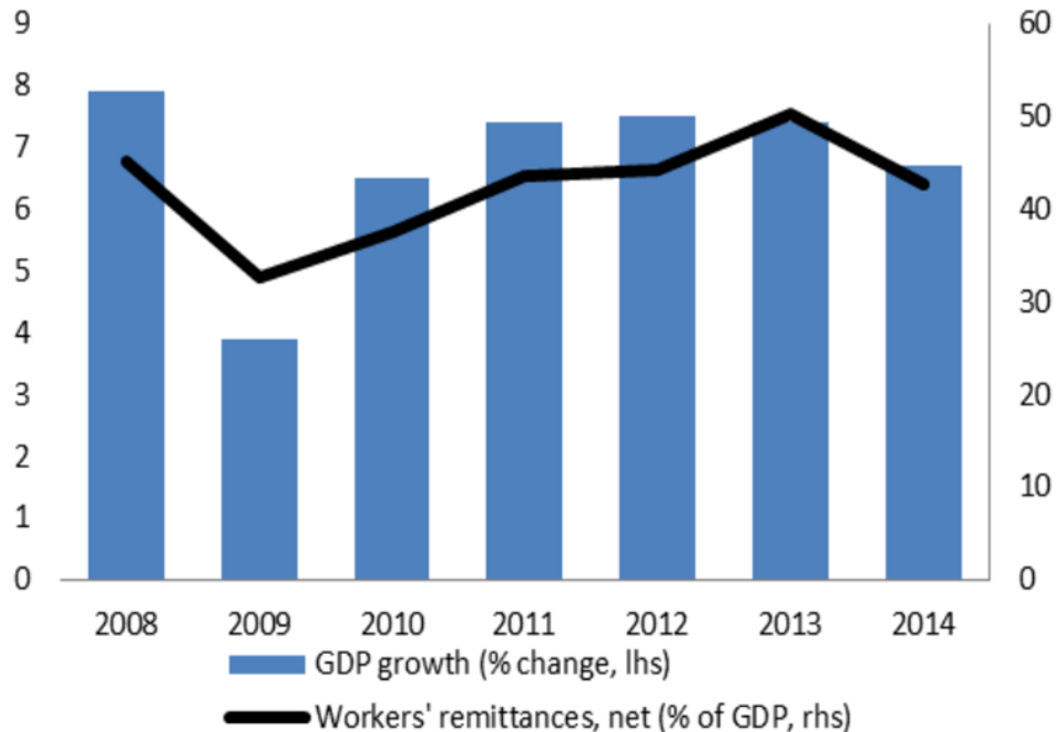


Figure 2. GDP Growth and Remittances Inflow.
 Source: TajStat; National Bank; The World Bank Group, Tajikistan.

According to the World Bank, the volume of remittances from immigrants in 2012 was 48%, and in 2013 - 49% of GDP (Ratha et al. 2013 and Figure 2). Poverty in Tajikistan has fallen to 30 percent. The World Bank defines a person who spends less than 16.7 Tajikistani *somoni* (\$1.90) per day as "extremely poor" (Azevedo et al., 2014: 9). However, Tajikistan does not accept this standard and defines the poor based on their actual living conditions, family members and incomes. I met with family members of labor immigrants in Tajikistan. I also met with some women and mothers of labor

immigrants. Mavluda Nazarova, a 60-year-old resident of the *Nokhiyai Rudaki* (Rudaki district, Tajikistan), supports a large family of 12 with money sent by her two sons, who are labor immigrants in Moscow. Her two grandchildren are students. Her immigrant sons send the family about 3,000 *somoni* (a little over US\$300) every month, which is “enough to feed our family. We try to save as much wheat as possible for the winter, as they return from labor migration in late autumn, and we have no other income until the beginning of spring, when they have to return to their jobs again” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2015b). About one million Tajiks live in Russia as migrant workers, and remittances are the main source of income for their families. Many families in Tajikistan cannot afford to save for the future. They have incomes that enable them to feed themselves from month to month. They cannot even afford to save for the next month: “We only spend money sent by my sons to eat, from this month to another month. Our family [members] do not buy clothes and shoes every month. We try to save at least a hundred or two hundred [*somoni*] for another month, but not always we can do it” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2015b).

This is a very alarming situation for Tajikistan, since most Tajik immigrants work in Russia, and any slowdown in economic growth in Russia will immediately lead to a decrease in remittances. In the event of an economic crisis in Russia, even China’s investments or any other foreign direct investment (FDI) cannot affect or offset Tajikistan’s dependence on the Russian economy and change the situation. In 2013, Tajikistan received \$4.1 billion of remittances (Figure 2), but the total annual FDI inflow of that year was only \$108 million (UNCTAD 2014). So even with China's projected \$6 billion investment in Tajikistan over the next three years, as Farchy (2014) notes, this

amount is equivalent to not even half of Tajikistan's annual remittances and cannot compensate for it. If calculated, compared to the total annual FDI received by Tajikistan in 2013, the equivalent of China's investment in the same year has been approximately 19 times greater. Moreover, remittances are usually sent to sources other than FDI and affect the income of individual households. However, remittance flows are expected to decline in 2020 and 2021. Tajikistan is projected to continue to be one of the main recipient countries of remittances in the Europe and Central Asia region in 2020 (Figure 3, panel a). When remittances are calculated as a share of GDP, Tajikistan still ranks first out of the ten largest recipients in 2020 (Figure 3, panel b).

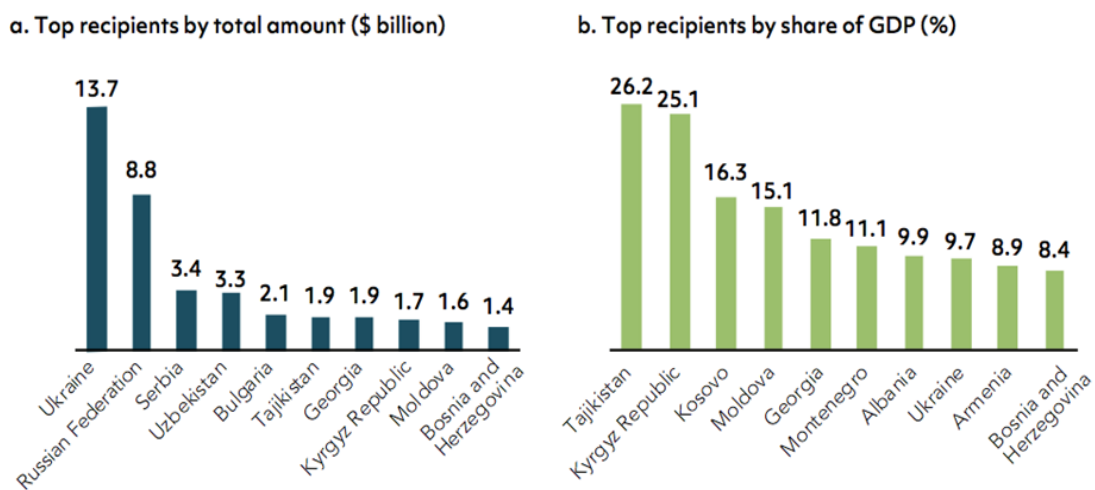


Figure 3 Top Remittance Recipients in the Europe and Central Asia Region, by Total Amount (panel a) and Share of GDP (panel b), 2020.

Sources: World Development Indicators; International Monetary Fund (IMF) Balance of Payments Statistics.

There is another serious concern about what could happen if the Russian economy slows down and one million Tajik immigrants, equivalent to one-eighth of the country's total population, will be unemployed and will return home. If that happens, it is a matter of serious concern whether Tajik society, which has previously experienced the civil war (1992-1997), would be able to cope with the “youth bulge” (Sophie Roche's concept). We

will not discuss this issue further and leave it open as a logical ending point of our discourse; this issue is not in the framework of this study, but simply helps to understand the situation of labor immigrants in Russia. Whether it increases the potential for a new conflict or gives a chance to promote social development depends entirely on the reaction of the Tajik authorities.

1.2 The Research Problem

In my youth, when I was still in school, the then dominant ideology of the Communist Party constantly criticized bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism as opposed to proletarian internationalism. *Druzhiba narodov* (friendship of peoples) and the Marxist slogan, “Workers of the world, unite!” was dominant. But the first outbreak of violence against labor immigrants was observed at about the late 90s, when in Russia and other post-Soviet societies these Soviet slogans were still largely used. The entire society was much poorer than it is now. The trajectory of violence has escalated significantly since the early 2000s (Gudkov 2014). Upon the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russia changed the *druzhiba narodov* to a strategic partnership with all post-Soviet countries. But in recent years, many leaders of post-Soviet states have drawn attention to Russia’s behavior towards their countries and accused it of escalating unfriendliness and even hostility, saying that “fraternal relations are in the past due to the fault of Moscow” (the phrase belongs to the President of Belarus). Today we are witnessing how it turns into a superpower and begins to pursue an aggressive policy even towards some of the small former Soviet republics such as Georgia and Ukraine. I believe that the migration violence that is observed in Russia today has its institutional roots in these relations.

Therefore, throughout this study, I will be dealing with a broad definition of violence that I described above (1.1). It is varied in its numerous phenomena, such as direct, structural and cultural violence, examples of media and symbolic violence, hate speech, and many other types of overt and covert violence. So, in this thesis, violence is understood as a form of aggression and non-legitimized and unjustified use of force and power. In other words, the violence and its types that I draw attention to are purely destructive and can be justified neither when they are committed by individuals, nor by the state. Violence is a fact, and indeed it is problematic. How to approach it and deal with it is a key methodological challenge of my research. This will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Anti-immigrant violence is a relatively new phenomenon both in the former Soviet Union academia as well as for sociologists. Consequently, in the modern period, ideas about this phenomenon are very vague. This causes scarcity of research sources and approaches to the problem being studied. Though violence against labor immigrants in Russia is overt, measuring anti-Tajik-immigrant violence is a difficult task, primarily due to lack of necessary data and conflicting government statistics in Tajikistan and Russia on the topic. There are huge inconsistencies in the existing data of cross-national analysis of anti-Tajik-labor immigrant violence. Therefore, in my research I proceeded with three stages: the study of available literature, meetings with experts, and observation. Studying the literature and mass media concerning anti-Tajik-immigrant violence was the initial and key part of this process. The result of such study was the accurate formulation of the problem and assumptions noted above. In generating my research problem, I focused on the social interaction of Randall Collins' (2008) theory of violence with an emphasis on the triangular typology of violent behavior developed by Christopher Mitchell (1981). I

have also taken into account many aspects of the Schutzian and Weberian approaches to understanding violence, which will be detailed separately in the Methodology chapter of this thesis.

In my case of studying violence, I do not look for its ontological status. It is an obvious phenomenon in the everyday life of labor immigrants. The facts of violence are important here, and I will look for facts. In search of work in Russian society, Tajik labor immigrants plunge into a matrix of imaginary aggression, discrimination and everyday violence. They face daily “administrative difficulties, poor working conditions, lack of social protection, poor housing, risks of forced labor, xenophobic attacks and police raids”, and only during 2012, 3,927 citizens of Tajikistan were deported from Russia (FIDH-ADC Memorial 2014: 11).

Even after the 9-year-old Tajik girl Khursheda (her story in the section below, 1.3) was murdered in St. Petersburg in 2004, sociologists in Tajikistan and the Russian Federation did not pay enough attention to violence against Tajik immigrants as a social problem. The problem, even though it occurred on a daily basis, did not attract the attention of sociologists for a long time. They began to focus on it following the meeting of the Russian leader Putin with the Tajik leader Rakhmon in Dushanbe on October 5, 2012. The lack of attention to this social problem prevents an adequate understanding of the systemic ways of why violence occurs. The very reality of the social and economic situation and unemployment in Tajikistan contribute to violence against Tajik labor migrants. This dissertation sheds new light on the study of this problem and enriches the understanding of the social factors that contributed to violence against Tajik immigrants.

The way of my understanding of everyday world of labor immigrants is that it is in itself problematic, yet sociologically the everyday world is not just a descriptive expression in ordinary colloquial sense, but is itself a sociological “problematic”, in the sense that it presents us a field of study. Therefore, the concept of “everyday problematic” should not be understood as in an usual colloquial sense; these are two key concepts in my work that help me understand the concept of violence in everyday world of Tajik labor immigrants, and the processes and practices of perceiving violence. “Everyday” consists of a variety of social connections and information.

1.3 Definition of the Situation: Two Stories from the Field

This section details the narratives of my respondents. By describing their stories, I define the situation. To describe the situation objectively, I will use two stories of Tajik labor immigrants. I will describe one of them based on the story of the labor immigrant himself, and the second story I will quote directly from the report of the International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH) on the Tajik labor immigrant.

I met the narrator of the first story exactly a decade after the event he described in his story. It occurred in St. Petersburg, Russia. On the evening of February 2004, a Tajik labor immigrant with his 9-year-old daughter and 11-year-old nephew was returning from a skating rink in the *Yusupov Garden*. They were attacked by a group of young people in the courtyard of their rented apartment. He and his nephew were hospitalized with head injuries, but the 9-year-old girl received eleven stab wounds and died shortly thereafter. The girl's name is Khursheda Sultanova.¹

¹ During the fieldwork, I reviewed and researched a sufficient number of cases of xenophobia against Tajik labor immigrants, which led to serious injury or death. I will completely avoid using all of these cases in

The immigrant narrating to me his story is Khursheda's father, Yunus Sultonov: "When we were attacked, I heard young people saying, «*Idi k sebe domoy, ty ne russkiy! Von iz Rossii!*» ["Go home, you are not Russian! Get out of Russia!"]. Another shouted: "*Rossiya dlya russkikh, vy tadjhiki, idite v Tadjhikistan!*" [Russia for Russians, you are Tajiks, go back to Tajikistan"] (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2014c). The jury found the murder as hooliganism, and the convicts were charged with imprisonment for a term of one and a half to five and a half years. Two of these young attackers had tattoos on the back of their heads with the words «*Сделано в России*» [Made in Russia"] (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2014c).

The killing of Khursheda was one of "the most brutal cases of racist violence" in Russia (FIDH, 2006:3). The attack was interpreted as a racially and ethnically motivated hate crime. The representative of the Tajik Embassy in Moscow called it "a xenophobic and racist act" (RFE/RL, 2006).

The case of Khursheda Sultonova was not the first case in Russia that a racist attack has been prosecuted as an act of "hooliganism" rather than hate crimes. Many other cases of racist attacks, especially against Tajik labor immigrants, were not investigated, prosecuted or punished at all. Radio Free Europe describes it as follows: "Nine-year-old Khursheda Sultonova from Tajikistan was stabbed to death in St. Petersburg in February 2004 as she was walking with her father and her 11-year-old cousin. A group of young men armed with bats, chains and knives attacked the three Tajiks while shouting "Russia for Russians!" Khursheda died from multiple stab wounds,

my dissertation, so as not to give my dissertation the form of an "analysis of bloody cases." Whenever the thesis touches on this topic, I use only the case of Khursheda as an example of a phenomenon. So the mention of this case will be repeated.

while her father and cousin were injured. A 14-year-old boy was subsequently charged with murder motivated by ethnic, racial or religious hatred and seven others were charged with hooliganism. In March 2006, the city court of St. Petersburg acquitted the defendant charged with murder, and instead convicted him, together with six of his co-defendants, of hooliganism. Their sentences ranged from 18 months to five years in prison. One defendant was acquitted of all charges” (Stolyarova and Abdullaev, 2006). In August 2006, the Supreme Court upheld the verdict on appeal (Aioubov and Pannier, 2006).

The second story is summarized in this paragraph. Tajik labor immigrant Firdavs Yusupov, who had an official work permit, walked in the afternoon around the *Tauride Gardens* of St. Petersburg. He was approached by three guys in black jackets and lace-up boots and a girl armed with knives and brass knuckles. They “insulted him, shouting nationalist slogans and attacked him with knives and a knuckle duster. Firdavs escaped with his life only because he was able use his cell phone to call his brothers, who were fortunately close by and arrived in time to drive off his aggressors. Firdavs was quickly taken by his brothers to a clinic, where he received emergency medical assistance. According to a later medical opinion, his life was in danger. He received more than nine serious knife wounds (including to the spine, eyes, and chest) and the loss of blood could have led to his death or complete loss of vision. Having been alerted by doctors, the police examined the scene of the incident and even identified the perpetrators but criminal charges for inflicting serious bodily harm were not filed against them. Instead, criminal charges were filed against Firdavs’ brother, Furkat Yusupov, who had saved his life, on the basis that one of Firdavs’s aggressors, Udal’tsov, had received a minor wound during the fight. Furkat was later beaten and placed in a cell at the police station and

forced to confess. Only after the Yusupovs received legal assistance from ADC Memorial was a case instituted against those who attacked Firdavs. The case against Furkat was not dismissed, however, and as a defendant in a criminal case his movements remain restricted” (FIDH 2011a: 17).

Obviously, it was motivated by destructive behavior. The young people attacked immigrants and inflicted physical and moral damage. In everyday life, the behavior of many young Russians towards foreigners is prone to aggression, with an explicit or veiled desire to manipulate others. Their aggression is guided by the principle ‘*you owe me, because I am stronger*’. This, of course, is the first task of the state to regulate relations between all people, regardless of whether they are their own citizens or foreign citizens. Otherwise, as Thomas Hobbes noted, a man always remains ‘a wolf to another man’. Nevertheless, Tajik youth emigrate to Russia. The labor migration challenge in contemporary Russia strengthens the potential for conflict between both of these groups of people. Mass emigration from Tajikistan to Russia places both states into the real social problem of cross-national identity and challenges the integration of Tajik immigrants into Russian society.

1.4 The Phenomenon of *Gastarbeiter*

In the spring of 2006, a representative of the U.S. State Department visited Tajikistan. After being in Dushanbe for a few days, he and I flew to the northern part of Tajikistan, Khujand. In one of the meetings, the theme of which was a description of the process of labor immigration from Tajikistan to Russia, I translated the speech of my fellow Tajiks from Russian into English and vice versa. The German term ‘*Gastarbeiter*’

was used during the meeting. When I translated this word into English as ‘immigrant worker’, a participant asked me why I did not translate the term in the original format, as the word does not have the same connotation when translated. Already at that period the word "Gastarbeiter" had taken root in the public consciousness. Some people preferred to call them ‘Gastarbeiter’ even in their own home, perhaps without knowing the consequences of using the word to describe themselves. Even intellectuals in the Tajik academic domain favor the term ‘Gastarbeiter’, though immigrants themselves want to be called 'labor immigrants' or ‘migrant workers’ (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015; Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015a).

In contemporary everyday usage, particularly in Russian and Central Asian usage¹, the notion of ‘Gastarbeiter’ has a hidden meaning which goes beyond the German ‘guest workers’ or ‘foreign workers’. If in European migration literature the term is used as 'foreign workers' or 'guest workers', in a Russian context the term gained additional nuances and meanings. During my field study, I realized that my Russian respondents interpret it differently: 'illegal workers', 'disgusting', 'repulsive', 'offensive', 'unpleasant', 'primitive', 'stupid', 'uneducated person', 'non-Russians who don't speak Russian well' 'churka', 'churban' etc.² Many, however, do not know what this word means (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2014c; 2015a). Despite the different understandings and interpretations of the term, in a Russian context the term has an offensive and negative connotation. “Gastarbeiter are uninvited guests, unskilled laborers performing mainly

¹ The residents of all Central Asian states use a notion ‘muhajir’, (the concept is an Arabic-origin word meaning immigrant) when they mean labor workers in their national languages, in Tajik, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, etc. Some however, in their everyday usage they use the word 'Gastarbeiter' even when they speak in their own national languages.

² The last two words, ‘churka’ or ‘churban’, literary “block of wood”, are offensive ethnic slurs used towards representatives of Central Asia meaning ‘stupid as a stump of wood’.

low-skilled physical work, to whom you may say: “Why are you coming to our land? What do you want? You're not our ... Go away!” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2014c). Only immigrants know how working in a foreign country is humiliating. The term given to the foreign workers in Russia is not the ‘immigrants’, but ‘Gastarbeiter’. This way many research suffers from terminological ambiguity (Ceobanu and Xavier 2010).

The status of the *Gastarbeiter* is not connected with the world of humans with rights, but with their passports and their ‘patent rights’ that show their status as non-Russians “who do not speak Russian well” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2014)¹. These documents indicate that their status is not equal to the status of titular nationals. Due to their ethnic characteristics, *Gastarbeiter* are the ideal patterns for vulnerable populations. They are most often the victims in accordance with these circumstances. They are not the guest workers, but are the “slave-Gastarbeiter, the strangers who arrived on the territory of others for the earnings” (Jurayeva 2014). They are no longer immigrant-workers; they are contemptuously called by locals ‘plodders’, ‘slaves’, ‘sloggers’, ‘devilish hard workers’, ‘defenseless people’, and ‘poor devils’ (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2014c). Historically the term *Gastarbeiter* had negative connotations and today it has and must not be used toward modern foreign workers (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2015a).

The word *Gastarbeiter* is not formally recognized as a term; you cannot find this word in the law or in other legal documents. Consequently, the rights and living conditions of the ‘*Gastarbeiter*’ also remain beyond the law, although they are the subject of everyday discourse in the media. *Gastarbeiter* are not the subject of inclusion into

¹ In the new edition of the Russian migration legislation (the Law No 115-FZ, article 13.3) the patent is a special type of document for foreign citizens allowing to work in the territory of the Russian Federation legally. Such patents were issued at the end of 2014 for the foreign citizens of nine Former Soviet countries with visa-free entry, including for the Tajik citizens (FLRF 2014).

Russian society, but due to social, political, cultural and esthetic views, they are the subject of exclusion. Due to the factorial significance of this phenomenon, a separate subsection (6.7.2) of the thesis will be devoted to its discussion. It is important to note here that the transformation of immigrant workers from the Central Asia to Russia has been *subjectively* categorized into "Gastarbeiter" (for example, in Grigoriev 2012). The word first became vernacular and sociolectic, and then became common and was used in everyday life by the population in the geographical or social territories of Russia. And later it even moved into the journalistic, literary and even academic and scientific spheres. I observed that it is used everywhere and every day on purpose to emphasize the "otherness" of labor immigrants in Russian society, as if it were a primordial Russian word that people use every day to denote this phenomenon.

1.5 Everyday Lifeworld and Phenomenology of Violence

The everyday lifeworld is perceived as a strong interweaving of social relations and systems of signs and symbols with their special meaning structure. The meaning of these elements of lifeworld, as well as its very structure, is simply taken for granted by those who live in it. They are taken for granted because they have stood the test of time and, being socially approved, require neither explanation nor justification. This way, members of the lifeworld set boundaries by distinguishing themselves as insiders and members of another lifeworld as outsiders, or, to put it in terms of the sociologist William Sumner "in-group" and "out-group" (2008: 498-501). This is because the system of customs and mores sets the standards based on which the group determines its lifeworld. But it leads to the question of why and how things taken for granted become problematic.

This is really the case of labor immigrants, in particular Tajik immigrants. For example, an event occurs in an individual or social life, or there is a situation that cannot be dealt with using traditional or familiar patterns of behavior. This happens if some or all elements of the taken for granted world are questioned by others outside the group.

In the social phenomenological analysis of violence, the research method is based on the philosophical considerations of Edmund Husserl and sociological concepts put forward by Max Weber and Alfred Schutz. The starting point in this approach is the everyday lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants, which is an intersubjective reflection of the experiences of violence and subjective meanings attached to these experiences. This type of analysis involves participant observation, so the analysis was carried out within the framework of the paradigm of participant observation. The analysis essentially involves subjective attributes of meaning attached to actions in order to gain a deep understanding of violence against immigrants. In fact, this research is a description of violence, as the phenomenologist describes a thing that “show itself” (Heidegger 2010: 27), that is, a phenomenon. The lifeworld of labor immigrants appears as a stream of life experience, a key element of which is violence. Therefore, here by phenomenological sociology of violence, I mean the doctrine of the structure of the stream of experiences.

The problem of analyzing violence is complicated by the fact that its meaning is different when it is described and interpreted by different immigrants, that is, members of the we-group. It becomes more ambivalent if members of other groups interpret it based on their typifications and systems of relevance. This ambivalence of the meaning of social phenomena has been noted by many sociologists, especially Schutz in his *On Multiple Realities* (1972: 207-259). But here I must distinguish between the subjective

meaning that a certain situation or action has for a certain immigrant involved in it, and objective meaning, that is, an interpretation of the same situation or the same action for someone else. Objective meanings are mainly associated with interpretative observation.

1.6 Conceptualization

To date, very little research explicitly employs a conceptualization of labor immigration informed by theories of anti-immigrant violence. Thus, the vital importance of this section is that it manifests the situation of analysis into a framework of interpretive sociology and enables me to understand a phenomenon from the Verstehen perspective. This insight is the product of sociological practice I elaborated as an outsider-analyst when I spent a short time in Russian sites and had the discourses with both ethnic Russians and Tajik labor immigrants to become familiar with their experience and formed social world.

There are certain ambiguities with the terms “violence”, “migration”, “emigration”, “immigration”, and “conflict”, which are often used in this dissertation. Therefore, in order to eliminate possible discrepancies, I clarify their interpretations. Conflict is not violence, although these terms are similar in meaning. Both these phenomena are processes, but conflict is rather a dynamic of confrontation between two or more individuals or groups. This phenomenon is a two-way use of force to prevent each other from achieving a specific goal. In the interaction of immigrants and the local population, a one-sided use of force is most often observed, that is, violence. The term “violence” in this study is used in a broad sense of any types of suppression. As for the term “immigration”, it is usually an entry into a country from outside the country. Consequently, “immigrant” is a representative of another country, that is, a foreigner who

has crossed the border for the purpose of permanent or temporary residence. Other key terms of the study such as "understanding", "experience", "lifeworld", "intersubjectivity" etc., I have interpreted in the context of the relevant thematic discussions.

Violence against labor immigrant,¹ its nature and meaning is indeed a conceptual problem primarily because it is a new phenomenon for the post-Soviet space, although violence has always been a fundamental aspect of human existence. I started my research using a tentative definition of what violence is based on the literature review. In the initial phase of my research, I used that definition to ask questions of the participants in my research. My approach to defining concepts was more open-ended and dependent on the data I received from my participants, and in the same way the quality of the data I received depended on the questions I asked the participants. Later in the next chapters, I will discuss how those questions fit into my research framework. During interviews and gaining new insights into various aspects of violence, I conceptualized violence and redefined it based on what labor immigrants have told me about the phenomenon and what I have heard from other study participants. Ultimately, violence was conceptualized during data analysis.

Based on the formulated research questions, I was committed to the descriptive and hermeneutical models, which imply a phenomenological interpretive approach. Using mixed models is the best approach to examine the complex phenomenon of anti-Tajik violence. For instance, to conceptualize violence from the perspective of Tajik labor immigrants, I tried to put myself in the place of labor immigrants and used the descriptive model. Or when I examined the attitudes of the mainstream population of

¹ Based on the content, I also used the terms "anti-immigrant violence" and "anti-Tajik violence".

Russia towards Tajik immigrants, I used the cross-national prism (Ceobanu and Xavier 2010). To examine how the xenophobic attitudes of Russian residents have changed since dissolution of the Soviet Union, I used the techniques of comparative models (Järvelin et al., 2003). The reason for using blended research models was also related to the objectives and research questions. They focus on an in-depth understanding of anti-Tajik behavior and revealing the causes and factors behind such behavior.

1.6.1 Defining Anti-Immigrant Violence

A *migrant* is “a person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence. From the perspective of the country of departure the person will be *an emigrant* and from that of the country of arrival the person will be *an immigrant*” (Chudinovskikh 2011: 16). The phenomenon that I focus on in this thesis is violence against labor immigrants, or rather, I would call it *anti-immigrant violence*. A necessary step towards analysis of any type of violence is the definition of the phenomenon of violence. This section aims to clarify the concept in the context of labor migration. Violence is a social phenomenon. Defining the concept, I analyze it, as “to explain the meaning of a concept means to analyze it or provide a definition” (Schmaus 1994: 59). To understand the concept of anti-Tajik-immigrant violence I grouped it into three categories. A first crucial step here is to understand the very nature of the phenomenon of violence that I narrow down here. The very concept of violence has been defined in different ways and from different perspectives. There is consequently no exact meaning of violence among scholars (Stanko 2003). While some scholars consider violence as a use of force (Krug et al., 2002), others argue that violence represents a broad spectrum of

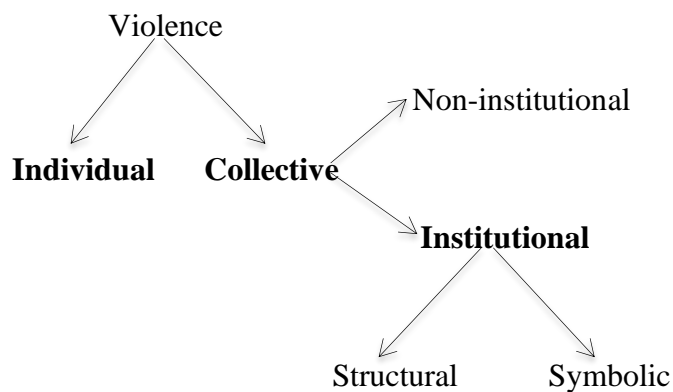
occurrences (Kilavuz 2007; Collins 2009). The Oxford Handbook of Criminology (Maguire et al., 2012) defined violence as “a slippery term which covers a huge and frequently changing range of heterogeneous physical and emotional behaviors, situations and victim-offender relationships” (Maguire et al., 2012:563). For Reiss and Roth, violence is “behavior by persons against persons that intentionally threatens, attempts, or actually inflicts physical harm” (1993:2). Similarly, according to Krug et al. (2002), violence is “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation” (Krug et al., 2002:4). Violence is thus always associated with human behavior, which in turn is associated with actual or symbolic forces that may be physical or nonphysical. Based on the definition that violence is ‘slippery term’ and to avoid overdetermination we proceed to conceptualize the phenomenon of anti-immigrant violence by grouping it into three categories. The benchmark of this categorization is the examples of perceived violence of Tajik labor immigrants taken from our research conversations with them in June, 2012. This leads us to the questions of how and why violence emerges, what groups use it and in which way they make use of it.

A starting point I take into my account in identifying anti-immigrant-violence is the fact that violence is a most diffuse, difficult, elusive, and complex phenomenon (Collins 2009; Imbusch 2003). While the scholars had classified violence in different ways into different types and dimensions (Galtung 1969, 1990; Collins 2008; Imbusch 2003), I will emphasize the forms of violence committed against Tajik labor immigrants. At the beginning of my research, many conversations with Tajik labor immigrants (June

2013) dealt with institutional and direct physical violence, followed by references to structural and cultural violence. Only a few talked about metaphorical and symbolic elements of the violent attitudes. Violent attitudes lead to violent situations. This leaves us with the triangular typology developed by Christopher Mitchell; behavior – attitude – situation (Mitchell 1981: 16).

Based on the forms of appearance all varieties of violence can be classified into two types – individual and collective, though “individual acts of racist violence can be part of the larger fabric” (Dancygier 2010: 19) of systematic or ideological violence (Ray et al., 2000: 28). Looking carefully at the issue of definitional debates will help us to understand the concerns that run through other sections of this dissertation. Dancygier (2010) has labeled incidents of violence between natives and immigrants in the UK and Germany “immigrant conflict” (Dancygier 2010: 21-61). But still I call it *violence against immigrants* or *anti-immigrant violence*, given the fact that incidents of violence are one-sided oppression and conflicts are two-way clashes.

Mapping the Violence Against Tajik Immigrants



Scheme 1. The Categories of *Anti-Tajik-Immigrant Violence*

So, what is *anti-immigrant violence*? To get a more explicit definition from these varied cases, we can see that violence can be quite difficult to conceptualize, likewise its

causes are inherently problematic. Anti-Tajik violence is intertwined with the immigration issue and its identity centered on the Tajik nation, and therefore can only be defined in the context of identity-level. Based on the forms of appearance, theoretically we may categorize anti-Tajik-immigrant violence into three divisions: individual, collective, and institutional (Scheme 1).

The Bourdieu perspective of violence (1999) is useful for examining the power hierarchy and the symbolic elements of anti-immigrant violence. For Bourdieu, symbolic violence is the gentle, hidden form of overt violence. He sees the individual form of violence as “the elementary forms of domination, in other words, the direct domination of one person by another, the limiting case of which is appropriation of persons, i.e. slavery. They cannot appropriate the labor, services, goods, homage, and respect of others without “winning” them personality, “trying” them – in short, creating a bond between persons”.¹ All aspects in the everyday social life of Tajik labor immigrants are overwhelmed by challenges and power relations. These relations challenge their interactions with representatives of the immigration policy and systems control sector, street police and even government officials and representatives of the *Gosduma*. The types of institutions and interactions determine the degree of violence in the daily social life of Tajik immigrants.

1.7 The Purposes of the Study

This research has two goals:

– to make clear a phenomenon of anti-immigrant violence;

¹ Cited from the book Lawrence et al., 2007: 195.

– to better understand a complexity of this phenomenon.

Describing the experience of Tajik labor immigrants results in producing new meaning. To do this, the key goal is to understand how Tajik labor immigrants perceive interaction with Russian residents. It helps to examine the dynamics of violence against Tajik immigrants and how the rights of Tajik immigrants are violated through various forms of individual, collective behavior and even through state-sanctioned migration policy.

Whether in field or desk studies, I have never looked for data and facts to support the objectives of my study. On the contrary, I read and used some other studies that were the opposite of this procedure to ensure the intersubjective nature of my research. It was not problematic for me; in those studies, I looked for evidence and facts to prove their authenticity or unreliability.

Key terms in the title and subtitle of this study such as violence, understanding, experience, and intersubjectivity, indicate the processes that need to be analyzed in this study. It has already been noted that the purpose of the dissertation is to analyze the problem of violence from the point of view of intersubjectivity, focusing on the specific experiences of the subjectivity of labor immigrants in order to uncover the intertwined meanings of violence. It is also important for me to conduct a critical analysis of the understanding of violence between everyday public views and those based on scientific facts and evidence.

1.7.1 Description

Most of the pieces of description in this study are based on observation. Almost every day, I walk over three miles of trails in Columbia's Audubon Park. As I walk, I can sometimes observe the green flash phenomenon. The green flash can be seen almost any day when the weather is nice. I was mostly observing it at sunset. But I have noticed that at least three conditions are required to observe the green ray unless you are using a telescope, binoculars, or other assistive devices. These conditions are open horizon, clean air and a cloud-free side of the horizon, where the sun sets or rises. At the time, I had no assistive devices, yet observation with the unaided eye was quite rare. Then I thought about the social phenomenon in the example of violence against immigrant workers. As far as I know, this phenomenon can also be observed almost every day. I knew that phenomenology, literally, is the study of phenomena as they appear in our experience or how we experience them. This experience is subjective and a first-person point of view. Therefore, while looking at the green flash, I was thinking about phenomenological research, which is the study of observable unusual phenomena, such as a green flash, when they appear. At that moment, I even remembered Jules Verne's novel *The Green Ray* (1882), which is named after this phenomenon. In the novel, the heroes are trying to observe the green ray. I think that when Husserl (1970) discussed the concept of "transcendental" and developed a conception of transcendental phenomenology, most likely he observed phenomena similar to the green flash. But these were physical phenomena. We observe social phenomena in the same way, only in the social contexts of everyday lifeworld. In my study, instead of assistive devices, I use intersubjective methods of interpretation. When I conceptualize intersubjectivity, it is based on the experience of subjects in the social world during interaction. Hence, labor immigrants can

make their social world and everyday experiences ‘understandable’ through intersubjectivity and interaction with each other, with local residents and social researchers. How do they relate to the social world? As a subject, one immigrant experiences an event or action. This means that another subject also can experience it.

Moreover, everyone in the world has their own subjective point of view.

Intersubjectivity means that we all, to one degree or another, influence others and are influenced by them. Hence, our shared understanding or experience with others can be called intersubjective because it has been influenced by other people, especially those around us. This does not mean identical understanding, but participation in the discourse of producing meaning in the shared social world. I have detailed the process of intersubjective meaning-making in the subsection 3.4.1.

1.7.2 Interpretation

In my view, sociological interpretation is one of the most difficult and dubious phases of the research. What is the actual interpretation and what does the sociological interpretation of the data look like in the eyes of sociologists? It becomes clearer if we look at the place of interpretation in the architecture of the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants.

Observing a phenomenon or a process, we apply theoretical foundations that we consider more suitable for a particular case. As an illustration, I can cite the case when the theory uses a researcher as an intermediary for its contact with the world. During the field work, I had to travel from St. Petersburg to Moscow and back several times. On one of my trips, I used a high-speed train *Sapsan*, and I was in a compartment with three

other Russians, two young girls and a man. A trip with *Sapsan* takes only four hours to get to Moscow. Typically, during my trips, I read a book or observed different situations and took notes using a theoretical apparatus that allows you to describe social interactions. This time I boarded the train and, after greeting my fellow passengers, wanted to finish reading the last chapter of Paul Ricoeur's *Theory of Interpretation* (1976), "Explaining and Understanding," which I began reading a few days ago. My seat was on the second story. Somewhere in *Chudovo* of Novgorod Oblast, while reading the book, I overheard the passengers in my compartment talking about Arab immigrants working in France. And at times, they linked these 'French Arabs' with immigrants in Russia. I felt that they were trying to speak quietly and were not telling everything, so that perhaps they would not want to disturb me, or perhaps so that I would not understand them properly. I was already attracted to this discourse when I heard about 'French Arab immigrants', but when I overheard one of them try to compare Arab immigrants with immigrants in Russia, I decided to close the book and 'talk in practice' (FN 2014c). Interestingly, it was at that time that I was reading the beginning of the last chapter of the book (Explaining and Understanding) with the following sentences: "What does it mean when someone speaks? When does someone mean more than they actually say?" (Ricoeur, 1976:71). It turned out that one of my fellow passengers had recently returned from Paris. By 'French Arabs' she meant Algerian and Moroccan immigrants, and that "up to 100 thousand of them receive French citizenship a year" (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2014c). She thought that this is a very large figure, and added that "if this happens

with us, soon we will have more ‘*ponayekhavshiye*¹ than ourselves” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014c). In fact, according to my data, the figure she mentioned about France is 3 times less than foreigners receive citizenship in Russia per year. But this is influenced by the demographic factor in Russia.

She spoke of many other 'facts' about immigrants she witnessed in Paris. I used Paul Ricoeur's theory of narrative here, in which he claims that we use stories to understand phenomena. This is how a theory, using a researcher as an intermediary, penetrates this world and allows a researcher to see something, to distinguish something. What we distinguish, we call facts. A fact is not an attribute of the world; it is a certain result of the form of shaping when our concepts are superimposed on our data. Facts are made, they are produced at the time of interpretation. Interpretation begins at the moment when we make a transcript, unload the diaries, start editing, or just watch a video recording or a focus group recording. At that moment, when the raw data begin to take shape, the plot construction phase begins, and any sociological interpretation, not just the sociological one, is the process of building a story. Ricoeur (1976) calls the initial process of building the plot the *prefigurative stage*, the stage at which we highlight elements that are significant to us. Here the words, phrases or sentences that describe the experience of violence or directly express its meaning for the labor immigrant are determined, articulated, extracted and placed into categories as meaning units. Later, the meaning of immigrants' words or sentences will be outlined for each meaning unit and they are

¹ The word is formed from the verb *ponayékhhat'*, which means ‘come in large numbers’. The notion has a derogatory connotation and is used to emphasize the fact that immigrants arrive in large numbers and are not welcome.

transformed into a sociological language. In the next *configurative stage*, these elements enter some relationships with each other.

This stage is the moment of the act of telling and receiving a story that mediates between the ‘pre-understanding’ of narratives and its ‘post-understanding’ (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014c).¹ That is, here actually the story construction appears, and we can say that x connected with y . Here we can again, using the resources of our theoretical framework, somehow reinterpret this connection, for example, give to y an explanatory power, or x is such, because y is such. We show the data as if it already contained such a connection, but that is not true. The connection appeared in them, because we generated data in a certain way and established such a connection for it. While listening to the narrative, I simultaneously think back to the collected data and the already transcribed interviews, because the goal at this stage is to get an idea of the whole. At the third *refigurative stage* we begin to complicate our own conceptualization when we are not satisfied with linear interpretational models.

Sometimes we use the resources of other conceptual frameworks to clarify something for ourselves. In this stage a story is restored to the real world of action and reaches its conclusion and then in fact a full-fledged theoretical plot appears. This stage completes the process in order for a story to become understandable. Thus, just as a concept is an element of conceptualization, so a plot is a unit of sociological explanation. The report on the sociological narrative, which is the result, is the passage of these three stages of plot construction. In such a process in my field interviews I began to understand how names, words, even sometimes cases were related to each other; this was the

¹ This stage particularly was explicit in a conversation with Nozanin, section 6.1

beginning of theory development. At that point, the data from multiple interviewees were sorted by names under a category or each topic name.

In another of his works, Ricoeur (1984) calls these stages the cycle of *mimesis*. He uses such a technical term to understand the narrative and notes three mimetic points in the process of interpreting narratives like *mimesis*₁, *mimesis*₂ and *mimesis*₃ (Ricoeur, 1984:71-74)). We can repeat this process over and over with the transition from prefiguration to refiguration via configuration and interpret this connection in a certain way, using other theoretical languages for example, hermeneutics. This is not a vicious circle; rather, it is a mimetic cycle of increasing understanding, repeatedly passing the same point, but each time at a different level of better understanding. Every time a story of the everyday experience of a Tajik labor immigrant, violence, discrimination, death or xenophobia, it returns to the topic through new characters, new actions and events, the story provokes both the actor and the researcher to understand more and more the immigrant lifeworld and violence (Berman 2013). In this process, a labor immigrant can tell a researcher other pieces of his or her lived experiences, drawing them together into a narrative structure that can give it greater intelligibility and height of understanding. Such circularity of the interpretive arc is extremely productive and deepens the comprehensibility of the story, because through the continual interpretation of all the meanings that come to light in his or her story, we come to understand the hidden meaning inside the story of the narrator.

Ricoeur's hermeneutics method, which he called the 'hermeneutic arc', has two other stages: a) the transition from the subjective to the objective, and b) from the objective to the subjective. At the first stage, the hypothesis is subjectively formulated

based on the meaning of the text, and a reader classifies the text into a hierarchy of elements. Then the social process can test these hypothetical distinctions, as is usually the case in court. As paragraphs are composed of words and sentences, texts are composed of meaning units. And parts of the text can only be studied in connection with other aspects of the text. Ricoeur analyzes it in the second stage of the hermeneutic arc. For him interpretation is a complex process (Ricoeur 1976: 71-74), while “in the beginning, understanding is a guess” (74), explanation “relates to the meaning of the discourse” (71), and interpretation is “the whole process that encompasses explanation and understanding” (74). But Schutz distinguishes between two types of constructs. The first type is the interpretation of a phenomenon by the participants in their own words, the second-order construct is the interpretation of researchers based on the first-order constructs. For him, how we understand a phenomenon rests on our account of how we interpret it. Therefore, Schutz rigorously grounded his phenomenology of the social world on the interpretive sociology of Max Weber (Schutz 2011).

I produce text and meaning by transcribing and interpreting the lived experiences narrated by labor immigrants. Interpretation will be conducted through the three methodological steps of Ricoeur's phenomenological interpretation theory described above. Based on data from other sources, I have a preliminary understanding of the immigrant world that finds additional expression in their narratives. Therefore, the best way to understand the lived experience of labor immigrants is to listen to her or his narratives. Narrative interviews reveal the meaning of the lived experience. After I produce a text based on an immigrant story, one way to conduct a thematic analysis is to direct my research questions to the produced text and emphasize text sections that answer

those questions. Thus, in search of meaning, the narrative is transcribed into text, the text is read and divided into thematic units that convey just one meaning.

1.7.3 Understanding

In this study, when I discuss the problem of understanding, I focus on it exclusively within the framework of sociology, even though during my research I have relied on the support of philosophical methods to understand sociological understanding. So, what does “understanding” mean in social research? For Weber, understanding was a method (Weber 2019: 6, 82), and this method was developed in the field of sociology. Weber was looking for an alternative to sociological positivism, rooted in the analysis of actions of individuals. For him, it was *Verstehen* or *Verstehende Soziologie* (details in section 3.4). It interprets the meanings that people associate with their world of everyday lives. In this framework, my work was related to understanding how Tajik labor immigrants attach meaning to the lifeworld that they experience, and how I can access and evaluate this ‘first-person perspective’. This may be not easy for an observer, since he needs to “reduce a certain human interaction to understandable actions” (Weber 2017: 55), but is necessary for sociological analysis. The difficulty is that an observer must consider how the actor understands the phenomenon or process that she or he is going to interpret.

The concept of understanding in my research does not refer to only knowledge about the surrounding world, phenomenon or meaning conveyed by information. It refers the quality and ability of understanding the social meaning of process, action or phenomenon, such as a situation or a person and its interpretation. In other words, I am

not focused on the ‘understanding’ itself, but on its quality. It is correlated with the ability to draw correct conclusions based on the perspectives of different actors. In chapter 3 of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Mr. Atticus Finch gives advice to his daughter Scout: “You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view..., until you climb into his skin and walk around in it” (Lee 1993: 48). This moment was one of the main components of the *Verstehen* method, or Weber’s interpretive understanding, in which the actor understands the Other better (*besserverstehen*) “putting himself in the shoes of others in order to see things from their point of view” (Weber 1978: 15).

Focusing on the quality of understanding a process or an object made me think about the intersubjective way of meaningful understanding. Intersubjective meaningful understanding, or, in Weber’s term, *Verstehen* (details in section 3.4.3) is one of the ways of understanding, along with some other ways of understanding. So, understanding in our study has acquired a different form of understanding. It is not only a mental activity or a cognitive process. It is a holistic act and methodological approach to understanding a set of meanings attached to actions through expressions and symbols.

Sociology can be understood in different ways. Weber narrows this ambiguous concept and its meaning, trying to convince that he uses it in only one meaning. For him, sociology is “a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects” (Weber 2012: 88). So what does *understanding* mean in sociology? Sociology for Weber is a science (Weber et al., 2012 [1947]: 88). We shall speak of “action” insofar as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his behavior (Weber 1968 [1921]:4). For me,

it was important to see reality from the perspective of labor immigrants themselves and understand what is the meaning of violence for them.

The social-phenomenological approach to violence is based on an epistemology of how immigrants experience violence and an ontology of what is the nature of the social reality in which they live. This concerns the ways of perceiving, knowing, interpreting, meaning, as well as the framing of acts of violence through interaction with actors. This approach excludes a micro-perspective view of interaction; instead, it always uses an intersubjective view of action. Phenomenological thinking provides me the meanings that labor immigrants attach to their own actions and those of others, which can provide me a valid understanding of violence. This understanding cannot be grasped through other methods, such as surveys or questionnaires, statistical inference, or even by positing the “taken for granted” (however, statistics were used in this thesis as a complementary method to confirm qualitative results). In this approach, all observable actions of actors are made intersubjectively meaningful because gestures, indicators, postures, or any other action, such as anger or just hate, are integral aspects of violence. This way, the study highlights the meaning and understanding of violence against Tajik labor immigrants and theorizes violence based on the works of Weber and Schutz. Consequently, no detailed distinction is undertaken here among the ideas of other phenomenologists such as Husserl, Heidegger, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, Derrida, Foucault, and others.

Hence, phenomenological sociology provides gaining true understanding within the framework of discourses, interviews and participant observation. A hermeneutic understanding deduces the lifeworld of immigrants as a special mode of being, which is

present in everyday life itself, in the routine experience of every immigrant. In other words, for a labor immigrant, hermeneutics is a way of understanding himself, others and the world around him (Gadamer 2013: 435-438). It is an understanding of a complex structure of meanings of prejudices, customs, values, events rooted in the traditions, and the ways of producing these meanings (Gadamer 2013: 267-273). Not every immigrant knows the roots of their customs, even if they apply some of their elements in everyday life. However, daily communication among immigrants and their collective lifestyle makes it easier. Such communication among 'equals' requires agreement and openness of participants in what they talk about in general, in the sense that they want to understand the situation, the problem and each other, which may lead to the birth of a fundamentally new, intersubjective understanding. At the same time, when I associate hermeneutic understanding with an immigrant, that understanding is associated with the practice of a particular immigrant, with his or her involvement in the situation. Accordingly, within the framework of intersubjective understanding, it became possible to comprehend and weed out certain prejudices transmitted by tradition. For example, focus group participants were involved in debates over some of the values associated with Islamic holidays, such as slaughtering animals in *Idi Qurbon* (feast of sacrifice) and some other holidays. Such critical rethinking does not take place within the framework of a rigorous methodology, but in the processes of social interaction, group discussion and learning through the negative experience of realizing the discrepancy between culture and people. Discussing the negative experiences of some immigrants was a good lesson for some other immigrants to be open and tolerant towards the Others as they had their own prejudices. Criticizing your prejudices destroys your self-image as the bearer of certain

prejudices. But only such criticism and only such destruction is the key to a true understanding of violence. Furthermore, such criticism is always at the heart of our own questions about subjectivity as we always focus on what is the “self” and the “care of the self” (Foucault 2005: 12-17). It is like you have to establish and navigate a certain matrix of understanding in order to understand your own behavior and that of the Other.

1.8 Dissertation Outline

This outline defines the structure of this dissertation. It has eight chapters, which unfold the process of researching violence against immigrants.

Chapter 1 outlines the topic of the dissertation, gives some historical and modern facts about Tajikistan and its social, economic and political situation. It then describes the phenomenon of anti-immigrant violence, the scope of thematic analysis and interpretation, and the objectives of the study. This chapter also demonstrates how this framework of study was organized by the relevant sociological theories.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the literature. The review is based on theoretical and thematic literature and three types of sources: primary, secondary and general.

Chapter 3 focuses on the context, methods and methodology that I used, conceptualizes violence and the scope of its understanding in this thesis. It addresses questions about how to enter the field and how to get in touch with research participants. It also describes approaches and methods for researching anti-immigrant violence. Other theoretical aspects and concepts of the study, such as understanding, lifeworld, intersubjectivity, etc. will also be described in this chapter.

Chapter 4 covers a detailed description of data collection, its stages, procedures for selecting and hiring experts and participants. I define here the types of interviews used in the dissertation. Other techniques of data collection, such as focus group meetings and observation, as well as ways of describing and interpreting, will be discussed here.

Chapter 5 begins with a systematic analysis of the data. The first part of the chapter is the interpretation and analysis of the migration policy challenges that Tajik immigrants face in everyday life. Then I make brief remarks about the relationship between different types of analysis and interpretation. Further, the analysis is carried out according to thematic subsections.

Chapter 6 continues the systematic analysis of the data. Understanding is the main concept of this chapter. This concept will be described using the example of different situations and lifeworld patterns of labor immigrants. The chapter also contains some important examples of the dichotomy of subjective and objective interpretation. The concepts of *lifeworld*, *intersubjectivity* and *Verstehen* are key in analyzing problems of subjective and objective understanding of violence. These concepts are theoretically described in subsections 3.4.1 and 3.4.3.

Chapter 7 and 8 describe the findings and implications of this dissertation. Unable to conduct a systematic study based on the already existing analysis framework, I used the model and conceptual framework developed in subsections 3.4.2 and 3.5.1 to analyze the data obtained. The framework of analysis is mainly based on the work of Weber (1978), Schutz (1973), as well as Ricoeur (1976).

1.9 Conclusion

During the initial phase of my fieldwork, I witnessed an incident involving all three types of violence against Tajik labor immigrants described above. I have observed transnational patterns of violence against immigrants by local residents and government officials. The latter was representative in identifying political behavior towards labor immigrants. Those incidents were a testament to me that Tajik labor immigrants do encounter violent conditions and migration challenges in Russia. Thus, I set out to focus on understanding migration and migration-related violence that stand for a type of sociological research that combines a phenomenological perspective.

Tajik labor immigrants are nationally, culturally and religiously distinct from the native Russians. It creates a sense of otherness in the minds of the mainstream population of Russia. The sense of foreignness and otherness generate hatred of others (Kymlicka et al. 2006; Kastoryano 2010). On the other hand, the Russian scientist Drobizheva argues that “attitudes towards migrants are almost never exclusively determined by an encounter with something unknown and unfamiliar. They are shaped by the specific aspirations of stakeholders or interest groups. Myths or other special features, stemming from historic descriptions and accounting for stigmatization between groups, are formed by the forces interested in creating them” (Drobizheva 2013). It is also the fact that Russian media describe migrant crime and violence as a simulation of reality, so much so that consciousness is unable to distinguish reality from the imagination. Placing reality into an artificial form instead of truly reflecting upon it, they create, according to Jean Baudrillard (1994), simulacrum which leads to “exhumation of reality” (Baudrillard 1994: 27) and which affects the consciousness of the population and depicts the behaviors of labor immigrants in an unrealistic and destructive way. For him, such flow

of media information, creating “white noise” destroys reality and envelops a huge number of copies and simulacra, which transform reality into hyperreality. So Tajik immigrant violence, as described by Russian media, is a simulation of something that never really existed. Here the real phenomena of labor immigrant violence are absorbed by simulacra. Most of the works of Russian scholars focus on labor migration in the interests of the national economy and avoid the problems of violence, nationalism and xenophobia as components of this process. The current study is one of the very few studies addressing migration violence in Russia.

Violence against Tajik immigrant workers is not a taken-for-granted phenomenon. It is the realm of the subjective experience of each immigrant worker. The immigrant workers are wage-earners, proletarians. In a legal term, they are individuals hired to work for other individuals or for an organization. If we look at the position of contemporary immigrant workers, like Marx on the proletariat in the pyramid of capitalist society, then both of these classes are the most exploited classes then and today. Today's labor immigrants are not included in the categories of blue-collar workers or pink-collar workers. Their status is similar to that of non-citizens, proletariat or, as Standing (2016) and Milkman (2020) called them, *denizens* or *precariat*, who have no opportunity to rise up the social scale and do *labor* only for their owners. Standing uses Weber's forms of class and status stratification. Class, according to Weber, refers to a person's position in the work process (Weber [1921] 1968: 302). In addition to the precariat, Standing identifies seven other social classes in our time, such as elite, salariat, proficians, (a combination of 'professional' and 'technician'), 'working class' ('core' of manual employees), etc. My focus is on the precariat here. The neologism combines the words

'precarious' and 'proletariat' (Milkman 2020:7). Earlier I emphasized the word "labor". Comparing a social group in the ancient Greeks with the modern non-citizen immigrants, Standing states that the latter also do labor. "Those who did labor were non-citizens. Citizens did not do labor; they indulged in praxis, work in and around the home, with family and friends" (Standing 2016: 15). It is noteworthy that the ancient Greeks made a distinction between work and labor, which Standing focuses on in his book (Standing 2014: 10-11). This explicitly describes labor and the social status of modern labor immigrants, including Tajik immigrants. In the next chapters, we will see the status and situation of Tajik labor migrants in Russia based on their own stories from their daily lives.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

To date, there is a large body of literature on violence in Russia. But this literature makes few connections to scholarly theorizing about violence against immigrants. There is very few literature on sociology of violence that explicitly employs a conceptualization of labor migration informed by anti-immigrant violence. This chapter accordingly focuses on the literature on sociological research on violence, particularly violence against immigrants. It has to be noted that the central issue and subject of this study is violence against the Tajik labor immigrants rather than the very phenomenon of migration. Nevertheless, the literature on labor migration and its policies will be discussed as the main pragmatic elements of the study of the phenomenon of violence. Basically, the literature for this study was obtained from three types of sources; primary, secondary and general. They will be described below.

2.1 Study on Phenomenon of Violence

We learned from sociology courses that the German economist and philosopher Eugen Duhring (1833 – 1921) was a pioneer in the theory of violence. He stated that economic relations in society are a consequence of political relations, and violence is the primary factor of social inequality and exploitation. He is popular also because his views were criticized by Engels in *Anti-Duhring*. Of course, the theory of violence coexists very closely with Marxist ideas that that we will discuss later. So according to the views of Duhring, exploitation yields incomparable economic results compared with what can be obtained from subsistence economy. Briefly stated, his idea is based on the fact that conquest results in slavery, that is, a tribe that wins the battle becomes dominant, and the

defeated loses its freedom and finds itself in the position of slaves. Slavery gives rise to private property and classes. Therefore, it would be reasonable to assume that the act of violence was committed knowingly, since its use afforded a person many benefits. Some people have accumulated a large amount of wealth. In this regard, an institution was required that would control property relations in society and ensure property rights. Public morality played the role of law. Now moral norms are replaced by state power and law, and public censure by violence.

State power, according to sociologist Ludwig Gumplowicz (1838 – 1909), arises from physical strength. Dominance of a tribe, initially based on physical superiority over another tribe, gradually passes into a class state based on the economic power (Gumplowicz 2018:203-205). Hence, it could be assumed that the right arose simultaneously with the state. And then the popular question of the ‘the legitimacy of power’ and ‘legal violence’ seems to be quite reasonable. The definition of the social type of violence is based on the classical versions of the so-called ‘theory of violence’ and the Marxist theory of classes. Discussing the violent theory of the emergence of the state, Gumplowicz argued that the state itself was formed as a result of the conquest of a stronger tribe over a weaker one (Gumplowicz 2018: 46). Violence theory states that the law is a product of the state and always appears after its formation. Many historical examples illustrate this thesis that power is first acquired by force and then enshrined in legislation.

In modern sociology, the theoretical concepts of violence differ by variety of methodological approaches, representing the main paradigms of modern sociology. The first group includes the studies considering a phenomenon of violence from positions of

sociological objectivism. Such an approach allows authors to consider society as wholeness, i.e., as social system, and violence as an element of its structure (Parsons 2006). The second group are the studies written within a subjectivist approach and placing emphasis on interpretation of human behavior (Weber 2002) and motives of personal activity (Mead 2015). The third group included the representatives of modern metaparadigmatic approaches analyzing social reality based on unity of action, structure and system (Collins 2009), subjective and objective (Staudigl 2013). Although modern sociology has a considerable theoretic and methodological base for the analysis of different forms of violence, the clear idea about the phenomenon of "anti-immigrant violence" in modern sociology is absent. The lack of interest in the problem of violence against immigrants observed in recent years fixes it on the periphery of theoretical analyses of social discipline. Hence, the main goal of my research is to analyze anti-immigrant violence within the existing theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of violence, with an emphasis on social phenomenology.

2.1.1 Studying Anti-Immigrant Violence

The literature on violence against immigrants in this section is closely related to the study of some of the research tasks that I pose for the study. These tasks are as follows:

- to develop the concepts of "anti-immigrant violence" and "immigrant violence" as sociological categories;
- to define the methodological bases of studying of anti-immigrant violence in modern theoretical sociology;

- to identify the constructive and destructive forms of interaction among Tajik labor immigrants and Russian residents on the individual and group levels;
- to reveal the specifics of this violence as a phenomenon derived from the conditions of the migration system crisis of Russian-Tajik societies.

So, in the next two subsections, before going through the thematic literature, I briefly discuss the tasks and scope of this research on violence against Tajik immigrants. Furthermore, when discussing these tasks, I will point out the theoretical literature that is directly related to the thematic literature. These tasks and the framework of the study are the product of sociological practice I elaborated upon as an outsider researcher spending considerable time in the Russian cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. I interviewed both ethnic Russians and Tajiks to become familiar with the lifeworld of Tajik immigrant workers and their experience of discrimination and violence. This way, I applied phenomenological sociology as an interpretative method of research. Therefore, the importance of this introduction is that it reveals the situation of analysis within the framework of phenomenological sociology.

In addition, the various aspects of everyday life Tajik labor immigrants have been examined sociologically. The everyday focuses on lived experience in a framework of social phenomenological examination. I borrowed the notion of everydayness¹ to exemplify the ways in which Tajik labor immigrants, who find themselves thrown into the world of lawlessness and illegality, relate to daily living. In my work, it is a way of looking at the daily perception of violence, manners and behaviors of Tajik immigrants

¹ The concept "everydayness", coined by the German philosopher Martin Heidegger, was borrowed from his phenomenological work *Being and Time* and adapted to the sociological perspective (Goffman 1959; Certeau 1984; Lefebvre 1984, 1991).

and Russian natives. Consequently, I outlined the daily practice of immigrants and combined it with the problem of violence and their everyday social interaction with Russian residents.

2.1.2 On Framework of Study

The most complex part of my study on violence against labor immigrants is the theoretical interpretation of empirical data. As mentioned above, most studies published in Russian academia support the idea that labor migration primarily influences economic development in origin societies through knowledge and remittances (Justino & Shemyakina 2012), while some show its important impact on the level of violence and conflict (Gudkov 2007; Drobizheva 2011; Mukomel 2014). Such an interpretation, on the one hand, results in ambiguities and vagueness in defining the labor migration and automatically creates uncertainty about the causes of violence against immigrants. On the other hand, it generates a number of hypotheses for the emergence of crime and insecurity because of the improper socialization of socially excluded migrants, who arrived in a different society with their own cultural specificity (Gerasimova 2019). But in fact, ontologically, there is no violence in and of itself, because violence is a process rather than a predetermined characteristic of a society or an individual; it is a part of the system and a dynamic process within the social framework (Hillyard et al., 2004: 11).

For sociologists, science means the objective study of the phenomena through observation. For every labor immigrant, their everyday social world is objective, and every immigrant perceives it in the same way as any other immigrant. Hence, all immigrants are viewed as a kind of 'equal partners'. This means that the proof of their objective social world lies in the intersubjective point of view. Every society is endowed

with both objective and subjective reality. Relying on symbolic observation and phenomenological sociology, Berger and Luckmann ([1966] 2011) dealt with the construction of a symbolic world and various types of reality constructs. The values and meaningful actions that Tajik labor immigrants (and any other group of immigrants) retain and perform collectively are driven by social practices and actions. For most of them it is taken for granted in everyday life as a cultural and social reality. Everything that counts as knowledge is the result of social construction processes, whether carried out intentionally or not.

Much of the literature on violence typically focuses on its visible and direct physical aspects. Therefore, Randall Collins (2009) notes that sociologists studied and understood violent individuals, but not situations of violence. I have formed a framework for my study based on up-to-date research literature. One of its components is Johan Galtung's violence triangle (Figure 1). Galtung (1961; 1990) has developed a good analytical triangle that can help to clearly see all types of violence, whether the source of it is an individual, community, state, or any other institution. For my research to be effective, I use this triangle as part of the analytical framework. Galtung identified three categories of violence; the first is direct violence, which includes physical and verbal violence. Direct violence is what we normally think about when we think about violence. We often easily observe this type of violence involving a perpetrator and a victim. It is obvious that this type of violence manifests itself as direct violence. The triangle can help us see, analyze and understand many examples of this type of violence. For example, the post-election violence that broke out in Kenya between communities with different

political views in 2008, or the experiences of Tajik immigrants associated with everyday violence in Russia.

Three Types of Violence

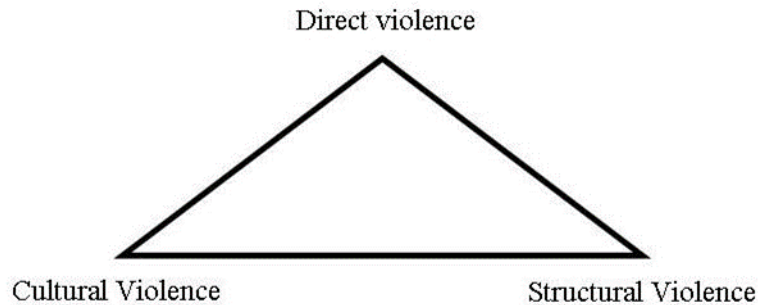


Figure 4: Violence Triangle.
Source: Galtung, 1990.

The most obvious and accessible for empirical observation is direct violence. Its nature is destruction. Consequently, the emphasis in a direct attack is on the destruction of the social life of immigrants. Galtung (1990) points out that there is also structural violence, that is, injustice and inequality, embedded in the fabric of society. This type of violence is invisible, subtle and often associated with very uneven distribution of power, precariat and inequality (Milkman 2020: 104). Structural violence has obvious victims, but often there is no clear executor. People are harmed or disadvantaged because of the way society is organized or structured. Structural violence can be sustained through threats and the use of direct violence. It can also be sustained through misinformation, manipulation, media distortion, deception, unjust laws, corrupt governmental institutions, discrimination, repression and deportation, as in the case of Russia.

The third type of violence is cultural. Cultural violence, like structural violence, is also typically invisible. It often arises from the cultural, religious or ideological beliefs of a society. Cultural violence is used to legitimize direct and structural violence. That is,

cultural violence represents the existence of prevailing or prominent social norms that make direct and structural violence natural or right, or at least acceptable (Galtung 1990: 291). For example, the belief that Central Asians are ‘intellectually inferior’ to Russians allows one to behave towards Central Asians as ‘slave-Gastarbeiter’ (FN 2015a).

2.2 Review of Thematic Literature

As noted in the chapter introduction, the review of literature in my study includes three sources of information: general (such as periodicals, newspapers and news websites), primary, and secondary. Such a process of literature review oriented me towards understanding what has been done on my topic of interest and what needs to be done within the current research framework based on the previous research published on this topic. The foundation of the questions of current research partly was based on the synthesis and analysis of the thematic literature as well.

2.2.1 Primary Sources of Literature

This section highlights approaches already used to study violence against immigrant workers. Authors who have investigated migration violence have considered it primarily from a social and anthropological perspective, focusing on the conditions that determine its ethnic and racial dimensions. A pivotal point in their study of violence is the assumption that the host population divides the world into "us" and "them," which in turn serves as the main driving force of xenophobia. This study interprets xenophobia as a way of organizing social relations based on the antagonistic opposite of “we” and

“others”. Such behavior is used primarily to ensure their own safety, territory and material wealth.

The theoretical and methodological aspects of my dissertation are based on the works carried out within the framework of the transdisciplinary methodology, the basic principles of which were primarily developed in American and European sociological thought. In the thesis, I rely on the provisions of sociological scientific theories developed in the writings of representatives of social sciences, namely, Weber (1958, 1981), Schutz (1967, 1973), Berger and Luckmann (1990) and Collins (2009). The methodology of constructivist realism, developed and applied by these authors, makes it possible to carry out a sociological and phenomenological study of violence against Tajik labor immigrants. Within this literature the works of the classics of sociological thought, Max Weber and Alfred Schutz, were particularly productive to conceptualize the framework of the study.

The studies of Dodd (2009) and Staudigl (2013) conducted in the study of the nature of violence in phenomenological framework were also very valuable. In these works, the social nature of violence was rethought in a new way. In their opinion, violence is socially conditioned and determines one or another strategy of human behavior. The social conditioning is manifested in the fact that in the process of socialization people acquire not only norms, values, but also asocial behaviors inherent in their culture. The statistical materials I used to support the qualitative data obtained were not always consistent, even if most of this data were collected from primary sources such as *Rosstat* (Russian Federal State Statistics Service), Ministry of Internal Affairs of

Russia, Federal Migration Service of Russia (FMS), *TajStat* (Statistical Agency under President of Tajikistan) and National Bank of Tajikistan (NBT).

Since the last decade of the twentieth century, works on the study of the social nature of violence, conflict, race and nationalism began to appear in post-Soviet sociology (Panov 2010).¹ A few studies published in Russian academic circles indicate that labor immigration may influence not only economic growth, but also has an important influence on the rate of violence and crime and immigrant conflict (Gudkov 2007; Drobizheva 2011; Mukomel 2014). Most Russian researchers, on the other hand, argue that labor migration contributes to an increase in immigrant crime (Dyatlov 2010, Grigorichev 2012, Dzyaloshinsky 2019). But most importantly, most of the scholarship on migration policy avoid such important components of migration processes as the issues of violence, nationalism and xenophobia.

2.2.2 Secondary Sources of Literature

There is sufficient research in the sociological literature on some aspects of violence. The problem of control and legitimate violence is analyzed in the works of classical sociologists such as Weber ([1946] 2014), Mead ([1934] 2015), Parsons ([1951] 2006) and Foucault (1977; 2005). The modern interpretation of violence develops in accordance with the works of Darendorf (1990), Galtung (1969; 1990), Coser (1956), Collins (2009), and Staudigl (2013). In Russian sociology, the study of violence, particularly migration-related violence, is relatively recent. Mukomel (2008), Markedonov (2010) and Yarskaya (2012) focused on the problem of violence and

¹ The study of these phenomena was banned in Soviet era.

xenophobia in the post-Soviet space. These studies are associated with the growth of xenophobia and aggressiveness in the minds of post-Soviet people.

The analysis of the available scientific sources on the topic of my thesis reveals the interdisciplinary nature of violence studies. This literature comes from ethnic psychology, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, law and criminology. Each discipline offers explanations and contributes to the understanding of violence. At the same time, the Tajik and Russian social sciences lack conceptual elaborations of the problem of anti-immigrant violence at the level of interdisciplinary methodology. These literary sources helped me conceptualize the scope and nature of my research. I will describe them in the following subsections.

In Russia, demographers and, to a lesser extent, economists and sociologists, studied labor migration with attention to the legality of the stay of the immigrants. Most research has focused on the economic aspects of labor migration, such as the impact of foreign immigrants on the Russian labor market and the amount of remittances. One of the main migration flows to Russia comes from Tajikistan (Map 2). In 2010, it accounted for 16% of all labor migration in Russia (Zayonchkovskaya et al., 2010). There are some factors for such a large flow of labor migrants from Tajikistan. Civil War (1992-1997) caused serious damage to the economy of Tajikistan. The southern regions of the country were badly damaged by the fighting, and about 80% of the country's industry was destroyed as a result of the war (Shemyakina 2011). Even today, Tajikistan has low incomes and high unemployment rates. This situation forces the residents of Tajikistan to choose migration as a development strategy in the labor market. Tajikistan's economy is heavily dependent on migrant remittances. In terms of the ratio of remittances to GDP,

Tajikistan had the highest ratio in 2011–2013. Remittances to Tajikistan were very large compared to other sources of foreign exchange such as exports or aid (Jongwanich and Kohpaiboon 2019: 48; Figure 2). According to the Agency on Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan, about 11% of the total population and about 15% of the working-age population of Tajikistan are involved in temporary labor migration (TajStat 2016). But there is evidence to believe that these figures are likely to be much higher (Sharipov 2014; Amon 2014a).¹

The problems of labor migration in Moscow and St. Petersburg became the object of Russian scientific research mainly after 2006 (Grigorieva et al., 2010). The literature describes several mechanisms of discrimination in the labor market. The first mechanism is the so-called discriminatory tendency, which is part of the preferences of the employer, especially given the fact that workers are labor immigrants. The second mechanism assumes 'statistical discrimination' arising from the lack of awareness of the employer about the performance ratings of labor immigrants. That is, without being able to determine the productivity of a labor immigrant, the employer distributes wages at the level of the lower or average productivity of workers in the group. On the other hand, it is assumed that the measurable productivity of an immigrant, such as education, experience, etc., may differ from that of Russian residents. For example, the employer does not have information about the quality of education in the immigrant's country of origin and may rate it below the appropriate level of education in Russia, although there are several empirical evidence and positive selection procedures based on the human capital model

¹ Officially registered labor immigrants are only part of the entire migration flow; the exact number is poorly reflected in official statistics. That is, there are always huge gaps between the figures shown in TajStat and Rosstat.

(Chiswick 2000, McKenzie et al., 2010). The third mechanism is that an employer is aware that a labor immigrant does not have access to more profitable segments of the labor market. Empirically, this form of discrimination is the division of the labor market into “immigrant” and “non-immigrant” segments. Thus, the retention of immigrants in certain narrow segments leads to an excess supply of labor and, accordingly, to a decrease in wages in these segments.

Map of Tajikistan and Russia



Map 2: Map of Tajikistan and Russia.

Source: Wikimedia Commons.

A small portion of the literature was statistical, although I did not rely on the statistical literature on the number of Tajik labor immigrants to Russia as they were not correct. For example, according to the Ministry of Labor, Migration and Employment of the Population of Tajikistan, in 2013 there were 799 thousand labor immigrants in Russia. According to the FMS, in the same year, there were 1,112,000 labor immigrants from Tajikistan in Russia. According to human rights defenders of organizations for the

protection of labor immigrants in Russia, this figure was at least 2 million (Amon 2014a, Sharipov 2014). However, to describe the economic situation, I used the statistical literature only in section 1.1.2 and relied on data from the World Bank.

2.2.3 General Sources of Literature

This study aims to capture the complexity of how Tajik immigrants experience anti-immigration sentiment in Russia. To do this, I had to search other sources of e-literature in addition to primary data. The general sources of literature mainly include periodicals, newspapers and news websites. I analyzed the phenomenon of anti-Tajik violence through major Russian and Tajik electronic newspapers from 2000 to 2017 by entering research keywords into a search engine. These key words were ‘violence against immigrants’, ‘violence against Tajik immigrants’, ‘anti-immigrant violence’, ‘illegal migration’, ‘Tajiks’ and ‘Gastarbeiter’. In this way, attention was paid to the analysis of official statements made through media with the intention of influencing people. The immigration discourses related to Tajik immigrants and captured through weblogs and websites were also analyzed.

Based on this literature source, the study also has analyzed the late Soviet and post-Soviet period (1992 to 2000). This period, due to the gradual escalation of anti-immigrant hatred, conditionally marks a sequence of several important phases of post-Soviet unfriendly relations with Tajik immigrants. Conditionally I divide them into four different phases: (1) a period of beginning decentralization and small-scale unconscious mobilizations (1992 to 1998); (2) a period of challenges of national consolidation and democratic transition (1999 to 2001); (3) a period of cultural renaissance, of nation-building process and the beginning of a differentiation of “Slavs/Rus” and “Stans” and

xenophobic attitudes (2002 to 2009); and (4) a period of Russian xenophobia, nationalism, and structural violence (2010 -2017). Internet and the electronic discursive arena was indeed an important source of information and site for the public debates over the research problem, particularly for the analysis of the latter part the period. The discourse about labor migration and migration violence against Tajik immigrants became particularly prominent in the third and fourth periods.

2.2.4 Observation and Mediated Data

Labor migration is indeed the tragedy of the Tajik people. According to Tajikistan's Ministry of Internal Affairs, "In 2012, 1,055 Tajik workers died in Russia. That's up from 884 in 2011... Each day an average of three Tajiks return from Russia in simple wooden coffins. They are the victims of racist attacks, police brutality, dangerous working conditions and unsafe housing" (Keevil 2013). Even NATO countries in armed conflicts in Afghanistan lose not so many soldiers as Tajikistan loses its citizens in labor migration (Clodfelter 2017: 725). Russian scientist Valery Tishkov, with whom I spoke on the phone, in one of his interviews discussing the problem of nationalism in Russia, stated that "it is useful to be on duty at the Dushanbe airport [Tajikistan's capital] and see how often [the bodies of] Gastarbeiter from Russia are delivered there" (Tishkov & Solomonov 2012). The loss of a large number of immigrants in Russia has a significant impact on Tajik society. A human rights activist and one of the initiators of the adoption of the law on migration, Oinihol Bobonazarova calls on the authorities to investigate every death of a migrant and to protect their rights in the host country (Bobonazarova 2015).

Another human rights activist from Tajikistan, Gavhar Jurayeva, the head of the Moscow-based human rights organization *Migration and Law*, discussing labor migration issues with me, talks about the “voluntary slavery” of Tajik labor immigrants. “The workers are bought by intermediaries in Tajikistan and promised ‘mountains of gold’. They are virtually slaves because they depend on the intermediaries, who collect their passports until the debts are paid off” (Jurayeva 2014). According to Svetlana Gannushkina, the head of the Moscow Human Rights Centre *Memorial*, targeting of migrant workers by the militia is a “systematic hunt.” “Every year, about half a million working migrants are deported from Russia, and given a five-year travel ban. Migrant workers are often blackmailed by the police during passport controls” (Gannushkina 2015).

For post-Soviet societies, the term “labor migration” is a phenomenon of the 21st century. Only two decades ago, the population of these societies did not know about it. The very concept of social and labor relations in the post-Soviet economy arose simultaneously with the transition from a planned to a market economy. The borders between the Soviet republics served as an administrative function, but they never served as barriers to migration. In Soviet times, there was only internal migration, and people moved between the republics only to stimulate resettlement in sparsely populated regions (Chudinovskikh & Denisenko 2017). People mobility was regulated by a registration system called *propiska* (details in section 2.1.1). It was used as a residency permit in the Soviet Union and informed about a person’s place of residence, where the person was registered. Soviet internal passports were stamped at the local police office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) that allowed a foreign national to reside in a country

for a certain length of time. So, when traveling during Soviet times, you had to have a passport with a *propiska*. It was introduced “to control internal migration, which permitted a holder of a *propiska* to work in a given town and reside at the specific address” (Hatcher & Thieme 2015). Therefore, the analysis of the patterns of ongoing labor migration in Russia and Tajikistan should not begin following the breakdown of the Soviet system, when Russia became the center of labor migration for the post-Soviet states, but in earlier times, when these republics formed a single state.

However, the scope and framework of this study lies in the period after the collapse of the Soviet Union, namely from the 2000s to the present. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the *propiska* system was abolished and replaced with a *migratsionnaya karta* (migration card). The document contains information about foreign citizens, who do not need a visa to enter the Russian Federation. In addition to all this, since July 2010, based on amendments to the Russian federal law (FLRF 2007), the Russian migration authorities introduced a new ‘*patent*’ system for citizens of the former Soviet republics with visa-free entry. A *patent* gives the rights of employment to foreign citizens arriving in Russia without a visa (Tajikistani citizens fall into this category). Also, ‘*simplified rules*’ procedures were introduced for hiring highly qualified specialists. Already during this period, migration policy underwent changes in other countries, and each new independent post-Soviet state began to establish its own migration policy. In addition, many countries began political reforms, and in some of them, including Tajikistan, it led to armed conflict. All these post-Soviet challenges caused migration of people across borders, and by the end of the 1990s, especially labor migration. Today Tajikistan is the second country of origin of labor force in Central Asia after Uzbekistan.

And remittances sent home by Tajik labor immigrants in 2008 accounted for 50% of Tajikistan's GDP (Figure 1).

2.2.5 Visual Data: Documentary, Photography and Video

In order to construct intersubjectivity in research, I needed to obtain data from different sources and communicate with people from different walks of life with different backgrounds and specialties. Only then would it be possible to gain a more complete picture of the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants. One of the key sources of such data was films about labor immigrants in Russian cinema. Labor immigrants in Russian cinema are most often used as a sign of a stranger. This stranger is not familiar with the local culture and rejects the lifestyle of local residents, emphasizing its irregularity and oddity. His image is the one who brings his own law, which does not coincide with the existing one, and does not know that he 'has got to play the game according to local rules'. He is cold, introverted and closed to understanding.

Documentaries and films generally reflect the everyday lives of labor immigrants. The concept "everyday life" in most cases has an implied contrast with emergencies, such as wars, disasters, days of mourning (Turner 2006: 180). In modern sociology, this concept is used to refer knowledge about the routine way of life. Violence against labor immigrants in Russia and the everyday lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants reminds us of such emergency situations, especially when this violence is associated with serious xenophobic behavior of local residents. Hence, in my study, the term *everyday violence* and *everyday racism* are often used. These visual data are interpreted in sections 5.1-5.4 of the *Analysis* chapter.

2.2.6 On Racism and Migration

Nationalism was a key element of Soviet ideology (Panov 2010; Umland 2008). It was understood as an ethnic selfishness and negative hostility towards other nationalities though it was condemned by official propaganda and society. Now “nation” and “nationalism” are understood as more complex phenomena. First of all, a nation is interpreted as ethno-nation having a special quality, and nationalism as ethno-nationalism meaning the interests and values of one nation are higher than all others. According to Ernest Gellner, who built a holistic theory of nationalism, nationalism is a political principle that requires the coincidence of the boundaries of the national community and state (Gellner 2009). Such a type of political nationalism we observe in post-Soviet Russia in a more aggressive form of ethnocentrism (“Russia for Russians”)¹ that excludes the ethnic migrants from the space of majorities and titular nationalities. Political nationalism in Russia is manifested in the form of the adoption of discriminatory laws against foreign migrants. It is manifested, first of all, in the forms of ideological, cultural, and psychological aspects. Often, pressure on foreign migrants is carried out in everyday practice at a psychological level: immigrants, particularly Central Asians, are refused the opportunity to rent a room and they aren't admitted to educational and medical institutions (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2016a). Sociologists interpret this as cultural racism, a form of ethnic hostility and ethnic negativism.

The study of Russian ethnocentrism is organically connected with xenophobia. Xenophobia is particularly connected with new forms of identity, such as racial and

¹ In November 2012, only 23% of respondents negatively reacted to the slogan "Russia for Russians", believing that this is a real fascism, against 30% in 1998 (Levada-Center 2012a: 176-179).

national identity, which emerged in post-Soviet Russia (Arnold 2016; Tsygankov 2013). The ideas of race and nation that appeared in the modern era are becoming important signs of social classification and hierarchy of peoples. In a Russian context Shevchenko's doctoral dissertation (2014) gives an in-depth analysis of the social processes of the epoch of modernity, which informs the emergence of racial and national xenophobia in Russia. She identified the causes and types of xenophobia in the era of pre-modern, modern and late modernity and examined the philosophical understanding of the phenomenon of xenophobia in historical and modern dimensions. The author's efforts to conceptualize the concept of xenophobia in social cognition and identify characteristics of xenophobia are very valuable in analyzing modern Russian reality. One of the unique characteristics of the late modernism, according to the author, is "a symbiosis of religious, ethnic and racial markers" (Shevchenko 2014: 154), which leads to the emergence of mixed xenophobic forms. The focus of our time-based content is neoliberalism though Shevchenko uses the term "late modernism", perhaps because the late modern did not take place at the same way and time in different places, and subsequently was replaced by neoliberalism. The examples of mixed xenophobia in Russia are obvious too: Islamophobia and migrantophobia. The image of "other" is used to form identities. In modern Russia, xenophobia became the subject of scientific research just recently. To date, the overwhelming majority of publications on this topic have been prepared by journalists and are mainly of a journalistic nature.

The next chapter analyzes the phenomenon of xenophobia in Russian society and offers a social phenomenological construct of xenophobia based on Schutz's social phenomenology. For me, xenophobia is a sociocultural phenomenon, since its causes are

predominantly social in nature. It is interpreted as a phenomenon of social relations based on the antagonistic opposition of "we" and "they". In the case of this study, it is the rejection of immigrants by the host population. Xenophobia is an unconscious, irrational, and a social reflex (Luckmann 2002). Such social reflex is interpreted as a reflexive fear of the unknown or, in other words, xenophobia from below.¹

If we look at the problem from a historical point of view, we see that instinctive xenophobia was more or less characteristic of most societies, especially empires. The Greeks despised the Scythians, the Persians despised the Arameans, and the Byzantines despised all barbarians. All this characterized the arrogant attitude towards foreigners. But instinctive xenophobia and xenophobic ideas are two quite different phenomena; while the first is an unconscious social reflex, the second looks like a manifestation of a form of ideology that focuses on the role of the state elite in shaping attitudes towards foreigners. Cilevičs called it “top-down” approach (Bogushevich and Tsilevich 2002; Stullerova 2002) that is xenophobia from above. In the *State Violence* section of this dissertation, we see how xenophobia from above exploits xenophobia from below, which is usually latent. In Russia, there is state-sanctioned top-down xenophobia in migration policy under various forms of restrictions. Consequently, the critics cite the laws and decisions that shape migration policy and lead to violence against immigrants (Gudkov 2014; Mukomel 2015). Overall, the attitude of Russian residents towards immigrants is diverse; positive, neutral or negative. An extreme manifestation of the latter is hostility and xenophobia, and I will base my analysis on this category of relationship.

¹ In 2002, Latvian human rights activist Boriss Cilevičs spoke at the conference on xenophobia in Budapest. At the conference, where I was one of the discussants, he proposed two models for analysis of xenophobia: the “bottom-up” and the “top-down”.

Racism and its exercises in Russian society are interpreted as “ethnic violence” (Arnold 2016: 41-44), when ethnic violence can take place within the country. Academic terms have a special expression in Russia, since the same labor immigrants have different expressions depending on race and not even geographic location; one might be called a 'Gastarbeiter', the other a migrant, although both belong to the same category of the working class. However, an analysis of the labels assigned to foreign immigrants from Central Asia in Russia and associated primarily with skin color proves racial motives for the violence (Chapter 5). Racism and xenophobia should be interpreted based on the antagonistic opposite of “we” and “others” (subsection 2.2.1). It is a direct manifestation of the race phenomenon.

2.2.7 On Xenophobia, Racism and Skinheads

During the Soviet era, Russians were called "big brother" in other countries of the former USSR. The phrase is still used, but not so often. They got used to that, but the USSR no longer exists. Not all Soviet republics were in favor of secession from the USSR, especially the republics of Central Asia. It is noteworthy that an influx of labor immigrants to Russia began from this region. Today, it is around the immigrants of these Central Asian states that the image of “Gastarbeiter” has formed, which has become a source of social phobias in Russia.

Russia was formed as a state by annexing other territories. Some territories were transferred to contemporary Russia because of voluntary accession, but others were conquered. Russia was an empire with internal colonies and it inherited the historical memory of the imperial state. The vitality of the imperial syndrome is maintained by traditional images in the identity of the host society. Therefore, with respect to the

Russian attitude toward immigrants coming from the former Soviet states, the imperial consciousness is still preserved in a latent form. Attitude towards immigrants in Moscow and St. Petersburg is worse than in the other regions of Russia. According to the research of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences entitled “20 Years of Reforms Through the Eyes of Russians”, in 2011, 68% of Russian residents frankly admitted that they “feel irritation or dislike towards representatives of some nationalities” (Gorshkov et al, 2011: 226). In Moscow and St. Petersburg more than 60% of the host population support radical bans on the entry of migrants and the idea of deporting Tajiks and other Central Asian nationalities. The historically formed idea of incompatibility of cultures is drawn most significantly with respect to those arriving from Central Asian region (Ruget and Usmanalieva 2018; Zotova 2010).

Labor immigrants from Tajikistan see and interpret the phenomenon of xenophobia in their own way. Studying the labor activity of Tajik immigrants in Moscow, I found that they are increasingly focused on the service sector. Most Tajik labor immigrants work in the construction industry, some of them shop assistants, cleaners, and very few are restaurant owners. The newcomers were content with manual labor and running small businesses. They try to live closer to each other and help one another (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014e). Their ability to adapt and stay together in the market has caused anxiety and discontent among some young Russian residents. Most of the newly-arrived Tajik immigrants were young as well, and were steadfastly focused on success. They were ready to take risks despite the remarks made by some local youth that most people coming to Russia “behave themselves like hosts in our land” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014e).

In addition, they enjoyed the support of relatives and were presented to the host employers as “successful workers”. Sometimes young immigrants in small trades earned more than some categories of the host population, although there were not many such immigrants. They were visible in the workplace and in the eyes of the local population. These lines of business had paid good income to immigrants. Some sections of the host population suffered from the loss of the prestige of their work and could not accept it. This changed their attitude towards Others (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015c).

There is no literature linking xenophobia with any post-Soviet states other than Russia. In my interview with Russian experts (Gudkov 2014, Mukomel 2013), xenophobia was interpreted ambiguously and rhetorically. The problem is how widespread xenophobic sentiments are and to what extent they threaten social stability. And how is *migrantophobia* related to xenophobia? Who is xenophobia directed against in Russia? My respondents did not always answer these questions unambiguously. Xenophobia in Russia has several dimensions, such as ethnic, migratory, religious, national, etc. I want to focus only on the literature that relates to immigrants, particularly Tajik labor immigrants, who belong to a different religious and ethnic group than most of the residents of Russia. First, the source of migrantophobia is the process of post-Soviet forced migration (Vitkovskaya 2002). Herewith, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the most noticeable phenomenon of forced migration is primarily associated with Tajikistan (Zotova 2010: 3).

Xenophobia in Russia arose immediately after the collapse of the Soviet state under the influence of a certain political philosophy of anti-migrationism (Tishkov 2004, Zinchenko 2011). Increased migration flows in the 2000s played a role in the

reorientation of radical nationalists in search of new subjects of *Others* (Shenfield 2016: 52). In any society, a political regime and the functioning of civil norms significantly affects the interethnic relations. The director of the *Levada Center*, Lev Gudkov, notes that “a society without xenophobia is a utopia of an absolutely closed and isolated island society. However, the scale of xenophobia, its role in the life of society can be very different” (Gudkov 2007: 53). The data of the *Levada Center* and the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences demonstrates the prevalence of isolationism and the growth of hatred in post-Soviet Russia. For example, in the aforementioned study of the Institute of Sociology we read the following disappointing data; in 1995, 65% of survey participants agreed with the opinion “Russia is a common home for all ethnic peoples” and “all the peoples of Russia should have equal rights, and no one should have any advantages”. Later this share decreased from 61% in 2001 to 47% in 2011. At the same time, the share of those who believed that “Russia is a multinational country, but the Russians (*russkiye*) constituting a majority, should have more rights,” grew from 14% in 1995 up to 31% in 2011, and those who believed that “Russia should be a state of Russian people” increased from 25% to 45% in 2001 (Gorshkov 2011). Thus, Russia is among the countries which support tough measures against immigrants, such as Hungary, Portugal and Spain.

Rossiia dlya russkikh (Russia for Russians) is the modern political slogan of skinheads, which arose in the early 20th century from the ultra-nationalist movement *Chernosotentsy* (the Black Hundreds) of the House of Romanov. Initially, *Chernosotentsy* called themselves ‘truly Russian’ (*istinno russkimi*), but later traced their

origin to Kuzma Minin, who brought Russia out of the *Smutnoye vremya*¹ (Mares et al. 2018: 202-206). They are known for extremism, pogroms, Russo-centric doctrines, xenophobic beliefs and anti-Semitism (Belikov 2011, Arnold, 2016: 3-5).

Today the slogan is becoming popular again. Sociological studies show that 52% of Russians support it (Gudkov 2014, Mukomel 2013). Many political parties in Russia, such as the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and their leaders advocate this very slogan and Russian marches against labor migration. But modern liberalism does not accept such slogans of nationalism. Russian marches under the slogans “*Russia for Russians*”, “*Moscow for Muscovites*” do not in any way correlate with the defense of liberal ideals.

¹ *Smutnoye vremya* (Time of Troubles) is the period in the history of Russia in the 17th century, marked by wars and severe state-political and socio-economic crisis. In addition, in Russia in the 17th century the land plots of peasants were called ‘black.’ In historical sources, ‘black’ lands are opposed to ‘white’ lands, which belonged to feudal lords and churches.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

While “violence is a persistent feature of social life” (Ray et al., 2000: 145), mainstream sociology has been less concerned in analyzing social violence (Ray 2011; Walby 2013). Likewise, in former Soviet Tajikistan, it has never – neither in the past nor in the present – been an object of sociology. There was not even empirical data that had a sort of ‘inferior’ research value. Such a notion as *sociology of violence* did not exist in Soviet times (Greenfeld 1988). Given the theorem of the Soviet non-violent and non-conflict society, Soviet ideology and science ignored all types of socio-political and sociological research as ‘bourgeois sciences.’ Consequently, to conduct a study such as this, it is necessary to have an idea of the methodology of the sociological knowledge of violence. In post-Soviet sociology, there is still no stable research ground and a developed mechanism for the sociological study of violence. According to some Russian experts, the very nature of labor migration in Russia is of a conflict, violent and criminal nature (Tishkov 2003, Gudkov 2005).¹ Moreover, Russia simultaneously faces both high unemployment and labor shortages (Mukomel 2011). Given this fact, I can argue that the problem of emigration to Russia from Tajikistan can also be studied from the perspective of violence and conflict studies.

Therefore, the study of violence in post-Soviet societies is a logical consequence of the experienced transformational phenomena and broadened scientific ideas about

¹ In fact, Marx talking about the migratory movement in his *Capital* (Marx 2011), notes the violent nature of it in Western Europe: “They were turned *en masse* into beggars, robbers, vagabonds, partly from inclination, in most cases from stress of circumstances. Hence at the end of the 15th century and during the whole of the 16th century, Western Europe experienced a bloody legislation against vagabondage. The fathers of the present working class were chastised for their enforced transformation into vagabonds and paupers. Legislation treated them as ‘voluntary’ criminals and assumed that it depended on their own good will to go on working under the old conditions that no longer existed” (Marx 2011: 806).

social processes. Even in the early years of the post-Soviet period, the study of social violence was mainly a subject only of legal and criminological sciences. Perhaps criminological knowledge is able to explain violent phenomena in the social world, but then it includes all types of violent processes in the framework of criminology. But violence is associated not only with the processes of deviation from existing social norms of morality and law. It also seeks answers to questions such as why immigrants experience violence in everyday life and why their types of behavior and activities deviate from generally accepted norms of morality and law. Therefore, in my study of violence against Tajik immigrants, I decided to examine this phenomenon mainly within the framework of a socio-phenomenological approach. I believe that this approach should provide an intersubjective understanding of violence, why and how it occurs, and what consequences it entails.

Sociology of violence is becoming one of the perspective directions of modern sociology (Chapters 2.1; 3.1; Collins 2009; Malesevic 2010; Rios et al., 2017; Steinmetz 2014; Walby 2013). It is caused by crisis tendencies in society and growth of social tension and violence in social practice, although some research argued that there was a decline of violence in the modern world (Pinker 2012). In this study importance of sociological analysis of violence is caused by the conflictual attitude and xenophobic behavior of residents of Russia to Others, first of all, to Tajik immigrants. In my opinion, the violence should be examined as the ways and means of the organization of a destructive social world. Such a statement of the question ties the sociological analysis of the problem of violence with the research of processes of the organization or

disorganization of society that allows the study of social violence included in political, economic, social and sociocultural subsystems of society (Chandra and Collins 2010).

The methods and approaches described in the thesis define the way to acquire knowledge using the procedures mentioned above. That is, these procedures not only help to interpret and understand the phenomenon of anti-immigrant violence but are also tools used to seek new social knowledge and to reconstruct meaning. The overall framework of this section is grounded on epistemology, methodology, method, and their relationship. The epistemological position of the study is based on interview methods with an emphasis on the social phenomenological perspectives, as well as on a descriptive approach in order to reconstruct social reality. The methodology of the study, formed by the questions and objectives of the research, motivates the development of an interdisciplinary approach from a sociological perspective. In other words, this study is not solely based on interpretive sociology, but is interdisciplinary in nature. It is stimulated by the “extended case method” (Burawoy 1998; Anderson 2000; Sullivan 2002), which encourages the use of various theories and guides the researcher in the process of interpreting facts (Johnson 2006).

In that way, the task of the study is to find an answer to the components of its central question: what are the ways and means of understanding the problem under study and the lifeworld of Tajik immigrant workers? In reviewing the object and subject of research, I tried to link the empirical and conceptual aspects of the study with its methodological tools. The essence of such an approach was to combine the problem of conceptualization, research techniques and the search for social indicators into a single whole and, thus, to implement the transition from theory to intersubjective social reality.

An integral part of conceptualization was the interpretation of the concepts, as well as their theoretical and empirical reconstruction (Drysdale 1996; Hitzler 2005).

In doing so, I have highlighted the theoretical and empirical interpretation. The theoretical interpretation of concept is a conceptual analysis and its identification when comparing other concepts of the study and determining its place in it from the point of view of the theory in which it is included. Conceptual analysis (chapters 1.6.1; 3.1; 3.1.1; 3.4) makes explicit the nature of phenomena in which “concepts are spaces into which reality is filled by analysis” (Bulmer 2017: 43). The framework of empirical interpretation will be discussed in the following sections.

3.1 Researching Violence

By 2015, I had collected a wide variety of data; publications, documents, interviews, observations. But I can admit that the range of problems in the context of the collected materials was also very wide. My challenge was to determine the types of theoretical and conceptual frameworks I could use to describe what I observed, read and heard. Consequently, in this context, I was convinced of the need for a radical change in the theoretical formulations of my research in search of grounded explanations for understanding the phenomenon of violence against Tajik immigrants (Weine et al 2008; Sabri et al. 2020).

On the other hand, this was due to the fact that many Russian and Tajik sociologists do not regard violence against labor immigrants an appropriate topic for their empirical research. The state monopoly of nonviolence inherited by the modern post-Soviet states from the Soviet one is partly a condition for ensuring such an attitude, even

in the academic sphere. But the act of violence is a natural state of any human society. The ignoring of violence is a rejection of the reality that a society is facing it. Such a policy of ignoring violence has led to the emergence of so-called disposable people in the form of labor immigrants without any human rights. The ignoring of violence is an academic paradox when we discuss social issues. Likewise, when we talk about the study of violence, it is not separate from the study of peace. The same academic field called *Peace and Violence Research* discusses these two notions, and one of the pioneering articles in this field was written with the title *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research* (Galtung 1969) that connects these two notions. So, violence research is a component of peace research, and peace research is a component of violence research.

Due to the complex nature of violence, it has been studied in an interdisciplinary way (Ferracuti and Wolfgang 2013; Ralph 2013). This thesis develops interdisciplinarity as well, but its epistemological position is based on knowledge produced by the interviews and observations with an emphasis on the perspectives of phenomenological sociology. Although violence against Tajik immigrant workers in my dissertation basically is interpreted from an angle of a sociological perspective, it does not focus only on pure sociological interpretive theories but on interdisciplinarity as well. It has nothing to do with a multiplicity of approaches, but instead is based in the very complexity of the phenomenon under study. Herewith social constructivist epistemology and a sociological interpretive qualitative approach are combined. The study applies the aforementioned method of Burawoy (1998). This method is persuasive in its strategy to use general theories and guide a sociologist towards the issue of how to interpret the facts obtained in the course of field research.

Although modern sociology collected considerable theoretical and empirical knowledge on the problems of social violence, this knowledge is not always applied to practical management of anti-immigrant violence in post-Soviet societies. In fact, one of the most dangerous developments in contemporary Russia is a marked increase in subversive ethnic and anti-immigrant violence. In last two decades in Russia the social discontent of the population connected to the labor migration resulted in outright hostility which explicitly expressed a national and xenophobic tinge. These interethnic hatreds provoke disintegrated processes and intensify the tendencies towards separatism among the post-Soviet peoples. Moreover, the destructive social mechanisms of migration policy and its xenophobic control over migration processes produce hostile and exclusionist attitudes towards labor immigrants.

The framework of violence study in my dissertation also consists of an analysis of conflicting elements of ethno-national intolerance in the context of labor migration. Generally, such contradictions are spontaneous when a social contradiction, being imposed on the stereotyped and clichéd mass consciousness, is transformed to one of the forms of ethnic contradiction. The stereotyped elements of collective consciousness are the factors of intolerant forms of behavior. Formation of such elements, including the images of “Others” is shown in this dissertation.

The main research phenomenon determines the nature and structure of research in all studies. Violence against Tajik labor immigrants is a core phenomenon in my study. The word *phenomenon* has a Greek root, and its literary meaning is a thing that appears for viewing (Bien 2012: 42). In modern sociological use, in order to be studied, it should be an observable act, explicable and experienceable, that is, it represents a situation, an

event. So, within this framework, both migration (Datta 2003) and violence (Ray 2011) are social phenomena.

This study, as a whole, is about the description of violence. It provides an interpretation of violence, examines the role of phenomenological sociology in this interpretation and discusses the intersubjective understanding. It also describes the concept of action, intentionality and the “in-order-to” motive (Schutz 2011: 69; Mills 2000: 36, 262), as well as the possibility of the state use of violence. The state plays the role of a social actor and indicator of the social acceptability of violence (Weber 1978). Violence against labor immigrants has always been closely intertwined with political processes. To study this phenomenon, I take a holistic approach, as the mechanisms of migration policies and government systems that drive such violence remain complex.

3.1.1 Conceptualizing Violence

In our daily life, when we see an act of violence, we easily understand that it is violence, but it would be difficult to translate our understanding into a definition. We usually use an ostensive method to define it, that is, we see it and point to an example. Since the interpretation of the meaning of violence is different for every individual, this concept becomes increasingly subjective. It may create some challenges in conceptualizing violence. Obviously, I look at violence in the context of labor migration, and therefore, for me, violence has a very wide scope, ranging from the physical form to psychological, symbolic and any other forms of violent actions with *intention*. I specially highlighted the concept of “intention”. An action against someone, even if it occurs in physical or psychological form, cannot be classified as violence if there is no intention in the action. Likewise, some actions are intentional and may seem violent, but do not harm

the other person (Ortiz and Jackey 2019; Winter et al., 2012). I do not classify them as violent acts. Therefore, it is a complex and fluid concept to define.

The stories of labor immigrants I have used in this study are based on their experiences of violence. The experience is always connected with the real world. Whatever they told me was the composition of their narratives related to reality. Therefore, violence is a phenomenon that we can analyze. It is analyzable, that is, it is a compound phenomenon. We cannot analyze a non-compound and unique phenomenon. Violence in this thesis is not a single and unique phenomenon. It is a compound so it is divisible and analyzable. Its core meaning is an act of violation of the basic rights of labor immigrants.

3.1.2 Technique of Violence Research

When I started writing my proposal for this study on violence against immigrant workers, my focus was not on explaining how to get rid of violence. In fact, this was not the task of my research. Rather, my research is focused on understanding and explaining the existing social realities connected with labor migration and the violence emanating from it. It aims to further expand the scope of the violence studies with a phenomenological interpretation of violence. More specifically, it discusses violence against Tajik labor immigrants in Russia, employing an interdisciplinary approach with an emphasis on the social phenomenology of Alfred Schutz (1972) and the *Verstehen* methodology of Max Weber (1978, 2019).

As I mentioned previously, I needed certain methods and techniques to see the factors behind violent behavior in order to better understand (*betterverstehen*) violence. A better understanding depends precisely on a clear objective with a suitable method and

technique for it. These techniques already exist in the field of social research. I had to find them, adapt and apply them in my research. From desk academia to everyday social issues on the field and more, gave me the insight into the fact that reality itself is multilayered. Therefore, my response to it is also multilayered. This means that I cannot reduce reality to one of its components, because the social world is very multifaceted. It is the same with the lifeworld of labor immigrants. Therefore, I must use my intellectual capacities to respond to various aspects of reality. All that brought me to a kind of multidimensional understanding of the reality of immigrants' lifeworld.

In a narrow social phenomenological understanding, the term “technique” refers to a set of approaches to the study and construction of social reality (Wieviorka 2009, Walby 2009: 193-204, Walby 2013). The feature of such a technique is that it focuses on existing social phenomena, realities, processes or people. I see social phenomenology as a technique of interpretation in contemporary studies of violence. Schutz (1972) focused on how one method of inquiry in philosophy, that is, phenomenology, can be applied in the real social world. Although phenomenology is considered a branch of philosophy, it differs from other key disciplines in philosophy, such as metaphysics, logic, ethics, and others. It represents more a distinct and clearer way of looking at the social world. It is also more descriptive than prescriptive. This method of inquiry in philosophy was developed by the German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859 – 1938) and was based on the premise that reality consists of events, that is, “phenomena” as they are understood in the human consciousness (2013). As a branch of philosophy, phenomenology studies experience and how we experience, that is, it analyzes experience as experienced from a first-person point of view. In a phenomenological sense, the domain of experience

includes everything that we live through, observe or perform. So, Schutz (1972) applied Husserl's phenomenology (1970) to the study of the social world.

The application of social phenomenology in my research can only make sense if it involves first-person perspective structures, and what is not described on the basis of social phenomenology is unrealistic. Schutz informs us that our experience is a meaningful lived experience (Schutz 1972:41) that is, every behavior and action in our daily lives has meaning, as "the reflective glance signals out an elapsed lived experience and constitutes it as meaningful." (Schutz 1972:71). Similarly, Weber has argued that "in 'action' is included all human behavior when and in so far as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to it" (Weber 1964: 88). Therefore, meaning is a way of regarding an experience, it "is a certain way of directing one's gaze at an item of one's own experience" (Schutz 1972:42).

With all of the above in mind, I have to answer two questions. First, how to move from the theoretical positions of Weber and Schutz to pragmatic research method and how to 'translate' them into research tools and methods of collecting, processing and analyzing data. And second, how to rise again to theoretical generalization and to construct theory based on the obtained facts and empirical materials. Therefore, this thesis not only provides understanding of the problem of violence, but should also serve as a basis for further developing the approach that I have used. So first, I define a contradiction between the understanding of violence, that is, what is already known and what is unknown. In other words, I define the inconsistency of understanding through available theoretical perspectives and new collected facts (Ceobanu and Xavier 2010). Following that, an objective framework is formed for obtaining new knowledge and

searching for unknown outcomes of a research problem. The analysis of the research problem is done through observations, interviews with labor immigrants and residents of Russia, analysis of documents and the results of previous sociological studies, and interviews with experts. In the next step, I identify the main and secondary factors of the problem situation and construct a model that explains this set of factors. After identifying a range of factors, the next step is to develop new questions. The search for answers to new questions is the outcome of a research problem, that is, the achievement of intersubjective understanding (Koschmann 2018: 466-468; Mori and Hayashi 2006; Overgaard and Zahavi 2009).

In the phenomenological sociology of understanding, a definition of a situation, object and subject is of decisive importance. The object is those phenomena and people that are directly related to the problem of anti-immigrant violence. These are residents of Russia and Tajik immigrants and their attitudes towards migration, immigrants and experience. The subject of research is what is studied in the object. It is violence against immigrants and its aspects. It focuses on the set of concepts and categories, as well as the relationships between categories, which most prominently express the central question of the research problem. The definitions of these aspects lead to the practical focus of the study, which is an analysis of the real situation in which Tajik immigrant workers are found, and identifying the hidden causes of the situation of violence in which they are in.

To ensure the reliability and adequacy of sociological analysis, the process of conceptualization and identification of concepts in my study includes the following: a) the correlation of specific concepts ('Gastarbeiter', 'Tajiks', 'illegals', etc.) with a theoretical problem of study; b) understanding the content of the categorical conceptual

framework of study, and c) achievement of accuracy of the use of concepts (for example, 'migrant workers' or 'labor immigrants' instead of 'Gastarbeiter') that unambiguously convey their exact meaning. Empirical interpretation of concepts is the procedure for finding the empirical meanings of theoretical terms. The correlation of a concept with a phenomenon of social reality (for example, anti-immigrant violence) is so that the phenomenon is encompassed by its content and, thus, becomes an appropriate empirical indicator of the concept. I will discuss some discrepancy between the content of the phenomenon and the indicator of social reality (for example, in the articles by Grigorichev 2010, 2012) in the next subsections of this dissertation. My goal in empirical interpretation is a consistent concretization of the content of concepts that allows us to obtain sociological information that can be correlated with the original *a priori* notions developed before the research began.

3.2 Research Questions

Anti-immigrant violence is a problematic issue. The research questions in this study are formed based on the nature of the problem and experience of immigrants. To formulate the central research question, I focus on the following practical questions and the statement of the problem I formed in the introductory section of this thesis. How do we account for the violence phenomenon in the field of migration in post-Soviet states? Why does it happen and how do we identify the nature of this problem? How can this problem be studied?

Thus, through an interpretive study of the Tajik immigrant lifeworld in Russia and interviews with migration experts and Tajik labor immigrants themselves, the study seeks

to answer the following research questions: *What is the lived experience of Tajik labor immigrants? How do they experience violence and produce meaning based on their lived experience of migrant-phobia?* These research questions address important practical issues in understanding violence. The primary aim is to produce research-based knowledge through the immigrants' description of their experience, and thus to gain an intersubjective understanding of the anti-immigrant violence.

During fieldwork, I found that the level of violence against Tajik immigrants was substantially lower in the late 90s and early 2000s, when the flow of labor emigration from Tajikistan was less than in recent years and today. Thus, another major research question is *whether the flow of labor immigration has an impact on violence*. The flow of migration can have an impact on violence, and some literature supports this view that massive immigration from Tajikistan played a role in this (Kramer 2009; Trilling 2009; Olimova 2010). In the dissertation, this issue is discussed in the section *Findings* (8.1).

To find an answer to these questions, drawing on semi-structured interviews with Tajik labor immigrants and, using Schutz's concept of lifeworld and "Weber's basic concept of interpretive sociology" (Schutz 1972: 13), this study fulfills a twofold goal. First, it elucidates a phenomenon of anti-immigrant violence by employing the data accumulated through interviewing immigrants; and second, it scrutinizes the facts and the complexity of this phenomenon.

3.2.1 A Constructed Lifeworld

According to focus group informants in Moscow, Tajik immigrants face systemic violence every day (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015). Violence is

internalized through everyday images of Tajik labor immigrants in the media, through stigmatizing them as "illegal people", as "uneducated Gastarbeiter", and through the practice of discrimination against them. Violence, by socially constructing their identities, shapes their lifeworld, their ways of thinking and becomes embedded in their minds, and thus becomes an integral part of their everyday lives. Everything around them has become violent: interactions, cultures, relationships, etc., that internalize violence. To illustrate the situation, I will quote some excerpts from one of the focus groups held in Moscow in 2015. The excerpts represent the views of the participants on one of the follow-up questions: "Why do you think that in the Russian Federation Tajik immigrants are the most deprived of civil rights?"

Participant 1: *"It is difficult to answer this question unambiguously. It seems to me, partly we ourselves are guilty. We do agree to the most low-wage jobs; we go to other countries without knowing our rights and duties, especially the language of that country. I think the root of our troubles is in ourselves and in our society."*

Participant 2: *"What you are asking about? We don't have any rights in our own homeland, and you're asking about our rights in Russia..."*

Participant 3: *"In my opinion, we, Tajiks, are the more religious people compared to other nations, and it makes Russians uneasy and insecure. For instance, in the 2000s the mosques of Russia were almost empty and when Tajiks began to go to Prospect Mira¹, others also followed them and still more than 60% of them are Tajiks. Also, we never assimilated with them."*

¹ Prospect Mira (Avenue of Peace) is a station of the Moscow Metro, where the main mosque of Moscow is located.

Participant 4: *“Because we don't behave ourselves as the local population behaves, we live under our own laws; the majority of us don't dress neatly; we walk in the streets in work clothes; many don't shave; I don't mean, of course, the well-groomed and trimmed beards. We don't know the Russian language well; we don't know laws of the country of residence; we don't want to protect our rights and we bribe police officers even if we didn't violate the rules. The term of stay expires and we don't cross the border.¹ But most importantly, our officials can't and don't want to protect the rights of their citizens. I don't think the protection of citizens' rights influences partnership in any way; on the contrary, it supplements it. Armenians achieved what they wanted when the serviceman of the Russian Federation shot a family.² The relationship didn't worsen. We persistently have to train our citizens for labor migration in our home; we have to train them on everything that can be required abroad”* (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015).

Such perceptions and interpretations of violence link it to social and economic issues in Tajikistan, the top recipient of remittances in ratio share of GDP in the world (Ratha 2016: 30). State fragility of Tajikistan, particularly in the socioeconomic sphere characterizes Tajikistan as an archetype of a weak state and places it in a group of failed states "that do not protect their citizens from violence and perhaps even destruction, that regard themselves as beyond the reach of domestic or international law, and that suffer from a 'democratic deficit,' having democratic forms but with limited substance” (Chomsky, 2007: 2).

¹ In order to obtain a new work permit, a migrant has to cross the border.

² This participant referred to the event on January 12, 2015, when seven members of an Armenian family in Gyumri were killed by a Russian serviceman from a Russian military base.

3.3 Methodology and Methods of Study

In this section, I discuss several approaches and methods in social theory, from Weber's concept of *Verstehen* in the study of human conduct to Schutz's social phenomenology, as well as double hermeneutics, symbolic interactionism and constructivism. Each of these approaches are summarized in the paragraphs below. I try to make it clear what I have borrowed from each of these approaches and applied in my research. To study the phenomenon of violence against Tajik labor immigrants, I used a qualitative method of phenomenological interpretation. The design of this study is drawn from the phenomenological sociology of Alfred Schutz (1972) and organized on the basis of Max Weber's interpretive categories of *Verstehen* (Weber 1978, 2019). Next, I will try to explain why phenomenology is the right approach for this study.

As a theoretical starting point, I used Weber's concepts of *Verstehen* (interpretative understanding), *besserverstehen* (better understanding) and Schutz's concepts of *typification in the lifeworld*, *taken-for-granted world*, and *intersubjectivity*. Schutz's approach to phenomenology is essentially focused on the descriptive problems of sociology and phenomenology of the lifeworld. Intersubjectivity in his social phenomenology appears as a sociological problem, and not as a philosophical problem. His approach starts off by describing Weber's 'meaningful action' and examining the 'everyday world', or as he calls it, the "common-sense world". In his opinion, Weber's concept of social action "by no means defines a primitive", but is "a mere label for a highly complex and ramified area that calls for much further study" (Schutz 1972: 8). According to Schutz, the conduct of others can be examined phenomenologically as a *typification* process. She or he typifies the other based on 'common-sense

understandings' or a stock of 'knowledge in hand'. In response, she or he can get the likely answer of the other to her or his actions. The stocks of knowledge that are used to understand the behavior of others operate within "multiple realities". Thus, according to Schutz, the conclusions of the sociological observer are purely "theoretical", and the method of phenomenological sociology is namely to establish such theoretical constructs of the behavior of others to build a subjective basis for action. These concepts, constructs and subjective foundations are formulated within the framework of the 'principle of adequacy', which I discussed in the subsection 3.5.5.

Here I would also like to show the place of phenomenological sociology along with other sciences 'about society' in the system of scientific knowledge. I consider phenomenological sociology as a utilitarian method and approach to interpreting a social problem. Consequently, in my study I focus on practicality and the applied nature of phenomenological sociology. In my use of this approach, I distinguish two principles; objective, when the connection of phenomenological sociology with sociology is derived from the object of study, and subjective, when the basis for using this approach depends on the characteristics of the subject. At the same time, these principles, methodologically, are distinguished regarding how the connection between sociology and phenomenological sociology is understood. This is when sociology and phenomenological sociology are placed next to each other in a certain order. For example, both emphasize *interpretive understanding*, or when they are developed from one another, for example, social constructionism, ethnomethodology, etc. The connection between these two spheres depends on the similarity of their tasks, that is, the academic understanding of violence.

The phenomenological terms that I used in my thesis (*Other, intersubjectivity, face-to-face relations*, etc.) were always interconnected to each other. Since the time of Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), the concept of the Other has been used as the basis for intersubjectivity. Face-to-face relationship refers to an encounter in human sociality, and this interaction refers to intersubjectivity, which is understood as a bridge between subjectivity and objectivity.

3.3.1 Why is Phenomenology the Right Approach for this Study?

So why is phenomenology the right approach for this study? Everyday life for a Tajik immigrant is interaction with the representatives of a society and culture other than his own. This is a way that Tajik immigrants modify this world through interactions and those interactions modify their lifeworld. Therefore, the structure of such a lifeworld is intersubjective. In phenomenological sociology, intersubjectivity is a shared perception of experiences by different people who see a reality differently, that is subjectively. Subjectivity explains social reality as the personal experience of an actor and each actor has the lifeworld in his experience. The understanding of each immigrant relates only to his personal knowledge and experience. Such understanding is individually subjective. But subjectivity cannot explain Tajik immigrants' experiences and how they live their lives. Accordingly, as there is no way to objectively understand social reality, I used intersubjectivity as an intermediate position between subjectivity and objectivity to understand the lifeworld of Tajik immigrants in Russia. In my study, it is a shared perspective of the lived experiences of Tajik labor immigrants and how they can understand how other actors give meaning to their experiences (Schutz 1972: 97-138).

Therefore, I highlighted the importance of intersubjectivity in my study as the most appropriate interpretive mechanism to better understand the immigrant experience of violence. Thus, social phenomenology is a research methodology which can interpret the hidden meaning of the lived experience.

The use of this approach, leading to the interpretive analysis of violence against Tajik labor immigrants that follows in the later sections, was empirically informed by a qualitative inquiry into the lifeworld of labor immigrants in Russia. I conducted two stages of data collection over four to five months each in Russia in 2014-2015 and collected empirical data in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

3.3.2 Data Collection Methods

The research methods I used in this study includes the various procedures to obtain the secondary and primary data. Data were obtained in four separate areas; Dushanbe, Khujand (Tajikistan), Moscow and St. Petersburg (Russia). Within each of these four areas three to five subareas have also been selected as potential cases for focus group interviews and field research. The selected criteria of these settings were based on my exploration in the two latter cities in June 2014 to discover the violence-related problems that are the basis of this dissertation. Primary data were obtained through direct participant observation, interviews and focus groups using sampling techniques in the study areas, based on the objectives of my research. Non-probability sampling was the best choice for research questions in my study. This also entailed a sampling of immigrant passersby (mostly labor immigrants) whom I met by chance. Secondary data were collected from applicable academic organizations, state agencies, library records, as

well as online techniques. Such methods of data collection were dependent upon how they were used to answer the research questions of study. Although the study reflects mainly a sociological perspective, in some situations other analytical methods, such as historical, comparative and interdisciplinary, have also been used. In addition, both micro- and macro-analysis have been used; while they complemented each other, they were always kept apart.

I used several methods to collect empirical material. The most appropriate methods for collecting primary data were interviews, direct participant observation and focus group meetings. I also used the methods of analysis of documents, texts and research literature to obtain additional materials. Indeed, the interview has been cited as one of the most appropriate ways to produce social knowledge (Gubrium 2002; Seidman 2006; Kvale 2009). Unstructured interview techniques were the best way to obtain the information I needed. Methodologically, I used the phenomenological approach of an unstructured interview. By listening to the stories of Tajik labor immigrants, I got to know their everyday experiences from their own perspective. Their real social world is indeed inherent in their own consciousness, and by telling stories, they reconstruct reality. This storytelling process also conflates the process of making meaning of their experiences, as well as generating new social knowledge. It is in their experience of perceived discrimination that they experience the phenomenon of violence against themselves. Therefore, the purpose of my interviewing them was to know how they perceive the process of violence, to understand the "lived experience of these people and the meaning they make of that experience" (Seidman 2006:9).

In the fieldwork, I used a combination of direct participant observation, focus groups, and informal unstructured interviews. I tried to understand the phenomenon of anti-Tajik immigrant violence in terms of the immigrants themselves in order to avoid subjective judgments and bias. Participant observation, which “involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives” (Bernard 2011: 256), has been a key technique throughout my fieldwork. In this process, unstructured form has been chosen as a most appropriate form of interview with Tajik labor immigrants. Although I used both qualitative and quantitative data, this study is more qualitative than quantitative, which is consistent with the nature of my research questions. These methodological components as the basis of my study have been used throughout the research. Most importantly, this combination was productive in interpreting the meaning that Tajik labor immigrants themselves ascribe to their social world. This approach allowed me to reveal the essence of the experience of Tajik immigrant workers in Russia.

In addition, I used other concepts and theories on mobility and immigration that help in understanding the dynamics of the emergence of anti-immigrant attitudes (Ceobanu and Xavier 2010). I used Pierre Bourdieu’s framework of symbolic violence (1984) and contemporary analysis of the set of institutional factors of anti-immigrant politics (Rensmann and Miller 2010) to highlight how anti-immigrant policy expresses interactions between Russian authorities and labor-unauthorized immigrants. Along with all that was noted above, my research focused on the theory of violence by Randall Collins (2009) with an emphasis on the triangular typology of violent behavior developed by Christopher Mitchell (1981: 16). From an applied standpoint, this study is focused on

developing a new approach to the interpretation and analysis of violence, different from the previous studies conducted by post-Soviet researchers.

3.4 Concept of Understanding

It is Alfred Schutz who explains the possibility of intersubjective understanding. How can Alfred Schutz's phenomenology improve the intersubjective understanding of the lifeworld of labor immigrants? First, he emphasized the difference between scientific models of *the first- and second-order* (Schutz 1972: 27-38), which I discussed in Chapter 4.4. Second, he advocated the *postulate of adequacy* as a solution to the problem of interpretation. Similarly, for Weber, sociological understanding must include the subjective point of view of the actors, while, according to Husserl (1974), the consciousness of the actor is not accessible to the researcher. But whenever we talk about the lifeworld and violence, we inevitably encounter the issue of consciousness, because it is the world that surrounds us and which provides the grounds of conscious existence. We exist in that world, in the world of experience and we are the subjects of that world. As its subjects, we relate to it, we experience and contemplate it. Husserl defines it as “the world in which we live we are always already living” (Husserl 1974: 41). Similarly, the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants is their everyday world in which they live.

Our experience of events and phenomena of the outside world, which is always an objective reality, is subjective. This subjective experience, the account of the events and reactions to them occur through our mental state, which we call consciousness, that is, through our ability to think and feel. This state of sentience allows us to directly know, perceive, feel and be aware of events. In this way, we obtain some information and use it

to analyze a wide range of actions. I do not want to dwell any longer on the description of this process of the world of introspection, but rather focus on what exactly I need to study, analyze and interpret the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants based on Max Weber's concept of understanding.

Weber's concept of *Verstehen* (understanding) serves as the cornerstone of Alfred Schutz's phenomenological understanding. The starting point for Schutz was a view of the intersubjective world. This world or any of its other complex phenomena, for example, violence in our case, can be perceived and understood by several subjects simultaneously. In this study, the concept of intersubjectivity is a prerequisite for understanding the experience of violence comparable to a group of labor immigrants. It has been of particular importance to me to have access to the horizon of experience and interpretation of the perception of violence by Tajik labor immigrants in order to understand their perspective of violence. The experience narrated by them has both the pre-scientific self-evident and intersubjective nature of their shared lifeworld. This is the centrality of shared knowledge and practices in the phenomenology of intersubjectivity. It is precisely the subjective meanings that are available for scientific understanding and interpretation.

3.4.1 The *Lifeworld* and Intersubjective Understanding

Both *intersubjectivity* and *lifeworld*, the basic concepts of phenomenological sociology, came from philosophy. The lifeworld is a world that includes everything that a person encounters in everyday life and in which he unconditionally believes. The belief here is a process of accepting facts as immutable data, the opposite of the scientific

process of knowing. I will use the concepts of lifeworld and intersubjectivity as developed in the works of Weber, Habermas, and especially Schutz, and not in the work of Husserl, Merleau-Ponty or other phenomenologists. Based on their works, I consider the practical construction of intersubjective relations in the context of the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants.

Lifeworld for Husserl is the world of everyday life. Likewise, for Schutz, it is the world of common sense, and he interprets it as social reality (Schutz 1972: 7, 40). We experience it through the *first-order of constructs* (Schutz 1972: 27-38). Hence, the lifeworld is the world of human experience, and there is a structure of meanings in this world. Finding these meanings is the main task of phenomenological sociology. In this study, using such a framework, I will look for these meanings in the world of experience of Tajik labor immigrants. Everyday communication in our lives is based on confidence, that is, when we speak, we are understood and we want to be understood in the same way. Likewise, we accept the world around us as an unchallenged reality that we encounter every day, and believe that others see the same picture as we see it. Objectivity or subjectivity of perception is not important here, only our confidence in the perceived is essential. Phenomenological sociology is interested in direct subjective experience, and the question of objectivity remains outside the “brackets”, as Husserl discussed it as the ‘phenomenological reduction’. But in the social context, bracketing is the revealing of meanings or beliefs that are simply taken for granted. It gives me the information I need to analyze and understand the social world. For instance, I never doubt the reality of the cup of coffee I drank this morning. In phenomenological sociology, it is taken for granted. Putting in brackets, Husserl, Schutz, and other phenomenologists propose to

make knowledge objective, not associated with any personal feelings and prejudices. I think that here we can see the special role of Husserl's ideas in the development of epistemology, which he played in the social sciences, explaining the inconsistency of the opposition of the subjective and the objective in the structure of knowledge. Husserl describes the life of consciousness, or, I can say, self-consciousness, in which the construction of oneself takes place. But at the same time, as I have already noted, we know about the existence of the Other, therefore this Other is a part of our experience.

An essential characteristic of the lifeworld is its sociality, since everyday reality itself is genetically and structurally socialized. Most of our knowledge, its content and forms of typification have a social origin and are given in social terms. Another characteristic of the lifeworld is its intersubjectivity. Other people support our confidence in the world and use the same sign system as we do. For example, when I wrote these words in 2016, I observed the *Occupy* and *Black Lives Matter*, which are good patterns of the intersubjective world. That is, we have mastered this system of signs together or together we participated in its creation. Therefore, from the very beginning, we, participants in the social world, perceive the world in which we live, not as a subjective, but as an intersubjective world. Hence, in my view, intersubjective understanding is the best method for studying the social world of Tajik labor immigrants.

But the problem is, how is such intersubjective understanding possible? When we want to interpret everyday experience, understanding must begin with the most original empirical observation of other people's experiences and the meaning of their actions, which they attach to their actions. Although everydayness is an ideal object for sociological studies and everyday knowledge is considered the best infallible evidence of

experience, it is always a dubious premise within which research begins. The lifeworld as a world of everydayness and a source of scientific concepts provides a researcher with a good opportunity for the thinking processes of the ordinary thinking of labor immigrants. There are many such worlds since everyone lives in a certain situation and everyone can communicate with others and exists simultaneously with the self. Schutz calls it the *biographical situation* (Schutz 1973: 213) and the essence of intersubjectivity. At this point the continuation of intersubjective understanding depends on the action that the actor takes. For Schutz, action is understood as purposeful and deliberate behavior projected by the actor and is based on the actor's conditional interpretive understanding. It is here that we see a peculiar combination of Schutz's ideas with Weber's conceptions of *Verstehen* (interpretive understanding) and subjective interpretation of meaning. From this point on, we follow the technique of *Verstehen* to interpret social action to grasp the meaning which the actor bestows upon his action. So, what that action means to the subject is the *subjective* interpretation of the meaning and is based on an understanding of the action of the individual subject. When we focus on *intersubjective* understanding, we mean understanding based on the relationship among these individual subjects in their everyday experiences.

Each person's biographical situation, like their experience, is unique. The process of acquiring this experience and the question of how it becomes social, or, more precisely, why it is inherently social, is the most important for phenomenological sociology. It is social, because we come into contact with the social world and experience the moment of this interaction without thinking about its meaning. However, these experiences accumulate in our consciousness, and thanks to our own experience of

interaction, we can construct our own world, our situation. Meaning arises when a connection is established with the experience of others. We observe social reality, that is, our sphere of observation is society, and it has a specific meaning and a concrete structure for people living, acting and thinking within it. So, in the process of interaction, things are endowed with meaning, and for convenience they are named. All phenomena are endowed with social meaning, including those in the everyday life of Tajik immigrants thanks to which their social lifeworld arises and is maintained. Giving meaning to phenomena is a socially structured process.

Now I want to reveal the process of formation of objective meaning of action, which has for any person, based on the subjective meaning of experience. The mechanisms for its implementation are idealization and typification with the available, as Schutz says, “a stock of knowledge at hand” in the horizon of experience (Schutz 1973: 231; Schutz 1999: 74). “Knowledge at hand” is always available and can be used. That is why it should be *structured*, roughly how my interviews, field notes and files are organized in my computer memory today so that I can find them at the right moment. By ‘structured’ I mean the interconnection of these objects, that is, no single object is perceived as isolated, since they are initially associated with previous experience. Previous experience is typical and cannot be a simple collection of incoherent facts, because we habitually assign each thing to a certain group, that is, we are engaged in the classification of objects. For example, while observing the streets and *bazaars* (street markets) in St. Petersburg and looking at a labor immigrant, I may not know which particular country he or she belongs to, but I can confidently identify him or her as a labor immigrant (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014c). That is, we have an idea not of

every single object of the social world, but of classes of objects. It seems to us that the social world forms a coherent system in which everything that we meet is distributed over a grid of typification. I think that we can understand the differences between objects within a class thanks to the habit of classification.

But what, then, shall we do with individual objects, for example, with Tajik immigrants whom some Russians treat with personal dislike? Some other Russians, according to my observations, in the same way are very sympathetic to foreigners but do not consider them labor immigrants, even though, in principle, both of these categories of people were Tajiks or may be Tajiks. Therefore, several aspects of each specific typed object should be taken into account. That is, according to Schutz (1972: 27-38), a second-order typification should take place, in which not only similarities, but also differences are distinguished. Thanks to this procedure, some objects of the social world acquire a special status in our minds, for example, ‘Tajiks are not only foreigners, but also labor immigrants’.

To discuss the issue of this section, I want to form a framework for describing intersubjective understanding. This framework consists of two questions: descriptive and prescriptive. The first question is “*How do we understand intersubjectively?*”, and the second is “*What can we do to improve our intersubjective understanding?*”

Intersubjectivity is a complex and multidisciplinary concept, and there are many different understandings of it (Husserl 2012, Merleau-Ponty 2013m Wittgenstein, 2010, Mead 2015, Habermas, 1985). To adapt it to my study, I systematically examined each of them. Each of them provides its own map of the conceptual framework of intersubjectivity, and almost all of them assert the importance of the concept, but none of

them can provide an adequate amount of intersubjectivity for my research. I am not going to scrutinize the differences and compare them to different fields of studies here. Rather, it is more important for me to know how to apply this concept in my study within sociology, approving the rejection of subjectivity and objectivity in order to achieve an intersubjective understanding of violence. I need to know how and in what way sociology can engage with the concept and what it may contribute to my understanding of violence against Tajik labor immigrants in Russia. Therefore, I plan not to discuss the various definitions of a concept, but to follow the path of Schutz's work on the concept.

The origin and source of intersubjective knowledge is social. It is social genetically and is not acquired through the personal experience of the individual, but is constructed by the social and cultural contexts. Human action is social not only genetically due to the typification methods that a person receives from society, but is also relevant at any moment of social life based on interaction with others. The essence of interaction is examined through the concept of *motive*. In fact, it is rooted in the central goal of phenomenological sociology, which poses the question: how do we understand human actions? (Schutz 1972). In his book Schutz says motive is part of the answer. In everyday lifeworld, motive is expressed through two aspects; “in-order-to motive” (Schutz 1960: 218), according to which the actor plans his action for the near future, and “because motive” (Schutz 1972: 69), which explains past behavior or determine “past lived experience” (Schutz 2011: 78-81). An *in-order-to motive* is a goal-oriented way of acting, and we may have it regarding our own actions. But a *because motive* is only valid when its meaning is attributed to past behavior, not to the one we are experiencing it now. For example, someone killed Khursheda (see section 5.1.1), *in-order-to* to cause other

immigrants to leave for their countries, but he did it *because* he hated all immigrants, or his personal life did not work out, or his childhood was difficult. Not only in such cases, as in the case of Khursheda, but even in the simplest interaction, a set of everyday constructions of the expected behavior of the *Other* is used, based on idealization, according to which the ‘in-order-to motive’ of one actor becomes the ‘because motive’ of his partner, and vice versa. In the case of Khursheda, there were eleven such partners (see section 5.2.7). The reciprocity of motives, as we see in this case, is based on mutual expectations of such behavior on the part of the other eleven actors, which seems ‘normal’ in the given circumstances. We can see it in all other cases. Here is another basic example. For example, if a normal person is asked “what time is it?” ‘in-order-to’ know the time, one can expect that he will answer the question ‘because’ he has the opportunity to provide this service. From his point of view, he answers ‘in-order-to’ inform the other as to what time it is. An outsider may not be interested in the true meaning of what is happening. Either way, he does not know if you will go faster when you find out that you are late for a meeting, or what your general idea is. Similarly, in the process of research, I may act in accordance with the algorithm I have defined, in which subjects or participants can understand only part of the action, while the meaning of the whole eludes them. It means that only a researcher knows when the action begins and ends. It is less likely that an outsider understands its meaning, which can also be different for each participant. The meaning of the action can be different for the actor himself, for the partners with whom he has a common goal, and even for the observer who is not included in this relationship. In the meantime, understanding the meaning of the action of others is the basis of social interaction. It emphasizes the importance of interpretation as a

method of phenomenological sociology in my study. My point is how to combine individual and general ideas to get a different type of typification. I do not think that it is too difficult, I just need to ask more knowledgeable other immigrants, and I can get an answer to whatever question it is. In this process, each new term that emerges will mean innovation in the lifeworld of labor immigrants, and yet the lifeworld remains open to new interpretation.

However, the main question here is, *how is this social knowledge propagated?*

The stock of knowledge held by different immigrants is different, and the degree of knowledge possession can also differ depending on the context. Even some hard facts can look different in the eyes of two immigrants. For example, during my fieldwork, two Tajik immigrants who were suspected by the police were answering police questions about a fire they saw in an immigrant dormitory. One of them was convinced that the left wing of the dormitory caught fire first. But the second was convinced that the right wing of the building was on fire first. They saw the same building and the same fire, but at that time they saw it from opposite directions. The police were not aware of this fact when the two were suspected (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014b). So, knowledge is disseminated in a certain way in society, and we construct in our minds the degree of knowledge possession by other people. So, in general terms, we perceive the stock of knowledge available in society and master the ideas of other people as our own in a typified form.

Another question is the differences between the forms of communication among Russia's residents and labor immigrants. It is the issue of relationship that arises in a we-group and in the formation of the we-group itself. Tajik labor immigrants did not call the same people "Ours" in different situations. For them, any countryman who was with

them at that period and far from home, was “Ours” (even I was sometimes called *zemlyak*)¹. But if the same person who was called a fellow countryman was at home at that time he was not "Ours" but still unknown (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014d).

According to Schutz, the structure of the lifeworld is manifested in the typical constructs of everyday thinking. It is not only social but also historical, therefore he divides people according to the time criterion into the regions of consociates, predecessors and successors (Schutz 1964: 56-62). In my research, the first category is more important, although all three groups have a certain impact on us, that is, there is a connection in any case, but its intensity is different. If we take into account not only time, but also space, then we, in Schutz's terminology, are partners. In this respect, the perception of partners is also typical, and we can only assess some dimensions of identity based on previous experience (Mills 2000: 7). Typification is always a generalization and simplification of individual diversity that we encounter on a daily basis in everyday life. Moreover, the less we know a person, the stronger is the typification. Schutz (1973) writes that typification increases with the growth of anonymity, that is, the less we know a person, the more we “think out” of his image following the model of people of the same profession or social status known to us (Schutz 1973:18). The authors whose works I reviewed in the section 6.9.1, for example, had no idea who the Tajik immigrants were as individuals; they only knew that these people work in Russia as “Gastarbeiter”, as they are called. For them, the characters of ‘Tajiks’ are interchangeable, and the type of their actions is like ‘whoever it is’ behavior, although any socially approved behavior makes sense for a sociologist. Hence, they came up with ‘typification’ to describe them in

¹ *zemlyak* is a Russian word means countryman.

different images (section 6.9.1). An important conclusion here is that in the case of inaccessibility of Others' lifeworld, we always perceive them only as typical constructions. Therefore, I believe that applying a combination of Weber's interpretive understanding and Schutz's social phenomenology in this study can greatly contribute to an intersubjective understanding of violence against Tajik immigrants. This approach emphasizes the use of narrative reports from the perspective of the labor immigrants themselves. And here the main phenomenological question that a labor immigrant must ask himself and seek an answer for is "why do I experience violence?" Consequently, the corresponding question that the researcher should focus on and seek an answer for is "why does the labor immigrant say, 'I experience violence'?"

3.4.2 Violence is Social Everyday Reality

When Schutz discusses reality, the world of everyday life (Schutz 1967) and its structures (Schutz et al. 1973, 1989) are central aspects of his argumentation. For him, the world of everyday life is a "paramount reality" (Schutz 1962: 226) and "finite provinces of meaning" (Schutz 1962: 340). There are other realities in the everyday lifeworld of labor immigrants too. To describe and analyze these other realities, Schutz has coined the term "finite province of meaning" (1962: 340). For Schutz, *multiple realities* are a combination of finite provinces of meaning and everyday world realities, "each with its own special and separate style of existence" (Schutz 1962: 207).

The lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants and its social reality are not objective, but rather are determined by their everyday experience and social context. Therefore, it is best to study this reality by reconciling the subjective interpretations of its various participants, first of all, labor immigrants themselves. So how is intersubjectivity

constituted? The daily life of labor immigrants is a life in community in which they share their language, objects, culture, experiences and meanings. In my fieldwork in St. Petersburg, I have observed how Tajik immigrants construct and create their lifeworld through everyday working together, talking, interacting, and engaging with one another (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015d, Bruner, 1990; Gergen, 1994; Wetherell and Potter, 1992). They are familiar with each other's experiences. The experience of one member of this community is very familiar to others in this community. In their everyday social world, they experience violence as an intersubjective world. In other words, in this world of intersubjectivity one perceives and knows violence as an experience; others also perceive and know it directly not just as an abstract phenomenon, but precisely as violence. Their experiences and the meanings of these experiences are shareable between them. Such a condition of reciprocity of experiences and compassion for others provides a way out of subjectivity. I can observe, perceive and understand their experience, but I do not undergo that experience in an original way. My experience is a founded experience, while their experience is a primordial experience. So, here I am focusing on the understanding gained through experience. And experience, in this case, is acquired through contact and observation of events. They are based on a number of major premises:

Premise 1: If the experience of immigrants is the perception of violence, then my experience is the observation of events of violence in the field. Thus, experience is our contact and observation through which we can achieve understanding.

Premise 2: Immigrants are able to recount their perceptions, and I can describe and make sense of their perceptions. This way I can put myself in the shoes of immigrants.

Premise 3: The ability to conform the Millsian imagination,¹ that is, to connect self with society, and present experience with the past. Similar to this perspective is the study of the organization of social experience based on the existing frame² to analyze how immigrants understand situations and actions, or stereotypes, stigmas and metaphors used against them.

Thus, the idea of "experiences" and their interpretation promotes understanding. Therefore, experience is empirical knowledge that produces an "intersubjective understanding."

Everyday violence presents the lifeworld of labor immigrants and portrays the norms of their sociocultural world through which the meaning of violence is communicated and understood. In these cases race, culture and religion (Section 5.3) contributed to the deaths of labor immigrants through violence. Although the concept of the normalization of violence (it will be discussed in a separate section) is known as structural violence, some theories explain it as a natural aggression of males towards outsiders (Vugt et al., 2007). According to the male warrior hypothesis, individuals discriminate against members of other groups. This is an adaptation of the tribal behavior and thinking of a person who always feels a threat from people outside the group. But

¹ C. Wright Mills defined sociological imagination as "the vivid awareness of the relationship between experience and the wider society" (Mills 2000: 3). He also said, "it enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society" (Mills 2000: 6) and "Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both" (Mills 2000: 3).

² I refer to Goffman's Frame Analysis (1974).

human sociality begins with the sharing of subjective states by individuals, and it is the basis of social understanding. No social reality exists without intersubjectivity.

3.4.3 Interpretation Model in this Study

I can relate this model to the movie *A Beautiful Mind* (2001). Such a model of interpretation was best expressed by the filmmakers of this movie. The main character of the film looks at how the pigeons walk on the asphalt, but he does not see the pigeons, but sees the graphs. He watches the girls enter the bar, he does not see the girls, but he sees models of cooperative and non-cooperative games. He wondered what would happen if all three of them came up or each one came up in turn. So, he does not see the data, but he sees the plots, he sees something that allows him in some way to fill those cells of theoretical conceptualization with new empirical content, which is called '*plotting*'. I think, such a frame, similar to this model, can help me to interpret narratives of my collected data and construct the plot.

Likewise, the major challenge with the transcribing and interpreting of immigrant interviews was that labor immigrants interpret their lifeworld in the light of their own experiences. Different immigrants may suggest different interpretations. This means that descriptions of *first-order constructs* (Schutz 1972: 27-38) can be interpreted and understood in different ways by different readers or researchers. So, the intersubjective approach to interpreting second-order constructs was a unique methodological approach to interpreting my fieldwork data, but sometimes even challenged my own interpretations.

As already mentioned, the object of my research is the lived world of the everyday life of Tajik labor immigrants, and the task of this study is to describe the

formal structures of this object in terms of intersubjectivity. This way of phenomenological description is different from simple subjective descriptions of people from the street and solipsistic individual experiences. In my research, intersubjectivity is a core concept in understanding violence, and violence is defined and conceptualized in subject-object relations. What follows is an intersubjective understanding where I discuss the everyday problematic lives of Tajik labor immigrants as their experience and biography and its connection to history (Mills 1959). I propose it as a new approach to understanding the social violence and conflict between actors belonging in different cultures. I look upon the evidence supporting the validity of this approach, which explains the influence of cross-cultural communication on the behavior of actors. Consequently, I discuss the role of the intersubjective approach developed in the understanding of interaction between individuals, as they act on behalf of their perceptions of the subjective reality of their sociocultural contexts. Thus, I use intersubjectivity as a means, based on a relation of different points of view concerning the same problem, in order to understand a social behavior.

The subjective experience of violence is quite amenable to empirical study. I will try to apply this approach by referring first to the description of the method. This is a novel approach to the social scientific study of violence. There have been some attempts at using versions of this method in the study of violence (Staudigl 2013; Dodd 2017). However, it seems to me that such an approach has never been applied in the study of specific cases of violence in post-Soviet space, as in this study, which I have also discussed in Chapter 6. From the above, and from what has been mentioned about intersubjectivity, intersubjective understanding of interaction can be understood by

combining theoretical models of Max Weber and Alfred Schutz. It provides a chance to communicate with actors and clarify significant moments of the immigrants' lifeworld and to identify misunderstandings and challenges facing them. Intersubjective understanding goes beyond the subjective experience of actors. It provides the basis for them to look to each other's experience and to establish their sociocultural identity.

So, to understand violence I bring together two divergent models: the explanatory and the interpretive perspectives, although the latter will be dominant. Violence against labor immigrants is to be understood, not causally explained, through the interpretation of the meanings of actions in relation to the actors' motives and beliefs. I focus on the importance of studying social reality or the "lifeworld" labor immigrants experience in everyday life. Through processes of 'typification' we ourselves constitute this social world, and this is, in essence, a product of our own activities. Even though in this process we act socially, phenomenological sociology proposes that we take into account the role of individual subjectivities. Therefore, I use both macro- and microsociological approaches to study violence against Tajik labor immigrants.

3.4.4. Understanding *Verstehen*

Before proceeding to the discussion of this chapter, I would like to briefly reinterpret a couple of important terms and what I mean by using these terms. Although in theory I was familiar with the term *Verstehen*, when I headed to do fieldwork in St. Petersburg, I was thinking about how other sociologists have used the concept in their research. *Verstehen* is a German word meaning to 'understand in a deep way' that also refers to an approach within sociology (Weber, 1968). It is having "insight into

someone's situation" by understanding it from their perspective and attempting to reconstruct the subjective experiences of actors. Individuals construct social patterns. In this approach, when a researcher aims to understand another person's experience, she can try to put herself in the other person's shoes. She can do this by learning from the other person, through conversations and interactions that give the researcher greater insight.

In the context of social sciences, the word *Verstehen* has been used with the particular sense of the "interpretive or participatory" study of social phenomena. In my study the term is associated with the work of Max Weber. *Verstehen* is a method of systematic interpretive analysis of the process in which a sociologist attempts to understand others. It is oriented to the analysis of social action and understanding the meaning of that action from the perspective of the actor. I have structured such a research framework to develop an understanding of violence. So, in this dissertation, I analyze experiences of labor immigrants. Within these experiences I intend to approach their world "out there" and to understand and describe violence "from the inside" they experienced in everyday practice. I try to understand what is happening to these immigrants while they are in migration, how they construct their world around themselves. It involves looking at how violence against labor immigrants is developed, institutionalized, and made into everyday realities and practices. Actions and interactions are seen as ways of such social construction and reconstruction of the world, even if done in the midst of conflict.

Verstehen was introduced into U.S. sociology by Talcott Parsons (Scaff 2011: 211, Turner and Holton 2014: 25). The literary meaning of the German word *Verstehen* is "understanding" (Weber 1978: 57). It was Max Weber, who made use of

phenomenological reflections in order to create a new sociological approach called *Verstehen*. Consequently, it is appropriate to say here that Garfinkel's ethnomethodology was created based on the phenomenological lifeworld analysis of Alfred Schutz. In sociology, it refers to a research approach, when a sociologist seeks to understand the experience of another person. He can try to put himself in the place of another person to describe the first-person participatory perspective. He can do this by learning from the other person, through conversations and interactions that give the researcher greater insight. It does not aim at a 'test of hypotheses' but instead focuses on a 'deep understanding' of violence, or what Max Weber understood by the concept of *Verstehen*. This approach is consistent with the goals of my research. Therefore, I decided to take such a position of 'participatory' researcher in order to describe and interpret the lived experiences and structures of the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Unlike positivist sociologists, Weber and other anti-positivists saw great benefits in using interviews and other qualitative data, rather than survey results and statistics, to directly experience other people's lives. Therefore, trying to answer research questions, I focused mainly on the phenomenological concepts of *Verstehen*, *action* and *subjective meaning*.

So for me, *Verstehen* was a pattern analysis of interpretation. How does *Verstehen* explain and interpret violence? The analysis of social action through *Verstehen* is based on an understanding of the subjective meanings and goals that labor immigrants attach to their actions. *Verstehen* was a methodological idea of Wilhelm Dilthey (1833 – 1911), who is considered as a proto-phenomenologist of everyday life. Hence, *Verstehen* is viewed as a 'method of interpretative understanding', a means of studying the actions and

experiences of others. This cannot be done using traditional methods of social research based on positivist methodology. To achieve this goal, the *Verstehen* method is needed. I used *Verstehen* to better understand (*besserverstehen*) the lived experience of Tajik labor immigrants in St. Petersburg and Moscow. It is also due to how labor immigrants give meaning to their everyday lifeworld and how I can gain this ‘first-person perspective’. A first-person perspective is the only way a researcher can interpret the behavior of another subject (Endress 2014: 34). This approach was pioneered in the practice of sociology in English by Theodor Abel in the journal article *The Operation Called Verstehen* (Abel 1948, Hatas 2002).

3.5 Theoretical Perspectives

Most violence theories are macro theories (Coser 1956; Dahrendorf 1990; Collins 1993). But these theories only deal with violence in the case of a conflict, that is, when the conflict is viewed as violence. In order to observe the incidents of violence, as mentioned above, in studying violence against Tajik labor immigrants, my focus was mainly on the violent act, rather on the causes of it. I used mostly covert observation to avoid an *observer effect*, especially when I observed police behavior. The idea here is that when overtly observed, most subjects change their behavior. At the beginning of the field study in St. Petersburg, there were cases when the policemen, during the observation, began to act differently than usual (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014b; Abdusamadov 2014). The bottom line here is that when we observe someone’s behavior, for example, as is the case with the St. Petersburg police, it can change that person’s behavior, ultimately changing some aspects of everyday life.

At least three features may be drawn from the conflict studies literature that is of particular relevance to the study of structural violence, problems of poverty and denial of human rights as forms of violence. A more natural way to start thinking about violence against Tajik labor immigrants is to see what they themselves have to say about the problem.

3.5.1 Constructing a Framework for Analysis

The violence research framework (Sections 1.7 and 2.1) provides some basis for the analysis framework. To build up a framework for the analysis in this study, I use some of the already known approaches to the analysis of violence. The concept of *violence triangle* belongs to a Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung (1990). A detailed description of the triangle is given in his articles *Violence, Peace and Peace Exploration* (1969) and *Cultural Violence* (1990), which we discussed in part in Chapter 2. In these articles, he defines three types of violence; structural, cultural and direct violence. The starting point of any type of violence is structural violence. Galtung explains this type of violence very simply as follows: "...when one husband beats his wife there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep one million wives in ignorance there is structural violence" (Galtung 1969: 171). A striking example of this type of violence is the violence against Tajik labor immigrants in Russia and their further stigmatization as *ponayekhavshiye* [strangers], *gastery* and *gastarbaytery* [Gastarbeiter] and *nelegaly* [illegals] (Section 6.5 and 6.7.2). The very existence of many 'illegal immigrants' and the existence of a culture of legitimacy in a certain society informs us that this society is quite conservative. That is, labor immigrants are left 'illegal' due to the underdevelopment of legal systems and migration policy in this society. The logic

behind my statement is that labor immigrants are legitimate human beings, but they become illegal due to the existing migration policy.

Cultural violence is a bridge from structural to direct. It legitimizes structural violence, turning it into direct violence (Figure 5). They are “those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence – exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art..., that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence” (Galtung 1990: 291). Such a transition bridge in the context of violence against Tajik immigrants is the moments and cases when residents of the host society called them stigmatizing names, for example, the case of *Raushan and Jamshut* (section 6.9.2). Cultural violence is observed almost daily and more frequently than direct violence. There have been some acts of resistance and attempts to stop incidents of cultural violence against labor immigrants, sometimes by the Tajik government, sometimes by human rights organizations, and sometimes by the labor immigrants themselves.

Visible and Invisible of Violence

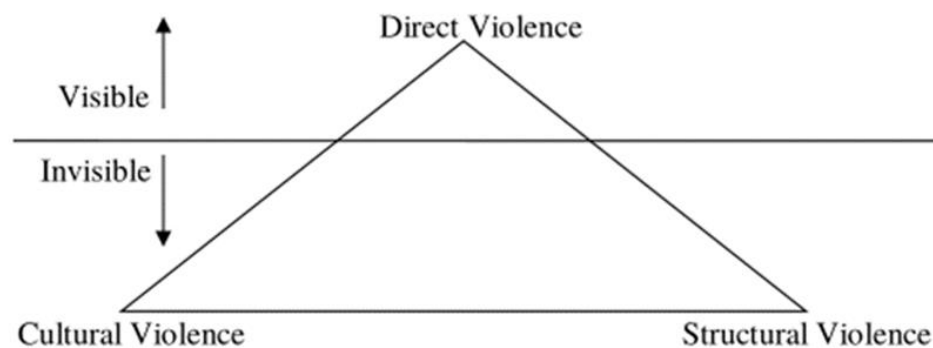


Figure 5: Visible and Invisible Effects of Violence.
Source: Johan Galtung, 1990.

The last stage of violence triangle is direct violence. It is defined as a situation “where means of realization are not withheld, but directly destroyed. Thus, when a war is fought there is direct violence since killing or hurting a person certainly puts his 'actual somatic realization' below his 'potential somatic realization'” (Galtung 1969: 169). A prime example of such an act of violence is the case of Khursheda (section 5.1.1), which we discussed in Chapter 5 of the dissertation. It is a physical manifestation of the other two types of violence discussed above.

Direct or manifest violence is a visible and instrumental act of violence that is defined as an act of physical harm. Underlying this visible component of violence are other types of violence, which are defined in the above triangle as structural (indirect, systemic) and cultural (symbolic). It provides a useful framework for understanding structural violations of immigrant rights by examining how institutions and structures violate basic human needs. The triangle explains direct violence as a manifestation of latent structural and cultural violence. And cultural violence combines direct and structural violence. Yet violence can start at any point of the triangle (Galtung 1990: 302). In addition to manifest and latent levels, violence includes intended and unintended, physical and psychological suppression of human feelings (Figure 6).

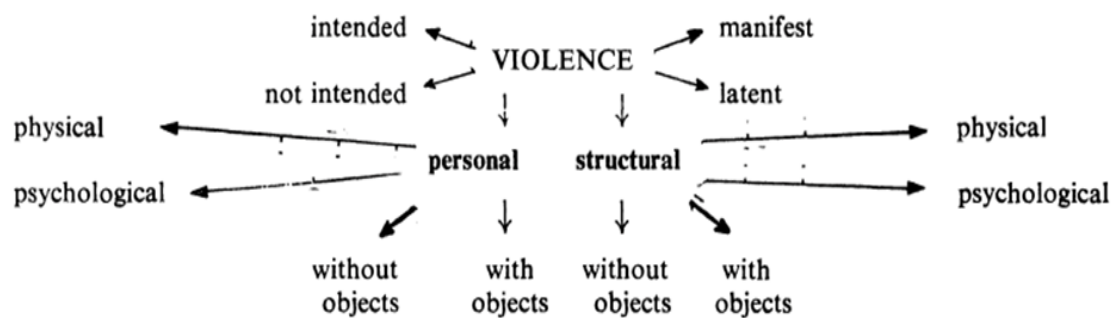


Figure 6. An Intended and Unintended Levels of Violence
 Source: Adapted from Galtung's Triangle of Violence (1990).

Galtung (1990) connects structural violence with the political dominance of one social group over others, where the regime or policy limits individuals to their full potential. According to my observations, structural violence against labor immigrants prevails over other forms of violence in Russian society. The existing elements of structural violence in migration policy produce and reproduce massive xenophobic and cultural violence with racist ideas. Hence, in my approach to the study of violence against immigrants I will also use the theory of structural violence and the theory of labeling. Violence against immigrants is more than direct violence, it is caused by systemic and structural change.

3.5.2 Phenomenology of Violence

Phenomenology is a way of describing experience in a broad sense in order to achieve the truth of phenomena. It describes but does not explain. “It is a matter of describing, not of explaining or analyzing” (Merleau-Ponty 2013: viii). There is a difference between phenomenology as a philosophical discipline and as one of the directions of methodological thought. Obviously, I did not use it as a philosophical discipline. However, the concept became most widespread with the emergence of Edmund Husserl’s methodological system. Husserl (1974) created the phenomenological method as a special way of clarifying meanings, focused on the cognition of the intellectual experience of the subject. In sociology, it has been used in the Husserlian sense. That is, the possibility of applying phenomenological methodology for social sciences was laid by Husserl himself. That is why I called this section the *Phenomenology of Sociality*. Husserl considered it as a source capable of generating a

methodological framework suitable for any science (Husserl 2013). Later, Alfred Schutz (1972) focused on the development of social science based on phenomenology.

However, my research has no relation to the Husserlian phenomenological approach aside from the problems of perceptual experience conveyed to me through the experience of Tajik immigrants. The design for this study is drawn from the phenomenological sociology of Alfred Schutz (1973) and is organized on the basis of the Weberian interpretive categories of *Verstehen* (Weber 1978). I look to phenomenology not as a philosophy, but as a research methodology to interpret the hidden meaning of the lived experience of the Tajik labor immigrants in Russia. Besides, I highlighted the importance of intersubjectivity as the most appropriate interpretive mechanism to better understand a wide range of immigrant experiences of violence, for instance, to experience the condition in the workplace or interactions with the local police.

Therefore, in this section, I describe how to examine the lifeworld of immigrants from a phenomenological perspective. Using social phenomenology, I can construct the everyday lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants as subjects of research from their own points of view. The actors of the study “function as social scientists, though lacking the disciplined, scientific attitude” (Luft and Overgaard 2013: 634). The first-person perspective is the key to an intersubjective understanding of the phenomenon. In my research, I had to understand the first-person experience of labor immigrants, and *what* was experienced and *how* it was experienced. Phenomenological sociology provides such a framework.

Phenomenology and sociology differ in their epistemology, methodology, and methods. Phenomenology focuses on conscious activities, such as perceiving, thinking,

experiencing, etc. Phenomenologists have to go “back to the things themselves” (Dreher & Santos 2017: 385) because they are actually given to our experience. In turn, social phenomena are socially constructed in experience (Berger & Luckmann 1995: 131), and sociology empirically examines them.

It was Alfred Schutz who established the interconnection between phenomenology and sociology and inaugurated a paradigmatic sociological approach based on the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl and Max Weber’s Interpretative Sociology. As mentioned, the roots of phenomenological sociology are in philosophy, mainly in the philosophies of Husserl, Heidegger and Ricoeur (Schutz 1999). However, “the impulse of research must proceed not from philosophies but from things and from the problems” (Husserl 2008: 79). This world of opinion belongs to everydayness, and scientists, according to Husserl, must integrate the lifeworld and intersubjectivity into their thinking. At the end of his life, he called for the creation of a pragmatically oriented science by attempting to transfer natural scientific knowledge to a lifeworld knowledge and a “forgotten meaning fundament of natural science” (Husserl 1970: 48). He says that a science that does not deal with lived experiences and “direct givenness to intuition of what is experienced” (Husserl 1970: 174) will inevitably find itself in a crisis state. Thus, Husserl’s concept lifeworld as the horizon of human experience should be understood not just as an analogue of the scientific world, but as an essentially social world. He states about the social world accessible to everyone as “each of us has his lifeworld”; it is “meant as the world for all” (Husserl 1970: 254). This means that the entire experience and thinking of labor immigrants is not at all a body of knowledge that needs to be

reduced, but a subject of analysis that can shed light on how they experience and build their lifeworld.

In my fieldwork, I paid a lot of attention to how exactly the interaction between labor immigrants and others took place and how the meaning of action was formed. Another issue I focused on was the analysis of the concept of rational action within Weber's theory of social action. That is, what is rational action, in fact, if we consider action not from the point of view of the ideal-typical construction of Weber, but in relation to the daily actions of a labor immigrant, which he performs while acting in everyday life. I believed that my job was to analyze interaction as a process of producing meaning, taking a pragmatic approach to knowledge by a description of lifeworld and experience, as well as based on a stock of knowledge that labor immigrants share. It does not mean I reject typification and idealization; these mechanisms are productive for the analysis of society, and I utilize them to classify goals, motives, positions and statuses. Furthermore, my use of the stock of knowledge of labor immigrants is directed towards practical ends. For Schutz, in my view, Husserl's ideas and theses served as a starting point for clarifying and revising the classical interpretation of Weber's *Verstehen*.

This study develops in an interdisciplinary as well, but its core epistemological position is based on knowledge produced by the interviews and observations with an emphasis on the phenomenological perspectives. The interdisciplinary approach to this study is formed at the intersection of sociology and social phenomenology. At this boundary, phenomenological sociology provides a social and philosophical framework for the study of violence, which formed the basis for the works of Schutz and Weber,

whose approaches I will describe in the next two sections (3.5.3 and 3.5.4). Herewith social constructivist epistemology and sociological interpretive approaches are combined.

3.5.3 Weber and Understanding

While Alfred Schutz appreciated Max Weber's *Verstehen*, he criticized the limitations of Max Weber's theoretical work (Giddens 1979, Nasu 2017). Nevertheless, according to Barber (2014), Schutz's interpretative sociology is based on Weber's *Verstehen* and Husserl's phenomenology, which is reinterpreted in his phenomenological sociology. My job as an observer was to understand the actions to which the actors give meaning. To do it, I used Weber's concept of *Verstehen*. *Verstehen* in my work is a systematic interpretive approach. It aims to grasp meaning by putting yourself in the shoes of immigrants in order to comprehend the meaning they attribute to their actions. Weber defined sociology as the science of understanding intelligent and meaningful actions (Weber 1978: 4-24). Social action is a fact, and a perception of the 'other' is the main idea of social action. First, we recognize a fact, and then after identifying a fact, we move to its interpretation, and then we move from interpretation of the fact to an understanding. This is one of the main paradigms of the sociological perspective and the framework of *Verstehen*¹.

For Weber, 'understanding' is "one type of sociology among other possibilities. He therefore called his perspective 'interpretative' or 'understanding' sociology" (Weber 1978: 56). For Weber, the concept of understanding is a unique approach. He has other

¹ Weber also discusses aktuelles Verstehen as "direct observational understanding" or "immediate understanding", erklärendes Verstehen as "motivational understanding along with deutend Verstehen as "explanatory understanding" (Weber 1978:8-9).

types of *Verstehen*, such as “direct observational understanding” or “immediate understanding”, “motivational understanding, or “explanatory understanding” (Weber 1978: 8-9). I will not dwell on these types in detail here.

Phenomenological sociology refers to the connection between philosophical phenomenology and sociology. It is a sociology of philosophical knowledge, or as Schutz himself says, the “philosophically founded theory of method” (Schutz 1967: xxxi) for the social sciences. Philosophical phenomenology is a creation of Edmund Husserl, and while he was already concerned with questions of social philosophy, it was Alfred Schutz, who combined phenomenology with sociology. It became the starting point for other areas of sociology, such as social constructivism, ethnomethodology and hermeneutic sociology. Moreover, phenomenological sociology has made a decisive contribution to empirical research, and it can be seen as one of the essential sources for the interpretative power of qualitative sociology. Schutz wanted to develop a different social epistemology for the study of social phenomena. He managed to criticize and introduce phenomenology into sociology as a new method and new style of thought.

In looking back over the position of Auguste Comte (1798 – 1857), we realize that society as a science develops through three mentally meaningful stages – theological, metaphysical and positive (Comte [1858] 2009:2). He defined this “science of sociology” as the “positive study of the totality of fundamental laws that are specific of social phenomena” (Heilbron 2015: 41). But anti-positivism assumed that the social world cannot be studied using a scientific method applied to nature, and that the study of the social sphere requires a different social epistemology. Hence, phenomenological sociology, according to Schutz, is a social method focused on the study of the structures

of experience. Schutz attempted to critically reconstruct Husserl's methodology in order to develop a methodological stance for the social sciences. "... the social sciences have to deal with human conduct and its common-sense interpretation in the social reality, involving the analysis of the whole system of projects and motives, of relevances and constructs... Such an analysis refers by necessity to the subjective point of view, namely, to the interpretation of the action and its settings in terms of the actor" (Schutz 2011: 34). Both Weber and Schutz viewed the core function of sociology as the interpretation of action. The interpretivists believe that research on human interaction cannot provide objective results. Therefore, instead of looking for an objective perspective, they seek meaning in the subjective experience of individuals who participate in social interaction (Glynn 2014: 70). My research is also grounded on interpretive approach, paying attention to the subjective meaning of the actions of immigrants. Actions are the essence of the social world of individuals, and the phenomenological method analyzes the meaningful components of social facts that make up society. In my research, it was used to examine relationships between labor immigrants and residents in Russia and how Tajik labor immigrants cope with the experience of violence.

One of the biggest problems in understanding violence in the social sciences begins with its epistemological problems. That is, the problem of understanding the same phenomenon is considered from different subjective points of view. I apply the theory of intersubjectivity to clarify this epistemological problem. In this way, my approach is rooted in social phenomenology and interpretive sociology. It shows how Schutz's social phenomenology can provide additional insight into the sociology of action and the role of intentionality in it (Schutz 2011: 69), as well as how it includes the meaning of processes

of experiencing violence. It traces the perception of violence as a daily experience of immigrant workers to explain this experience. Schutz insists on the practical measurement of the intersubjective meaning, proposing to find in it the conditions for the emergence of any context of meaning, which should be combined in social action. “Each term of a scientific model of human action must be constructed in such a way that a human act performed within the life-world by an individual actor in the way indicated by the typical construct would be understandable for the actor himself as well as for his fellow-men in terms of common-sense interpretation of everyday life. Compliance with this postulate warrants the consistency of the constructs of the social scientist with the constructs of common-sense experience of the social reality” (Schutz 1972: 44).

Social phenomenology describes the lived experience and, accordingly, its advantages lie in a deeper understanding of experience. In the field, I did not typically ask participants *why* questions, but focused on *what* was experienced (for example, “*can you tell me an example of when you... first visited Russia?*”) and *how* it was experienced (for example, “*what was it like when you... started work in this company?*”). I looked for the contexts and actions of the experience in which Tajik labor immigrants lived. Bearing that in mind, the present study reviews the social type of the interaction as depicted by Weber (1978, 2014). This implies intersubjective meaning through the course of the everyday random episodes and encounters that shape the labor immigrants’ lifeworld. It is noteworthy that Schutz himself personally experienced the situation of the immigrant (1944). In his articles published in 1944, 1945 and 1946 Schutz phenomenologically characterizes the situation of the stranger (Schutz 1944, 1945, 1946), and the “expert and

the man on the street” (Schutz 1999: 239). In my study, Tajik labor immigrants belong to the first category of the ideal-typical “well-informed” street man.

Before focusing on this approach, I tried to find out how phenomenological sociologists themselves define phenomenological sociology. The process of carrying out a socio-phenomenological study is based on several assumptions. Here I describe the main characteristics of this approach in a very simple way which I used in this study:

- (1) Meanings and knowledge are social constructions;
- (2) I am part of the experience being studied (due to direct observation);
- (3) My interpretation, as researcher, plays a key role in understanding experience;
- (4) In the process of study, particularly in the fieldwork, research participants and I participate in the exchange of knowledge;
- (5) However, meanings and realities are multiple and may not be shared by everyone;
- (6) In this approach, a large number of participants is not required; in my study, a purposeful sample included 49 participants, divided into 2 groups of 38 actors and 11 experts;
- (7) The goal is to gather detailed descriptions of the lived experience of Tajik labor immigrants;
- (8) It focuses on experience and perception of reality. To express this experience, I interpret and understand things expressed in the language of phenomenological hermeneutics.

I am convinced that understanding labor migration violence requires a social phenomenological approach that can provide a detailed description for analysis. This approach offers the researcher an opportunity to describe a detailed account of

experiences “where the subject is understood as an embodied and socially and culturally embedded being-in-the-world” (Zahavi 2008: 662). It has also been characterized as the most useful sociological approach with the theoretical and methodological advantages for the analysis of social phenomena (Rogers 1983).

Simply put, social phenomenology is the study of experience. As a study, experience is subjective and difficult to verify. *Verstehen* tries to reconstruct the subjective experiences of the labor immigrants without distorting their lifeworld itself. The task of connecting these two approaches is to find meanings. The essence of it is that we cannot separate subjectivity from objectivity. Subjectivity is an integral part of the process of objectivity. We can separate the subject-object only by finding a deeper meaning in the intersubjectivity. Experience is always based on the subjective, but its nature is intersubjective.

3.5.4 Schutz: Phenomenology of Sociality

According to the phenomenological philosophy of Edmund Husserl (2012), all knowledge that we perceive is composed of phenomena. We perceive them by our senses. Alfred Schutz made this idea relevant to the study of society and applied it to social reality. So phenomenological sociology is the impact of the methodology of natural science on our understanding of social reality. The focus of Schutz is how knowledge is constituted and how people achieve a shared understanding of what is happening around them. He argued that they, based on their experience, create a ‘typification’ and inter-subjectively develop a general idea of how things are. Thus, reality is a social construction (later it was developed by Berger and Luckmann (1967)

based on the ideas of Schutz), which acquires an objective character as a result of intersubjective understanding.

Both Weber and Schutz used phenomenology as a method of constructing ideal types. In my work, I used the phenomenological interpretation of ideal types on the basis of a comparative analysis of the concepts of Weber and Schutz. Thus, social phenomenology makes it possible to widely understand "ideal types" as ways of constituting a picture of the social world and even the possibility of a new understanding of ideal types. The ideal type is not so much traditionally distinguished types of cultures as a specific type of connection between experience and meaning underlying the experience of Tajik labor immigrants. This approach allows me to represent various, sometimes contradictory fragments of the same 'second-level knowledge' (Schutz's term). We initially perceive all things that are inaccessible to our understanding as "Other." Other can be portrayed, that is, simulated. Consequently, the concept of simulacra-images becomes equal in origin to ontological status.

If social phenomenology is the study of lived experience, hermeneutics is determining intention and meaning in that experience (Moustakas 1994). It is here that the research tool appears. When these two come together, we have the opportunity to interpret the experience of labor immigrants. Moreover, combining these two research approaches, we can interpret how the phenomenon of violence appears in the consciousness of a subject. Social phenomenology is conceived as an interpretive experience, and it involves the interpretation, production, and contextualization of descriptive text from someone's experience and put it into context (Ceobanu and Xavier 2010). In my research, hermeneutic phenomenology views all descriptive text, including

my own experiences with labor immigrants, as an equally valid and reliable interpretation of the data I received from labor immigrants and interviewees. So, I am a researcher who knows experience of a labor immigrant who has life experience, as well as the text and context that is being developed. Possessing rationality, I can begin to interpret this experience rationally and transparently. Furthermore, hermeneutic phenomenology can be properly applied using *Verstehen* as a sociological research tool so that we can find the truth in the lives of immigrant workers. At the same time, when conducting phenomenological research, all research questions need to be related to the experience of labor immigrants and how labor immigrants perceive their social world.

Earlier in this section, I talked about "other" and "otherness". Hardt and Negri (2004) have different opinions on this issue regarding migration. According to them, labor immigrants must not be seen in terms of "sameness" and "otherness", because "we are a multiplicity of singular forms of life and at the same time share a common global existence" (Hardt and Negri 2004: 127). But unfortunately, for these authors these concepts still represent an adequate theoretical basis for understanding social and cultural relations when, in fact, the concepts they hold fail to explain migration violence and counter-violence. So, how should we address the issue of violence and counter-violence and how should we deal with violence that causes violence? Within the framework of phenomenology, otherness is a difference between the self and not-self in which an identity is constructed. This is evinced when one person encounters another person. For example, if I encounter another person, and that person acts like me, I can constitute him based on my vision, and based upon my self's relation to others. Thus, the constitution of

others in the phenomenological approach occurs within the framework of a shared social fabric. This is the core element of the intersubjective world.

Individuals tend to develop subjective meanings of objects that have many different meanings. A French sociologist Bruno Latour in *Where are the Missing Masses?* explains how objects can be designed to replace and shape the actions of humans (Latour 1994: 229). That is, objects can even be viewed as actors. Hence, anti-Tajik-immigrant violence as a phenomenon is real and possesses its own meaning for both labor immigrants and for me as an observer of this phenomenon. This meaning is already socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann 2011), but the question is how one knows this is 'real'. Epistemologically, the answer to such a question may be found by using the forms of sociological description to generate knowledge of meaning through interpretive categories of a double hermeneutic (Giddens 1984: 284). To construct the meaning of anti-Tajik-immigrant violence, this research draws on multiple realities and meanings, as well as the complexities of participants' views of their social world. It is my intention as an observer to make sense of these meanings formed through interactions and by the experience of Tajik labor immigrants.

3.6 Framework for Understanding

In this section, I review the approaches I use and how these approaches relate to the production of sociological understanding. The practice of this approach in sociology, from Auguste Comte (1798-1857) to Randall Collins (b. 1941), informs us about the scientific nature of sociology and its reproducibility. It is as much as other empirical and pragmatic approaches based on facts and evidence. It has to do with the fact that I

acknowledge the importance of empirical science and appreciate empirical methodology. Thereby, I am taking the path of those sociologists who claim sociology as a science, even though in some cases I have used a faith-focused narrative approach in the production of knowledge. Nevertheless, I believe that it is still science because the knowledge produced is based on facts and observations. It is unacceptable for me to disregard scientific methodology. Without it, it is impossible to criticize and combat the negative elements of traditionalism – I used it in the case of explaining a theological concept of *tawakkal* as a trust in the Section 5.1.1. On the other hand, I disagree with those who confuse valid scientific methods and epistemology with modern ideological theories – in this study, I have examined the case of two authors in the section 5.2.2, *Linguistic Violence*. The objectivity of study depends not only on intersubjective opinion, but also on truthfulness and observance of truth in it, on accuracy and conformity to fact, on correctness of a scientific instrument. Knowledge based on scientific methodology is self-evident and scientific epistemology is an axiom for understanding other sources of data and traditional knowledge. Consequently, I completely dismiss interstate treaties or consensus as a means or source for understanding violence against immigrant workers. Instead, I believe that scientific epistemology, the ability to admit mistakes and entertain alternative explanations are more adequate ways to understand the phenomenon of violence.

Phenomena as elements of a stream of experiences represent a certain integrity which has a complex structure. Therefore, I am convinced that understanding a phenomenon of violence can be achieved only if it is not described from the outside, but experienced. In the case of this study, it can be achieved by directly entering the stream

of experience of labor immigrants, their lifeworld and life-context. Hence, the nature of the phenomenological method consists in directly merging with the stream of experience, that is, “putting yourself in the shoes of others to see things from their perspective” (Weber 1978: 15). In my opinion, one of the most explicable frameworks for understanding the act of violence against labor immigrants can be achieved through this Weberian procedure. There are also multiple explanations, Schutz said. We will discuss them later in the following sections.

Our lifeworld, our paramount reality is formed as we daily act, work and communicate with others. Schutz demonstrates this theory of the lifeworld in his studies, *The Stranger* (Schutz 1944), *The Homecomer* (Schutz 1945) and *The Well-Informed Citizen* (Schutz 1946). I applied this approach to understanding the violence and the lifeworld conditions of Tajik labor immigrants.

3.6.1 Phenomenology of the Rights of Labor Immigrants

The labor immigrants’ rights should be seen in a framework of the idea of the “right to have rights”, ethical politics of states and what states are responsible for the rights and human dignity of immigrants. For example, in the light of the current provisions of current Russian law, foreign citizens who have committed a crime against Russian citizens are subject to criminal liability under the Russian Criminal Code. But for the citizens of Tajikistan, who work in Russia, who needs to intercede on behalf of their rights and what state can be brought to justice for their death and violence against them? Russian state politics, including its migration policy, is devoid of legitimate political ethics. If a state discusses the issue of justice and human dignity, a relationship of politics

and ethics is needed. Ethical policy is necessary for the legitimate policy of the state, and the state policy and law should protect both the rights of its citizens and the rights of the Others. This policy, first of all, should be oriented towards the rights of the Others. Only legal justice can protect one from another.

3.6.2 Mediated Data and Meanings

It is what we know from sociology courses that the world is taken for granted. Everything around us has no meaning. Our behaviors and actions have meaning, and we search for that meaning. But the point is that reality is much more complex than can be reduced to one of its components. For example, in Heidegger's phenomenological-hermeneutic method, existence is more than the sum and totality of individual existence. Perhaps this understanding is slightly different from what we know in sociology. Nonetheless, this is fully applicable to the sociological understanding of the phenomenon. Therefore, to achieve intersubjectivity, I must understand reality at multiple levels. What meanings do violence and labor migration construct? Are they symbolic? Or do they construct identities?

Meaning, in the context of reality, is the essence of a phenomenon, as well as the result of an action. By 'action' I mean what Weber implies as "human behavior linked to a subjective meaning" (Weber 2019: 78). In my study, it is a set of all processes, both cognitive and physical, in the lifeworld of labor immigrants associated with their everyday life. This way, the meaning that labor immigrants attribute to their actions is the exclusive source of credibility in my analysis of their lifeworld. When I try to understand the lifeworld of labor immigrants on a cognitive level, I use my intellectual abilities. In

this case this is the only means by which I can react to that reality. When it relates to the daily life of labor immigrants on the material level, I respond to this reality through my observation and imagination, as Mills has argued (Mills 2000). So, through specific ways of understanding I respond to different aspects of everyday reality of labor immigrants.

The term “meaning” as used by Weber in a social context refers to an intentional action. When Weber uses 'the meaningful', he means 'the intentional'. Accordingly, Weber's *Verstehen* and his account of the typification of intentional actions are designed to understand the meanings of these intentional actions. For him, meaning is always associated with action. This is also evidenced by his brief discussion of the meaninglessness of statistical correlation in the introductory part of *Economics and Society* (Weber, 2019: 87-88). But typification arises in the everyday social context during social relationship (Berger 2011, Schutz 1973). A labor immigrant, as a member of a social group, actively and subconsciously takes part in this process. It is a result of the interaction of immigrants inside and outside of their social group and a kind of objective social reality that does not depend on their position and perception and does not contain thought processes. That is, the objectively manifested lifeworld of immigrants represents objectively existing phenomena, facts and realities in their everyday life. This means that if objective reality exists, then its logical course is the assumption of the existence of subjective reality. Schutz also believes in such a special kind of social reality that can be experienced directly “beyond the horizon of direct experience” that has not yet been experienced (Schutz 1972: xxvii).

In fact, knowledge is always subjective. “There is no absolutely “objective” scientific analysis of culture. All knowledge of cultural reality... is always knowledge

from particular points of view” (Weber 2011: 78-79). Consequently, all social worlds around us, including the lifeworld of labor immigrants, are intersubjective. Meaning and everything we know is a reflection of that intersubjectivity. My task is to collect all that knowledge and interpret it in order to achieve intersubjective understanding. With that, I can construct an understanding or, shall I say, reality relative to the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants. That understanding is mainly based on the views of the labor immigrants themselves. “One need not be Caesar to understand Caesar”, said Weber (Weber, 2019:79). As noted in the previous sections (1.7.3 and 3.4.3), this understanding can be achieved by “putting yourself in the shoes of others in order to see things from their point of view” (Weber 1978:15).

Any cultural pattern, “like any phenomenon of the social world, has a different aspect for the sociologist and for the man who acts and thinks within it” (Schutz, 1964:92). Therefore, Schutz typically focuses on meaning, and when he focuses on meaning, he details a concept or any other cultural pattern. As an example, I should like to cite a concept of ‘home’, which he details as follows: “It means, of course, father-house and mother-tongue, the family, the sweet-heart, the friends; it means a beloved landscape, “songs my mother taught me,” food prepared in a particular way, familiar things for daily use, folkways, and personal habits – briefly, a peculiar way of life composed of small and important elements, likewise cherished. ... Life at home follows an organized pattern or routine; it has its well-determined goals and well-proved means to bring them about, consisting of a set of traditions, habits, institutions, timetables for activities of all kinds, etc. There is no need to define or redefine situations which have occurred so many times or to look for new solutions of old problems hitherto handled

satisfactorily” (Schutz, 1964:108). In my fieldwork, I have followed Schutz’s approach in describing how actors of the study, both Tajiks and Russians, used their own words to describe a situation or experience. As noted, in interpretive understanding, meaning is always associated with word and action. Meaning produced in conversational acts by labor immigrants as lay actors, are transcribed without discrepancy as in their lexicon, but cannot be grasped as in their lexicon. Therefore, it would be interpreted as meaning of the meaning.

3.6.3 The Meaning of the Meaning

Violence is a set of behaviors with a meaning and purpose, and when these behaviors are viewed as normal, they also become legitimate, which I talk about in a separate chapter of the dissertation (Section 5.3.7). Social behavior refers to the behavior of a person. The complexity of defining this term implies that human social behavior itself is usually more complex. Violence is destructive physical or verbal social behavior, and action with the intention of inflicting unpleasantness upon another individual or group. Action for Max Weber is a behavior to which human actors attach subjective meanings. This “action is social insofar as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual (or individuals), it takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course” (Weber 1968: 4). Thus, for Weber, social behavior is an action of an actor affected by the behavior of other social individuals. Alfred Schutz altered Weber’s social behavior to “intentional conscious experiences directed toward the other self” (Schutz 1967: 144). The concepts of “action” and “meaning” are the central ideas for the sociology of Weber. Weber defined sociology as “the interpretive

understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at causal explanation of its course and effects” (Weber 1964: 88). Inspired by philosophy and sociology of knowledge, Schutz developed the concept of “social phenomenology” and produced original thinking grounded in Weber's sociological understanding. Phenomenological sociology attempts to understand sociality in the form of intersubjectivity (Zahavi 2001a).

The dissertation subtitle points to the rhetorical question of whether the violence against Tajik labor immigrants has a hidden or deeper meaning. If the experience of labor immigrants were purely hedonistic or enjoyable, it probably would not have any symbolic or hidden meaning. But the lifeworld of labor immigrants is negative. To better understand the symbolic meaning of experience and how this meaning is conveyed and interpreted, I will refer to the concept of hermeneutics in a few sections of the study. Symbols can be any words, icons, objects, and they can hold different meanings for different groups or individuals. Meaning can also be conveyed through action. I have already discussed the word "Gastarbeiter", which has had different meanings for different groups. To the Russians who use this word in relation to foreigners, it has negative connotations, while to labor immigrants themselves it is the reason for being a labor worker. Therefore, understanding the “Gastarbeiter” (or *gasteri*) meaning as a *Russian attitude*¹ towards labor immigrants is only a partial understanding.

Many words and phrases used by Russians towards labor immigrants are symbolic. These words convey certain ideas and mean something else to those who use them and to those to whom they have been addressed. I also examined the meanings from different perspectives and found out how the meanings are attached to words and events

¹ The reason I highlighted this phrase is because, while reading the literature on migration, I discovered that the word *Gastarbeiter* is used in relation to foreigners only (or mostly) in Russia.

by different groups of people. For example, the results of focus groups showed that if for the Russian nationalists and skinheads the phrase *Russia for Russians* is understood as an expression of brave acts, nationalism or national identity, for Russian officials and the rest of Russians *georgiyevskaya lentochka* (the St. Georgian ribbon) has the same meaning (FGD 2015a). Thus, individuals and groups attribute meaning to words in relation to the social, emotional, physical, and some other aspects of their experience. Moreover, to interpret and understand the meaning, I have coded texts. Coding is understood as an interpretative act (Saldana 2015: 4). To code data materials and define categories, I have always addressed the texts with basic questions (Chart 3).

I use intersubjectivity in a broad sense. It is the capacity to understand the relationship between selves and others and the role that this understanding plays in the experience of these subjects. It is a condition that makes it possible to understand the propositional contents of the minds of others. That is, our subjective understanding is manifested only through an understanding and awareness of the experience of others. In other words, we are not only aware of ourselves, but also simultaneously understand others, although the perception of others does not coincide with our own perception. The meanings that labor immigrants produce through interaction, form the social matrix and lifeworld in which they find themselves. These meanings are the results of their focus on the sociocultural interactive processes by which they start to know the intentions and thoughts of others.

Chart 3: Example of the Basic Questions and Coding

1 <i>What?</i>	What is the issue here? Which phenomenon is mentioned?
2 <i>Who?</i>	Which persons, actors are involved? Which roles do they play? How do they interact?
3 <i>How?</i>	Which aspects of the phenomenon are mentioned (or not mentioned)?
4 <i>When? How long? Where?</i>	Time, course, and location.
5 <i>How much? How strong?</i>	Aspects of intensity.
6 <i>Why?</i>	Which reasons are given or can be reconstructed?
7 <i>What for?</i>	With what intention, to which purpose?
8 <i>By which?</i>	Means, tactics, and strategies for reaching the goal.

(Adapted from Flick 2009: 310)

The meanings that Tajik labor immigrants produce through interaction, form the social matrix in which they find themselves. These meanings are the results of their attention focused on the sociocultural interactive processes by which they start to know the intentions and thoughts of local people, the “others”, and “enter into meaning” (Bruner 1990: 68-70).

3.6.4 Fieldwork Experience

My case of studying the phenomenon of violence against labor immigrants in Russia was based on observations in Moscow and St. Petersburg. I was interested in assessing lifeworld experiences and interactions of Tajik labor immigrants. Bearing in mind their lifeworld and its particularities, I focused on the intersubjective understanding of the lifeworld, "in which people both create social reality and are constrained by the preexisting social and cultural structures created by their predecessors" (Ritzer, 2011:

219). Furthermore, I myself have been an important part of the research process with my experience in the field. In this context, the focus has been on understanding the complexity of the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants, and the facts and circumstances in which violence is committed against them. It is indeed an important research context in the Weberian framework of *Verstehen* (Weber [1921]1968). While the interview was perceived as “learning from strangers” (Weiss 1995), I have conducted interviews with those ‘strangers’ in languages other than English. To reach *Verstehen*, I focused on the importance of the special emotional expressiveness of the spoken texts, the formulated thoughts and statements produced by immigrant workers. “Putting yourself in the shoes” of labor immigrants is the only way of participant observation that provides the researcher with a deep understanding of their experience. This approach to the study of violence is thought a superior alternative to all other ways of sociological thinking.

My fieldwork in Russia was for me a kind of laboratory for exploring social interaction. Using Moscow and St. Petersburg as examples, I not only interacted with Tajik labor immigrants and observed their social behavior, I also observed the habits of the local population and their daily routines and how they live. When I was observing in the field, I always thought about my research questions, so as not to lose the connection between what I observed and the research questions. In my interaction with both Russian natives and Tajik labor immigrants, data was collected, knowledge was produced and made meaningful by the immigrants themselves. At the same time their social world was constructed as they made sense of it.

As a main object of the study, violence is such a complex phenomenon that it cannot be fully understood solely by applying one method. In the same way, the lifeworld

of Tajik immigrants associated with this phenomenon cannot be studied only in social texts. Their lifeworld can be explained by the social actions, processes and structures in their everyday lives. Violence is one of the main aspects of the daily lives of Tajik labor immigrants. I have used observation in cases of direct participation and identification of social facts related to violence and xenophobia. It was always conducted in an overt way and in-situ conditions. As an observer, I never masked my intention to investigate, other than observing the behavior of the police on the streets and subway stations. For comparison, in addition to my own field data, I used data produced by others. However, the best way to understand the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants was through interviews. During my fieldwork, I knew that only direct observation in the field and access to the lifeworld of immigrants could lead me towards a better understanding. Instead of relying entirely on statistics of dubious quality, as mentioned above, I relied on the participation of labor immigrants themselves. They had a much better idea of their lifeworld and its complexities. This gave me a more objective picture to interpret the ideas of others derived from statistic data.

For Schutz, sociality was a central topic of phenomenology, and it must examine the everyday social lifeworld. He stressed the importance of studying social reality: “The observational field of the social scientist – social reality – has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the human beings living, acting, and thinking within it. By a series of common-sense constructs, they have pre-selected and pre-interpreted this world which they experience as the reality of their daily lives... The thought objects constructed by the social scientists, in order to grasp this social reality, have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thought of man living his everyday life among

his fellowmen. Thus, the constructs used by the social scientist are, so to speak, constructs of the second degree, namely constructs of the constructs made by the actors on the social scene, whose behavior the scientist observes and tries to explain in accordance with the procedural rules of his science” (Schutz 1972: 59).

In the field, my understanding of the situation began with direct observation to get some initial ideas about the field and setting. Weber calls it *Aktuelles Verstehen* (Weber 1978: 56). In the second type of *Verstehen*, you must try to understand the meaning and motives of actions, and why people do what they do. To achieve this, Weber argued that you had to get into the shoes of those people who do those actions. He calls this type of understanding *Eklarendes Verstehen* (Weber 2019: 485). Weber’s approach provided me with an idea of the actions and behaviors of the study participants, both Tajik labor immigrants and the attitude of the residents of Russia towards them. It can be discerned, in fact, by applying typifications that are found in everyday language. At the same time, I understand that I also belong to a social world that I intend to describe and interpret. The extent of my understanding and interpretation depends on the situation in which I can act, for example, in participant observation, I have no other source than my own experience.

Transcribing and describing the interviewee’s opinion I produce not only new knowledge, but also shape both my own understanding of what is happening in the daily life of a labor immigrant. In conversation in bazaars and market environments, my observation is on how social actions and practices are accomplished through talk and interaction and how they produce a specific version of the real. Accordingly, our understanding of the real is not taken for granted or pre-given, but rather a product of such interactions. In such environments talks and interactions occur naturally, and an

observer can see what words are and how language is used in specific instances of interaction. In turn, this allows us to observe how specific identities and meanings are produced.

The daily life of Tajik labor immigrants in Russia is a life in community in which they share their language, objects, culture, experiences and meanings. In my fieldwork in Saint Petersburg, I observed how Tajiks construct and create their social world through everyday working together, talking, interacting, and engaging with one another. They are familiar with each other's experiences. The experience of one member of this community is very familiar to others in this community. In their everyday social world, they experience violence as an intersubjective world. In other words, in this world one perceives and knows violence as an experience, a violence that others also perceive and know directly not just as a phenomenon but, indeed, precisely as a violence. Their experiences and the meanings of these experiences are shareable between them. Such a condition of reciprocity of experiences and empathy with others provides a way out of subjectivity. As a researcher, I can perceive and understand their experience, but I don't undergo that experience in an original way. My experience is a founded experience, their experience is a primordial experience.

In the period from November 2014 to March 2015 and later, from time to time until the end of 2018, I traveled to St. Petersburg and Moscow as a researcher. At this time, my presence became an occasion for daily communication with both residents and immigrants; I have visited the places they live, their apartments and homes and observed how they make food and how they eat it, visited the masjids they go to, analyzed their lifestyles and categories of things stereotypically associated by them with their homeland

and their culture and characterized by them as "typical Tajiki". In many apartments and homes of immigrants that I visited, I saw a *deg*, a traditional cookware with a semicircular bottom for the cooking of various dishes, primarily *āsh-e pilaf*. I also saw a *jonamoz* (prayer rug), *suzani*, needlework (hand embroidery stitched in a traditional manner that hangs on the walls); *qolin* (rug for the floor) and *kurpacha* (traditional cotton mattress), and books in Tajik, and Quran in some homes. These things are present in many Tajik immigrant families and, in the opinion of many respondents, express their identity, rather than a symbolic expression with nostalgia for their homeland. In other words, it can be assumed that the values of these items are related to the cultural identity of Tajik immigrants reflected in the space of their temporary home. However, special emphasis is placed on the phenomenon of violence, which is potentially aggravated during different periods of migration. The essence of this emphasis is to explore immigrants in close relationship with their country of origin, to consider the features of these relations, as they determine the practices, behaviors and expectations of people. Another focus will be on analyzing migration from the perspective of the immigrants themselves, their families and the host society. As the results of in-depth interviews show, such things are most often used by immigrants as a symbol of identity that connects them with Tajik culture, often things reminiscent of their country and home, mainly associated with national cuisine, culture and language. In the chapters below, I will show how the indicated categories of subjects and their relationship to them is expressed in the daily life of immigrants in Russia.

I used two categories of data; data that I obtained through observations and interviews, and which already existed. Existing secondary data ranges from newspaper

articles to blogs and recordings of actors and participants. Thus, this chapter draws on the two years of largely qualitative ethnographic study in Tajikistan and Russia conducted between 2014 and 2016. This ethnographic study focused on *bazaars* (street markets), construction service companies, transportation service organizations as well as the universities and research centers of Moscow and St. Petersburg. These two cities were the focus of my research area and were included in the program of my dissertation proposal, which was approved by the dissertation committee at my department of the University of Missouri. The very names of these two cities have become associated with shocking violence against Tajiks stigmatized both in printed media and by local residents. In addition, demographically these two cities are the predominant homes of immigrants. The research primarily included participant observation and semi-structured interviews (details in the Chapter 4).

CHAPTER 4: DATA COLLECTION

Introduction

Data were collected from both the primary and secondary set of sources (Table 1). Primary qualitative information was mainly collected in Moscow and St. Petersburg. These data were obtained via direct observation of the behavior of actors; both Tajik labor immigrants and residents of Russia.

Interviews were conducted with Tajik immigrants and experts on migration and violence studies, as well as with labor immigrant rights advocates and politicians. Secondary data were collected in the form of electronic records and paper databases, mainly on xenophobic and racist violence. Data for historical and comparative analysis were collected mainly from secondary sources. To obtain additional materials, I used critical analyses of media, documents, and scholarly publications. Secondary data helped me better understand past research and what needs to be done in my study. The foundation of the questions in the current study was also based in part on the synthesis and analysis of these data.

Basically, the thesis is completed in the logic of qualitative methodology. The empirical base of research was made by the methods of collecting primary data. Accordingly, the findings of this study are based on the texts of 42 in-depth interviews and two focus groups, as well as critical analysis of the media and conversations with advocates of the rights of labor immigrants.

Table 1. The Main Sources of Data and Their Characteristics

Sources	Advantages	Limitations
Academic Interviews	Scholarly Current Viewpoints	Theory-ladenness
Immigrant Interviews and Focus Groups	Data of real life world, meaning-making information	Limited Viewpoints
NGO Sources	Answers to some questions by officials	Sometimes too subjective and too critical
State Sources	Official Viewpoints	Inaccessibility; Unwilling to acknowledge problems of migration
Media	Coverage of special and everyday events	Influence of official Viewpoints
Published Sources (English and Russian)	Background Information	Most aspects of research questions are not addressed

To my understanding, this study is the first to collect cross-national data on Tajikistan and Russia on labor migration and the only such independent cross-national study of violence in the post-Soviet space. It examines the social behavior of Tajik labor immigrants and residents of Russia, as well as its relation and ongoing evolution.

The collection of data was based on existing discourses on violence and migration, as well as individual and group interviews with Tajik immigrants in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Alternatively, I also used focus group interviews of Tajik labor immigrants in these two mega-policies. Since achieving intersubjectivity in understanding violence was one of the key objectives of the study, the use of focus group discussions was ideal for examining the experience of labor immigrants. It "taps into people's underlying assumptions and theoretical frameworks and draws out how and why they think as they do. The data generated by this method confront the researcher with the multi-leveled and dynamic nature of people's understandings, highlighting their fluidity, deviations and contradictions" (Kitzinger 1994: 172). One of the starting points here was

to formulate the views of Tajik immigrants themselves about how the meaning of violence stems from their own everyday experiences. This approach allows labor immigrants to discuss their personal experience, understanding and definition of violence in their own way. I came to realize that this method of discussion was a bit of a difficult context for labor immigrants to participate in.

For me, being an immigrant myself, the validity and reliability of my research was of paramount importance and had to be consistent with its context and accountability. Hence, I believe that the data collection methods that I have used throughout the entire study process ensured the accuracy and validity of my research. The type of observation I used was direct participant observation. In addition to the individual interviews and focus groups with Tajik labor immigrants, I also conducted 11 semi-structured interviews with experts of labor migration and violence studies. The interviews were conducted based on the agreement between me and the interviewees and on the basis of research ethics. Writing, analyzing and documenting were evidence-based. The empirical study database was a random sample of men and women living in Moscow and St. Petersburg (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2016b: 78 people aged 19–47 years). The following methodological approaches have been applied within the framework of phenomenological sociology, including in-depth interviews, participant observation, content and discourse analysis and rich description.

Most of this research and fieldwork took place in 2014-2016, although I began to take an interest in and observe the phenomenon of violence against immigrants much earlier. The initial plan of the study was to listen to the voices of experts on migration and observe the lifeworld and behavior of labor immigrants, as well as the phenomena of

violence. In the next step, I started open interviews with experts themselves. Hence, the methodology of data collection of this study is based on a combination of interviews with labor immigrants, Russian residents and experts, as well as on secondary information. Due to the nature of the research questions and the scattered statistics on Tajik immigrant workers, the qualitative method was considered a more appropriate one. As the main method for collecting primary data, I used semi-structured interviews and focus groups conducted both in Russia and in Tajikistan.

I used participant observation to observe behavior that causes the violence. My familiarity with the local culture and language made my study easier; I knew the Russian language and actively used it in my daily interactions with the study participants when I lived in the field for an extended period of time. I used Russian not only as an interviewing technique in everyday conversation (mostly with Russians and less with Tajiks), but also used it when I informally observed them during leisure activities and when I recorded my observations in filed notes. I systematically observed people and their behaviors. Dependent on the situation, I engaged in both overt and covert types of participant observation. In other words, sometimes I played the role of a participant-observer by making relationships with both Russian residents and Tajik immigrants. At other times, I just played the role of an observer-participant fully focused on observing rather than interacting with this group of people. It was not necessary to get permission when I engaged in covert participant observation. It was necessary to see why people behave in a way they behave to gain *Verstehen*.

4.1 The Qualitative Descriptive Approach

Essentially, the main data sources for this study were interviews with labor immigrants, my own observations, narratives of labor immigrants, as well as contextual (Ceobanu and Xavier 2010) and visual texts (Kenney 2008) that were important to the lives of immigrants. In understanding the everyday social world of Tajik labor immigrants, I used an eclectic perspective and combined multiple research approaches. I intended to understand the social world of labor immigrants, describe and analyze their experiences and to see how they construct the world around them. Those experiences were related to the life stories, everyday practices and interactions.

My approach to understanding violence was mainly based on textual rather than numerical data. However, I have interpreted some statistical tables employing qualitative forms of the method that did not lead to statistical correlations. Its aim was to develop interpretive analytical concepts and to reveal the relationship between migration and violence. Therefore, to interpret the rest of the collected data, I used other research methods, such as *Verstehen*. The main procedure for analyzing anti-immigrant violence has been the criteria of grouping such violence into various categories and levels, which was done in Chapters 5 and 6. Based on this division, the analysis was conducted at individual, collective and institutional levels using interpretive sociology, as illustrated in Scheme 1.

Within the framework of micro-sociological analysis, I have focused on situations of violence rather than individuals (Collins 2009). One of the key issues of analysis of violence against Tajik immigrants was the question of how and when such violence occurs. To understand the dynamic of such situations, I had to first focus on the interaction between these two groups. Almost all those situations were unique, and I

needed to compare their range to explain the circumstances of when and how such violent situations unfold. Since quantitative analysis was not always relevant and meaningful in my research, qualitative analysis of all documents was a prerequisite for all quantitative data I used. But sometimes, when I dealt with unique documents (for example, I had data from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia on the number of crimes committed by immigrants from the Central Asian region), my main goal was a comprehensive meaningful interpretation of those documents. Therefore, I did not always resort to quantitative analysis, since many documentary sources were insufficiently complete or not representative. As noted, most of the time when I observed behaviors, I have been incognito, that is, I did not conceal myself under a false name, but I did not identify myself as a researcher either.

The content analysis objects were derived from a multi-source information flow. In addition to the media, official documents and scholarly articles in Russian and English, I have also used many Russian TV programs. I have used them due to their public nature, which depict the life of labor immigrants. Here is an example: the television films *Nasha Russia* (Our Russia) and *Nasha Russia: Yaitsa Sudby* (Our Russia: Balls of Fate) are forms of sociological experiments based on hyper-reality and derisive use of the immigrants' lifeworld. Many episodes of the films reflect the perspective of symbolic interaction. But in most *Gastarbeiter* sketches, the 'heroes' of comedies, the homophobic *muzhiki* ['real men'] openly mock *gosti iz Srednei Azii* ['guests from Central Asia'] without any symbolism, but with vague words and childlike naiveté. It is these films that expose tendencies that breed anti-immigrant prejudices. Most likely, *Nasha Russia* is based on the British sitcom *Little Britain* that was described as "a sadistic, unfunny piece

of spite” (Hari 2005). The conflict perspective is evident in their comedy shows. Their jokes are often aimed to demonstrate the dominance of Russian society over other societies from which these immigrants come. For example, the main characters of the film sing like this: “*Nasha Rossiya – strashnaya sila, Strashnaya sila – Nasha Rossiya*” [“A formidable force is our Russia, Our Russia is a formidable force”]. All this confirms Russian anti-immigrant sentiments and slogans such as *Russia for the Russians* (Berman 2013).

4.2 Researching Lived Experience

Violence is not always a physical phenomenon, but it can always be observed; sometimes it is internal and has an intentional existence. This existence carries all the knowledge about the phenomenon. Such an intentional phenomenon can be observed in the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants. The lifeworld, or *Lebenswelt*, as Husserl calls it, is the world of everyday life or the world of lived experience. In this study, it is the multiple social reality of Tajik labor immigrants. It is a world in which intersubjectivity occurs, that is, subjects through interaction experience life together in order to understand other people’s experiences. The lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants underlines the state in which they experience the everyday. In *the Crisis of European Sciences*, Husserl (1970) describes the concept (*Lebenswelt*) in the following words: “all of us together, belong to the world as living with one another in the world” (Husserl 1970: 108). This mode of intersubjective world-consciousness can reach the “objective truth” or at least get as close to objectivity as possible (Husserl 1970: 133). As far as I understand, if we call the social and cultural world of Tajik labor immigrants their lifeworld, then they have

their own social macro-environment with the economy, social institutions, social consciousness and culture. Thus, the lifeworld of labor immigrants is a set of material, economic, social, political and spiritual conditions for the formation and activity of this social group. I will not go into the details of *Lebenswelt* in this section, but will only point out some theoretical data on the concept. And since the problems of Husserl's transcendental phenomenology, such as consciousness, intentionality, and some others, will not be specifically thematized in this study, the concept of lifeworld will be approached from the perspective proposed by Schutz (Schutz 1967, and chapter 3.4.1 of this study). Thereby, in Schutz's version of phenomenology, we see a more rigorous methodology of the lifeworld in the study of the social world. Conflating Husserl's "lifeworld" and "natural attitude," he focuses his analysis at the social level of everyday life.

In my view, Schutz is correct to characterize sociological practice as including an objectifying attitude towards social lifeworld. Therefore, this study focuses on Schutz's works and his description of lifeworld, with less emphasis on the works of other phenomenologists. In studying the experience of labor immigrants, which emphasizes the importance of individual perspectives, I focus on the subjective perspectives of the research participants, because the nature of the processes leading to violence is the result of subjective actions. Although my point of view is also embedded in these perspectives, I describe the realities that do not always depend on the perspectives and experiences of those directly involved in specific situations of violence. I believe that any actions that I observe in individual immigrants' behavior are regularities, that is part of the immigrant's nature. But I interpret these actions from the standpoint of the actors, while maintaining

the subjective meanings they attach to these actions (Schutz 1972:48). This means that it shapes my perception of an immigrant, and I believe, this perspective is objective. Schutz demonstrates the legitimacy of his view of the objectifying scientific attitude in *The Phenomenology of the Social World* (1967) based on Weber's theory of social action, which describes the evolution of practical type-constructs of actors into scientific type constructs (Schutz 1967: 135).

4.3 Data Collection – Stage 1

Already at the first stage of data collection (2014-2015), I realized that in order to understand the reality of violence against immigrants in Russia, I first needed to understand how information and ideas about Tajik labor immigrants are created, interpreted, used and disseminated in the Russian media and society. I knew that there is no quick understanding of the problem of violence against immigrants, but with this thesis I try to contribute to an understanding of the process of violence. So, in this stage, I used various methods to collect data. The most commonly used methods were observation, face-to-face and telephone interviews, and focus groups. In addition, I have used documents such as reports, newspaper articles, websites, and YouTube videos to corroborate other forms of evidence. When using the observation method, I was basically a neutral outside observer. A flexible methodology was chosen for this study, based on a combination of interviews with labor immigrants and experts, as well as secondary information. Due to limited and fragmented data on immigrant workers from Tajikistan working in Russia, the use of qualitative sociological methods was considered appropriate for the study.

At the initial stage of data collection, I have participated in the observation of Tajik labor immigrants in their natural settings: streets, bazaars, construction sites, etc. As a bus ‘passenger’, I have observed the behavior of a Tajik immigrant who was a city bus driver. I have observed the behavior of Russian police officers towards Tajik labor immigrants in the streets of St. Petersburg; I have observed the communications and interactions among Russian natives and Tajik immigrants on the streets of Moscow. Even when I observed the social behavior of individuals, I focused not on the individual, but I looked at patterned social behavior of Tajik immigrants as a group. This is the same thing that C. Wright Mills (1916-1962) taught; we need to see the connection between events in our lives and events in society (Mills 2000).

In an early stage of my fieldwork in February 2014, I observed the interaction and communication of two Russian police officers with three Tajik labor immigrants in one of the streets of St. Petersburg. I was close enough to them to hear almost everything they told each other. When one of the policemen noticed that I was listening to them, he began to speak softly. I approached closer... (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014e; details in Chapter 6). I also published all my observations of what was happening in the field that day, and part of the communications between the two groups in a Tajik newspaper *ASIA-Plus* on January 16 (Abdusamadov 2014). The article is written in accordance with the style of ethnographic writing by Van Maanen, in which he calls it “realist tales” (Van Maanen 2011: 54). We see that observing people and behavior *in situ* gives a researcher the opportunity to see how people actually behave and thus generates naturally occurring data and gives a good understanding of context.

The outcomes of the first stage of data collection come from the qualitative interviews conducted in 2014-2015 within the Civil Society Scholar Awards of the Open Society Foundations program. Data were obtained in Moscow and Saint Petersburg, though in order to obtain additional materials I used critical analyses of media, documents, and scholarly publications. The project is mostly completed in the logic of qualitative methodology, and respectively, the empirical basis of research was made by the technique of the collection of primary data. Accordingly, the conclusions of this study are based on the texts of forty-two deep interviews and two focus groups with both ethnic Russians and Tajik labor immigrants, critical analyses of a media environment, as well as conversations with advocates of labor immigrant rights. Content analysis of media and interview materials was supported by the research strategies of Alfred Schutz (1972) and Max Weber (1978) to better understand the lived experiences of Tajik labor immigrants. While listening to the stories of Tajik labor immigrants, I became familiar with their lifeworld through their own perspectives. I then interpreted their understanding of their social world and the meanings generated by them. Consequently, I have engaged in a “double hermeneutic” (Giddens 1987: 21), that is more specifically, I have re-interpreted their pre-interpreted social world. Such processes of obtaining data and interpretation were simultaneous. In this direction, I have emphasized violent situations instead of violent individuals. One of the key issues in the analysis of violent attacks by Russian citizens on Tajik immigrants was to seek an answer to the question of how and when such violence occurs. To understand the characteristics of the confrontations and dynamics of situations I needed first to focus on the interaction between these two groups. Situations

of violence were different, and I needed to compare the range of them to explain the circumstances of when and how such violent situations unfold.

The lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants was indeed constructed by their own consciousness coupled with their everyday experience. It is their experience of perceived discrimination, xenophobic attitudes and violence. For the Tajik immigrant workers, the ‘other’ world has reproduced other behavioral patterns and problems, experiences of which they had never faced. Relying on the understanding approach, I tried to dispel a steady stereotype about a labor immigrant in the ‘other’ social world, where his own everyday behavior and usual norms do not work. I came to the conclusion that the modern Russian immigration policy keeps punitive mechanisms of regulation that are based on the humiliation of human dignity. In most cases labor immigrants are accused by authorities not only of violation of the immigration law, but also accused of violating cultural and linguistic expectations of domestic norms, which results in the authorities easily controlling migration challenges. In most cases, they are deprived of very standard and elementary aspects of human rights, such as living conditions, a right to rest, and other aspects that impact quality of life.

Understanding the violence faced by Tajik labor immigrants and their families is seriously hampered by the lack of available data. According to publicly available data and reports on Tajik immigrants in Russia, they are not classified or registered as a separate ethnic group in either the data published by the FMS or in the documents of the MFA of Russia. Instead, they were classified as *(im)migrants from Central Asia*. In fact, statistics have also been one of the key sources of information for better understanding violence. Nevertheless, both in Tajikistan and in Russia, not only are there no statistics on

migration violence, but even the most general statistics on migration are incomplete and outdated due to massive irregular migration flows, as some authors note (Chudinovskikh 2015: 12, Lifshits 2016: 48).

4.3.1 Sampling: Identifying Research Sites

The everyday lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants is explained in terms of the content of their lived experiences. During the period of data collection, St. Petersburg and Moscow became for me fields of observation, analysis and interpretation of sociocultural phenomena in the lifeworld of labor immigrants. In the first phase of the fieldwork conducted from November 2014 to February 2015, my goal was to become familiar with the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants and to collect data on the growing social tensions between them and residents of Russia. The fieldwork was conducted in two states; mainly in Russia (Moscow and St. Petersburg) and partially in Tajikistan (Dushanbe and Khujand) from November 2014 to December 2016. I had several meetings with faculty of the Saint Petersburg Humanitarian University, the Higher School of Economics (both in Moscow and St. Petersburg) and advocates of the rights of labor immigrants in these two cities. My speeches and discussions in these circles made me familiar with a group of Russian professionals with identical academic interests and fields. In particular, I was invited by a professor of the Department of Sociology at the National Research University Higher School of Economics in St. Petersburg to present and discuss my research among faculty and graduate students of the department. I had the same opportunity at the St. Petersburg *Center for Civil, Social, Scientific and Cultural Initiatives*. Ultimately, I have presented my research findings entitled *Unsafe in the Home*

of the Other: Everyday Violence and Identity Construction on April 9-10, 2015 at this Center.

In November and early December 2014, I conducted field research in St. Petersburg and the suburbs of St. Petersburg. The key focus had been on the lived experience of Tajik immigrants in order to examine the dynamics of violence and violations of their rights. Since the focus was on immigrants from Tajikistan, I conducted informal unstructured conversations, mainly with Tajik immigrant workers in the streets and bazaars. I have also visited several construction sites, including construction sites in the sub-district of St. Petersburg and the *Kirishi* municipal region of the *Leningrad Oblast*. I met there with over 50 Tajik labor immigrants who were temporarily employed by the construction company “*Kozerog*”. I also had two small discussion meetings with Russian advocates of immigrants’ rights and experts on migration policy at the *Saint Petersburg Humanitarian University* and at the *Memorial Anti-Discrimination Center* for protection of the rights of immigrants in St. Petersburg (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014c).

I conducted the second part of my fieldwork in Moscow starting from the end of December until beginning of February 2015. There I had a few meetings with the leading experts on migration in Moscow and its subareas in Russia. My many meetings with the scholars and experts at the department of Sociology of Academy of Sciences were most productive (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015g). In addition to my almost everyday meeting with Tajiks, I spent some time in the non-government organizations “*Migration and Law*”, *SOVA Center* and *VSIOM* (Russia Public Opinion Research Center), having good relations with their employees and advocates to gather materials and needed data.

In the second half of January 2015, I have conducted my fieldwork in Tajikistan through meetings with the migrants who were returning home and the experts in the field of migration, and specialists from sociological research centers “*Sharq*” and “*Zerkalo*”. I had three meetings with the representatives of *The Committee of Youth Affairs* at the *Tajik Majlisi Namoyandagon* (lower house of parliament), the *Center for Strategic Study* under the president of Tajikistan, and experts on labor migrant workers in the *Centre for Human Rights* (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015f). In February 2015, I returned to Russia and completed the final phase of my fieldwork in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

4.3.2 Sampling: Identifying Key People

The nature and design of my research requires researching and interviewing immigrant workers from Tajikistan. At the same time, Russia has been called a "dangerous and burdensome" site for field workers (Belousov et al., 2007: 155). Therefore, I obtained participants through snowball sampling. Creswell (2009) explain snowball sampling as “identifying cases of interest from people who know people who know what cases are information rich” (Creswell and Creswell 2009: 127). Given that data generation focuses on the process of violence rather than on the end point of the number of respondents, the sample was selected to get answers to the research questions. The interview was the most frequently used data collection method in my research. Therefore, in the relevant sections of the chapters, I briefly described the qualitative terms that I have used, such as in-depth, informal, non-directed, open-ended, conversational, narrative and life history, biographical, and ethnographic approaches. In those sections, I also described why I used a specific term for this or that type of interview.

One of the most challenging aspects of the interview and focus group meetings was finding knowledgeable participants. These meetings were not the chance meetings, and they happened on an ad hoc basis, specially organized for these cases. In my fieldwork, I initially was relying on my both Russian and Tajik friends and colleagues, although I also used the snowball sampling method.

I had a general topic, outline, subtopics, a list of questions and some issues that I wanted to cover in each specific meeting, interview or focus group. Before each specific interview and a focus group I sent out consent forms and relevant information sheets. The content of the questions was very important for me, because I knew that the questions, I would ask participants, might change the content of my study. The questions I used in two focus group meetings were the same, but in the interviews, they were different in relation to the importance of the areas to be covered in a specific interview. The recruitment process happened both on the phone with the potential participants and on a face-to-face basis. Sometimes I recruited participants on the recommendation of my colleagues and even on the basis of what I had been told about them.

4.3.3 Recruitment of Experts

There was a slight change in the timeframe of my fieldwork. Initially, on the advice of my academic adviser, Professor John Galliher, I did not require IRB approval unless my research was conducted in the United States. But later, my current adviser, Professor Clarence Lo, who is also the Director of Graduate Studies, suggested that I obtain IRB approval to avoid any unexpected problems, even if it is not required in Russia. It requires a certain amount of time to obtain IRB. On account of this, I had to

make slight changes in the timing of my fieldwork. Thus, the first stage of data collection of this study occurred between November 6, 2014 and February 22, 2015, and the second one was between December 12, 2015 and March 19, 2016.

From the beginning, my fieldwork was organized; meetings with experts were planned and scheduled. Although I had slightly changed the dates of my arrival to the field, almost all of the meetings I had planned took place. Two of my meetings in Moscow and two more in St. Petersburg did not take place due to time conflicts with other events. The meetings were rescheduled and subsequently held via Skype. Interview experts were selected from institutions working in the areas of migration, crime, human rights, violence and conflict resolution. A complete list of experts is given in Appendix 5. The questions were adjusted in accordance with the field and scope of the experts and their professional experience. The collected interviews were recorded on a dictaphone and transcribed into text files. The names of the experts have not been changed; the names of other categories of informants have been changed. The quotations are verbatim; they are transcribed and translated from recorded interviews and conversations. All audio recordings of these interviews and conversations are in the original language and their transcripts are kept by the author.

4.4 Data Collection – Stage 2

To study violence, I had two ways of seeing the phenomenon; observation and communication. I have recognized facts by observing behavior and asking questions over a long period. Observation gave me data unknown in the literature, which I reviewed in Chapter 2. My observations from films and documents were grounded in my own vision

and perception of the lifeworld of labor immigrants. I looked at the phenomenon of violence through the prism of their everyday life. With this approach, even though I may have gone a little beyond the academic framework in search of social facts, I still used empirical methods and theoretical ideas of sociology.

My presence over a long period in St. Petersburg and Moscow gave me the opportunity to be both an observer and a participant in various situations and roles. I have conducted different types of observation. When I watched a situation on television or YouTube videos, I participated in the observation with the lowest degree of participation, which is called external participation. As I noted above, I witnessed many contacts and communications between labor immigrants and police officers both in St. Petersburg and in Moscow. I was present at the scene of the action, but, for the most part, did not communicate with immigrants or police officers. In this way I played the role of a passive participant. Being a researcher and observing social behavior necessarily implies a balanced participation in communication and observation regardless of the situation. I always realized that even though I was a researcher and was familiar with their culture and habits, I still knew that I was in a different society with a different world of understanding and traditions than in my own. Thus, in order to avoid misunderstanding, my understanding and ethics of research, as well as the limited permission of the IRB to conduct research in a foreign society, did not allow me to participate in conflict situations. For example, I could not be an undocumented labor immigrant and do the same thing as a labor immigrant does when experiencing violence. Such an idea was suggested to me by one expert when I asked her to arrange a possible meeting with a member of a group of Russian skinheads. Even during my full participation in some

activities, I have never been a natural participant. In all settings where I conducted my observations, my research role was disclosed, and I always performed as an overt observer in describing the structures of the experience of labor immigrants.

If, on the one hand, this violence occurred through silence and fear, on the other hand, it occurred due to indifference and manipulation of public consciousness. I proposed my interpretation in various narrative texts of the labor immigrants themselves. I used the same set of open-ended questions for all the immigrants-interviewees. This helped me compare their answers, uncover some nuances and aspects of their lifeworld and get an intersubjective understanding of the same issues that are being studied. During the interviews, they were given the chance not only to answer my questions, but also to ask questions of their own if they had them. Their questions helped me to focus on how-to-do issues of interviewing and analyzing the data, and to assess my own ways of doing research and its quality. For example, during one conversation a labor immigrant, Sukhrob, asked me a rhetorical question, which, probably, was a remarkable insight into the issues of labor migration: “You come every day and talk with us for several hours, and do you think that you will have a full understanding of our life? I do not think so. Only working with us, spending several nights in the same houses in which we live, and living with us for at least a week, can you get acquainted with our daily life...” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015d). Perhaps he was right that in order to get clarity and insight into their daily life, I needed to conduct observations in a round-the-clock manner before I go on to document those observational data and analyze them. But an ethical study of research and my contract with the host university, based on the requirements for IRB training, did not allow me to be with them day and night. I tried to realistically

depicts immigrant life of Tajiks in Russia, by maintaining the transparency of the research process and by applying materials from their daily life. Violence related to labor immigration is still a crucial problem in everyday debate in Tajikistan, for which solutions have to be found primarily at the political level.

4.4.1 Observing (*The Episodic Interviews*)

Observation was the main data collection tool in this stage of data collection. In essence, it was a qualitative and unstructured observation of interaction patterns. It focused on the framework of meaning in the actions and behaviors of actors, mainly Tajik labor immigrants. In fact, it was not a simple observation that I observed of things and others on an everyday basis, but it was a more focused and unstructured observation with a scientific orientation. It “involves making observations of behavior and recording the observations in an objective manner” (Stangor 2004: 126). Compared to spontaneous day-to-day observation, field observation is an organized and planned act. The data gained through observation were then combined with other data collected through other techniques. Then they were processed and interpreted. The aim was to produce empirical knowledge about the lifeworld of Tajik immigrants. As noted, my observations were mostly unstructured, except for some specific aspects of behavior (for instance, crimes committed by immigrants) when I also needed quantitative data.

It was useful for me to simultaneously compare the data of my observation with the secondary data. Residents of Russia have different attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Ceobanu and Xavier 2010). Even some migration experts use non-literary words, puns, and even vulgarities that are incomprehensible even to some native

speakers. Once at a workshop on labor migration, when one author used the xenophobic phrase “*ponayekhali, a zatem ponaostavalis*”, I wanted to clarify it. Indeed, the words are clear. Literally it means “came in large numbers and then stayed”, but in a phrase, it looks like a joke with different possible meanings. She explained that by this phrase she meant the influx of outside immigrants and settlers, “Gastarbeiter”, and not migrants who came from neighboring regions [of Russia], in her words, “*priyeczhiye*” [“*Guests*”]. “So, we have “our former” – post-Soviet Uzbeks or Tajiks, you can see them everywhere, and we have *Guests*, though both are labor migrants” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015a). Thus, Muscovites have their own vocabulary. For them, immigrants from post-Soviet states are “*chernen'kiye and gryaznyye*” [black and dirty], who inspire fear and dislike in the host population. But “*Guests*” are different, even if they are not welcome guests too, at least they are distant relatives. Guests are “blond-haired and blue-eyed, from neighboring regions, and mainly, they sell potatoes in the markets...” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015a).

Another participant in the seminar presented the result of his research, citing the opinion of his respondent that Moscow needs neither *Guests* nor *Gastarbeiter*. For them, immigrants are strangers, and Moscow residents do not like strangers. He quoted a stranger phrase than the previous respondent: “*ne lyublyu kitaytsev, dazhe yesli eto tadzhiki*” [“I do not like the Chinese, even if they are Tajiks”] (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015a). It sounds like a pun. For most residents of Moscow and some other Russians, labor immigrants from post-Soviet Central Asia are all the same. They cannot distinguish the nationality of labor immigrants from this region. In such cases, if your

identity is unclear to "us", logically the concept of "your" nationality is replaced by the concept of race; your color becomes the key to your identity (Weitz 2002).

There is an opinion that Russia does not need labor immigrants. It is largely constructed by the social context and, above all, by some politicians and the media. In fact, for Russia, attracting labor immigrants is not a choice, but a necessity. According to Rosstat, demographic and economic problems make the influx of labor immigrants inevitable. In the next decade, the decline in the working-age population in Russia will amount to more than 1 million people a year (Rosstat 2010). The truly alarming fact of labor migration in Moscow and St. Petersburg is that both residents and immigrants have already come to terms with the division into "we" and "they". This raises the level of xenophobia (and migrantophobia) and makes violence the "norm". The widespread politicization of labor migration, the idea of "in the interests of the state," and the dominance of Russians over immigrants affect the consciousness of residents. It makes the institutions of adaptation and integration of immigrants ineffective. Immigrants will be doomed to social exclusion and segregation from the host community.

CHAPTER 5: THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Introduction

In everyday life, there are certain phenomena (events, situations, facts) that we can identify. At the same time, we are interested in the question of why these phenomena occur, i.e., what are their causes. For example, when it turns out that the number of students enrolled at the University of Missouri has significantly decreased over the past two years, we ask why this happened and what are the causes of this negative phenomenon for the city and the university? A student, Jonathan Butler, went on a hunger strike before Jesse Hall. A sociologist, of course, is interested in the question of why did Butler commit this act? In all the situations considered, we construct a reasoned explanation of a scheme of singular causal analysis. What is worth knowing in the above patterns is what can be included in the interpretation model and the singular causal connections. The case of violence against Tajik labor immigrants is also singular and involves interpretable actions as causes. However, this case is not sufficiently provided with evidence to assimilate causal knowledge, and we also need to grasp the meaning of the actors' actions. Therefore, we combine these two models to interpret in order to explain.

Explanation is reasoning directed by the question, "Why does a certain phenomenon (event, situation) occurs?", the answer of which involves summing up the explained phenomenon under typical behavioral patterns. Every societal phenomenon precedes another phenomenon that causes it. In the following chapters I will analyze the violence against Tajik labor immigrants by looking at the causes for a sufficient condition for its occurrence. I try to understand violence in situational and micro-level interactions

as the main analytical unit. At the same time, in order to understand the complexity of violence, I work with such social macro-organizations and norms as the state and culture.

If, in the lives of others, some things represent some other things, in the everyday lives of Tajik labor immigrants everything represents violence; migration cards represent violence, workplaces represent violence, street police represent violence, airports, subways, and hospitals represent violence, even pedestrian crossings, street signs and grocery stores represent violence (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015a). What is a migration card, by the way? A migration card is a document containing information about a foreign citizen or a stateless person who has arrived in Russia for a temporary stay in an order that does not require a visa. And “this piece of paper” represents violence for Tajik labor migrants (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015a). This card is filled in at the airport or at the entrance to the border. The idea that Tajiks transport drugs, lies on the head of the border inspector in advance and forms her possible decision. That’s how, for example, violence arises in the consciousness of a border inspector (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015a).

5.1 Analysis of Everydayness

Violence is an observable fact and phenomenon. When the acts of violence were committed in the metro in the eyes of others (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015), and state institutions obscured these violent actions, calling the offender mentally ill, while "mental disorders are not sufficient causes of violence" (Stuart 2003: 121), we see how the social construction of reality is taking place. Therefore, observation is the main method used in phenomenological sociology in order to provide empirical data.

Phenomenological sociology seeks to understand social reality from the point of view of the acting subject, and therefore it is characterized as subjective sociology. And while there is no absolute objective scientific analysis of social phenomena, my goal is the understanding of the concrete reality in which Tajik labor immigrants live, and why their condition is so and not otherwise. Phenomenological sociology as an empirical science is the most suitable means for achieving such an understanding.

As mentioned, everyday life contrasts with emergencies, such as wars, disasters, and days of mourning (Turner 2006: 180). In this section and below, I also use some documentaries and other types of visual data about labor immigrants to showcase the challenges of their everyday life. Some documentaries about labor immigrants are relatively objective. In these films, labor immigrants are used to search for truth in their everyday lifeworld. The authors want to know what actually happens to these immigrants who have left their homes and live on construction sites, markets, kitchens, and on the outskirts of the megacities of St. Petersburg and Moscow. One of them is the thirteen-minute documentary *Dvornik*, filmed by Russian producer Andrey Gryazev in 2008. The plot of the film is very simple. The Tajik *dvornik* (janitor) simply tells the operator about his life; what he eats for breakfast, how he works, how he has fun, and what he has thought about during the five years of his life in Russia, and so on. It was honest and simple because the viewer sees and hears an immigrant with whom he never dares to come into close contact, despite the fact that he meets him on the street every day. I think the position of the author is important in this documentary work. He is very neutral, or rather, his position simply does not exist. The producer was just curious; who is a labor immigrant like a janitor? Alik was brought to Moscow from Tajikistan by his brother.

Everything in Moscow is strange and unusual for him. But in 5 years he found answers to many difficult questions for himself and learned to cope with his feelings (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015d).

The second film, which I watched during my field research, is *Gastarbeiter* (Razykov 2009). I was curious that in these films the origin of the word “Gastarbeiter” is quite unspecific. The Turks could come to Germany only by invitation, otherwise they would not be issued visas. And the Germans invited them to specific jobs. But these labor immigrants in Russia are not “invited workers”. These immigrants, including Tajiks, were forced to become job seekers and people at risk. These are former citizens of the country, which until recently its residents called ‘the country of friendship of peoples’. My discussion of the word "*Gastarbeiter*" and, accordingly, the title of the film, which coincides with this word, is in section 6.4.2.

The movie character, an old man, was really about to die in his homeland, but then hard times forced him to go in search of his missing grandson to Moscow. Having collected his numerous orders and medals, the old veteran went to Moscow. He finds his former acquaintance and many other troubles. Despite the usual problems for such an elderly person, such as a lack of understanding of the principles of modern life, lack of money, housing, etc., the old man did not look completely *Other* for Russia. He was even released from the police out of respect for his services to the fatherland. It seems to me that for the producer the old man is not a symbol of the *Other*. On the contrary, he sees in him the embodiment of a patriarchal decision-maker. It also seems that the image of this old man is taken from the Soviet myth and placed in a new post-Soviet context, where he looks strange. I suppose the producer of the film wanted to embody his nostalgia for

Soviet-era intercultural attitudes. Based on my observations in the field, the cases of interaction with the police were completely different. In fact, there is no such respect for the elderly on the part of the police in the post-Soviet context. As a viewer, it was difficult for me to follow the logic of the film; it is broken. The most important role in the film, the ‘Gastarbeiter’, the grandson of the old man who married a Russian girl, does not appear in the film at all. Perhaps this is a new phenomenon for cinema, since the very phenomenon of labor migration is new for the post-Soviet states. The filmmaker presents the image of a ‘Gastarbeiter’ as a figure of silence and shadow (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015e).

5.2 Non-participant Observation and Understanding of Others

It is believed that the characters of the episodes of *Nasha Russia* are the quintessence of the subconscious of the mainstream population of Russia. Perhaps that is why there are so many such negative episodes of labor immigrants even in academic works, such as those of Grigoriev (2010, 2012) and Dyatlov (2010). Obviously, the materials that comedians use are event-based and grounded in an observational humorous backdrop of the mundane aspects of social life. They also explore the social world, as academic social thinkers do. But anecdotal characters of any peoples have special habits and temperament, for example, anecdotal German temperament, Russian temperament, Tajik, French or American temperament. As for *Rovshan and Dzhumshut* (fictional ‘Gastarbeiter’ in *Nasha Russia*), besides the fact that they speak broken Russian, there is not a single characteristic feature of temperament. I believe it is normal and acceptable when a comedian jokes about a nation and makes people laugh, even members of that

nation. For instance, English comedian Michael McIntyre jokes about Americans.¹ He does not insult the nation or people by his jokes and uses some of the temperaments of people so that it is clear about whom he is joking. But it is unacceptable when a comedian insults a nation with his jokes. Maksim Shevchenko, one of the leading Russian journalists and experts in ethno-cultural politics, expressed his opinion about the film as follows:

“I can say that I have not seen a more racist, xenophobic and Nazi film. This is a film that offends human dignity, people on national and ethnic grounds, on the basis of proficiency or lack of proficiency in a particular language. I can also see that this film insults on religious grounds – people who are known as Muslims, because these guests are Tajiks. This film frankly demonstrates incitement to hatred and xenophobia of Russians towards people of a different race, a different language, a different faith. And everyone is silent, religious organizations are silent, political parties are silent, human rights activists are silent. All these are a sign of a serious illness of the state. I cannot imagine that such a film was shot in Germany about the Turks, how bad and funny they speak German, or about Arabs in France ... In our country, Russians have always had an innate respect for the Tajiks, the great ancient people who created their own unique civilization. For their part, they have shown and are showing a characteristic respect for Russians. I am simply asking to prohibit the showing of this film, this program, as inciting religious and national hatred. It is insulting!” (Shevchenko 2010).

Then he addresses each of the Russian parties separately:

¹ You cannot humiliate the peoples and ethnic groups. Russian comedian Mikhail Zadornov was banned from visiting the United States for his anti-American sentiments and insulting the American people.

“I am simply outraged to the core, and especially the silence. *Yedinaya Rossiya* (United Russia), can you preserve the unity of Russia showing such a film? *Spravedlivaya Rossiya* (A Just Russia), is it fair to these people that we represent them this way? *Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Rossiyskoy Federatsii* (The Communist Party of the Russian Federation), does the very word communism force you to defend the rights of workers, the rights of those who are humiliated and placed in semi-slavery, the so-called Gastarbeiter?” (Shevchenko 2010).

The films *Nasha Russia* were broadcast on the NTV channel. The NTV (*Nezavisimoe Televidenie*) is one of the three main Russian TV channels along with *Rossiia* and *Channel One*.

The word ‘nasha’ in *Nasha Russia* does not mean ‘our’ even if its literal translation is ‘our’. There is a misconception concerning the meaning of the title as well as of the show itself. If we focus on the content of the show episodes, the ‘*nasha*’ is the English equivalent of ‘*other*’. So *Nasha Russia* should be understood as ‘*Another Russia*.’ Even the contents of show episodes themselves hint at the fact that Russia is allegedly occupied by immigrants. Besides, in the original Russian title of the film, the word ‘*Nasha*’ is written in Cyrillic, and the word ‘*Russia*’ is in Latin-English as *Hauua Russia*. Although *nasha* and its plural *nashi* (‘our guys’) in the Russian context connotes a sense of patriotism and national self-identification, in these films it implies “the Other”. It is visible in the names of many other Russian national organizations, including in the name of the pro-Putin youth organization *Nashi* (Tarasov 2001).

Due to the fact that the show contains multiple words and idioms that are more similar to Tajik than other Central Asian cultures, it has been accused of racism and

insulting Tajiks. Russian entrepreneur Samvel Gharibyan (2010) also believes that the show is xenophobic and offends the national dignity of Tajiks: “The broadcast is entirely aimed at insulting and humiliating Tajik migrants. The first part of the program is devoted to mockery and derision of the life of Tajik labor migrants, where they are called “black chicks”, “stupid” and other offensive expressions. They say that “there is a grain of truth in every joke,” and therefore it can be concluded that the filmmakers set for themselves the goal not to improve the lives of immigrants, but to implement the policy of Tajik xenophobia. The content of the film shows that it is associated with the nationalist movements of Russia and this way they want to realize their ideas and goals” (Gharibyan 2010). In his opinion, insulting Tajiks can lead to interracial conflicts. He contacted the general producer of *Comedy Club Production* (Russian TV Show) Artur Janibekyan and demanded that they stop producing the episodes of *Nasha Russia* about Tajiks and apologize to the Tajik people for their controversial and racist jokes. But they were unapologetic for their confrontational views of the immigrant lifeworld. Although Janibekyan refused to apologize, the stories about the Tajiks were soon taken off the air (Sharipov 2010). “The show is of a clearly xenophobic and abusive nature. It partly insults Russia, as well as the national dignity of not only the Tajik, but also the Armenian people [one actor of the show is Armenian]. It is no coincidence that it is the Tajiks who are chosen as the main target for bullying, and the perpetrators of their ‘moral genocide’ are the Armenians. Such distribution [of the roles] was done deliberately by ‘the enemies of Russia’.” (Gharibyan 2010). Also, at the end of March 2010, the leader of the all-Russian public movement *Tajik Labor Migrants* sent an appeal to the Prosecutor General

of Russia with a request to stop broadcasting the show “Our Russia” and the sale of copies of the film “Balls of Fate” (Sharipov 2010).

5.3 Thematic Interpretation and Analysis

Immigrants live and work in other societies with their own values. However, in order to understand other social worlds, they must see the world through the eyes of those who live in other social worlds, through the prism of the interests, illusions, passions and even prejudices of those people. Others are always ‘strange’ and ‘incomprehensible’, or even ‘dangerous’ because of their otherness. In *The City* (1915), Robert Park notes the following about another city’s culture: its ensemble of other social worlds, a sub-community or “natural area” and its sub-cultural value systems, “its own peculiar traditions, customs, conventions, standards of decency and propriety, and, if not a language of its own, at least a universe of discourse, in which words and acts have a meaning which is appreciably different for each local community. It is not difficult to recognize this fact in the case of immigrant communities which still preserve more or less intact the folkways of their home countries. It is not so easy to recognize that this is true in those cosmopolitan regions of the city where a miscellaneous and transient population mingles in relatively unrestrained promiscuity. But in these cases, the very freedom and the absence of convention is itself, if not a convention, at least an open secret” (Park 1952: 201). An immigrant needs to understand the lifeworld of the Other. Otherwise, the St. Petersburg or Moscow social and cultural worlds are very different from that of disadvantaged and marginalized Tajikistani groups of labor immigrants, and neither my study or any other surveys can soften these differences.

5.3.1 Theme 1 – Values and Beliefs

An immigrant experiencing the lifeworld is aware of the existence of the lifeworld of the Other, therefore this Other is part of the experience of the immigrant and his lifeworld. At the same time, for him, the Other is a way of self-awareness, that is, establishing the fact of the existence of the Other, he also establishes the fact of his own existence. Hence, the world is intersubjective, and we come to an understanding with other people and jointly live with them an objective reality, “and all of us together, belong to the world as living with one another in the world; and the world is our world, valid for our consciousness as existing precisely through this ‘living together’” (Husserl 1970: 108). One needs to understand the Other in order to be able to coexist together. Only by understanding the Other can one get away from the temptation to define him as “wild”, “strange”, “dangerous”, etc. By Others, Weber meant either “individuals and familiar acquaintances or indefinitely many and quite anonymous’ *types* of person” (Weber 1978: 4, 22).

There are some meanings that Tajik immigrants value in their daily life. Speaking of Tajik immigrants, Izzat Amon says that “90% of them come here [Russia] ‘at random’ [*az tawakkal*],¹ without any connections or certain types of employment” (Amon 2014c). Besides, they practice Islam. It is unacceptable for them to leave the corpse of a relative or friend unburied. Morgue workers in the Moscow Oblast are well aware of this obligatory ritual of Tajik immigrants. And because of the difficult living situations, the

¹ “*az tawakkal*” is a reduced form of “*tawakkal ba Khuda*” that means a total reliance on God or trusting in God’s plan. This phrase means to believe in God and completely rely on him, that everything is in his hands, and everything happens only by his will.

majority of Tajik immigrants after death, mostly with an unnatural death, end up in Russian morgues. Morgue workers demand from relatives, who also do not live in a good financial situation, from 60 to 70 thousand rubles [800-900 US dollars] for each body of the deceased (Kashnitskiy 2013).

Other factors, such as differences in culture and language, can also play a role in inter-ethnic tensions. Some labor immigrants see religious diversity as a key factor as well (FGD 2015a). For example, for many Tajiks, praying in mosques is a kind of shared sense of belonging to Tajiks as well as Islam. By doing this, they want to demonstrate a model of collective identity, whether consciously or unconsciously, to compensate for the ethnic and cultural trauma they experienced during the civil war (1992-1997). The war destroyed a significant part of the infrastructure in the conflict zones, especially in the Khatlon Region (*Viloyati Khatlon*). In the early 90s, Tajiks from this region were worried primarily about the safety of their family members. The Tajik conflict, the active stage of which lasted from 1992 to 1995, took away more than 150 thousand lives. The economic damage to the Republic of Tajikistan amounted to 7 billion US dollars (Olimov 2003). These factors made Tajikistan economically dependent on neighboring countries, primarily on Russia and Kazakhstan. If, for example, the maximum wage levels in the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan are 689 and 526 US dollars, respectively, the wage levels in the labor markets of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are 155 and 81 US dollars, respectively (Ryazantsev 2016: 7).

Linguistic violence is invisible violence, but it hurts your minds, it hurts your hearts. One day in Moscow I met a Russian-born Tajik writer, Gulsifat Shahidi, who was born in Russia. During the conversation, out of curiosity, I asked her if she had written

any book in her native language. She replied: “When we moved to Moscow [from Dushanbe], we had a neighbor. Whenever bad things happened near our home, this neighbor said that "this is the work of the Tajiks." Once I told a woman that I am also Tajik and she did not believe me. I explained to her that when young Tajiks do not have work in their own country, they come here. What I observe, all the bad things you see, are usually associated by you with Tajiks, but migrants come to Russia from all over the countries of Central Asia, and not only from Tajikistan. They all are called Tajiks. Why? I do not know. Then I gave her my book and asked her to read it. When she asked me who wrote this, I told her that I am the author of the book. Since then, I thought and decided that if I write in Russian, they would learn more about Tajiks. Writing in Russian, I want to show the Russians what the true face and real identity of Tajik people are. They do not know who the Tajiks are....” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015c). In the next subsection, I would like to continue my interpretation of some of the other observed fieldwork examples that illustrate violence.

5.3.2 Theme 2 – Linguistic Violence

Many young Russians prefer to use the term *Rashn*, even with the Cyrillic spelling of the word (*рашн*), instead of *ruskiy*, meaning Russian. As mentioned, in the comedy show *Hauua Russia*, the first word is written in the Cyrillic alphabet, the second in the Latin one. Some Russians attribute this preference to the ambiguity of the word: “*Рашн* means *ruskiy* and *rossiyskiy* at the same time (in English, both words are translated as Russian). The bottom line is that *ruskiy* and *rossiyskiy* are a kind of

ambiguity that separates us [ethnic Russians], but *раши* is a notion that unites us” (FN 2015a).

It is obvious that intellectuals differ in their academic positions and ideological attitudes. Unusually they create a different image of a nation based on their views and positions. This is exactly what is happening in Russian society. While some criticize the existing order of things, others create hoaxes for their own subjective purposes. The latter category of scientists, being post-Soviet *pseudointellectuals*, deliberately disregard facts and reality and, using words and language dishonestly and insincerely, oppose the reality of society and create simulacra. This group also form an image of enemy from labor immigrants. This situation is discussed in detail in *Chapter 6: Analysis* (6.6.1) of this thesis.

Here we observe paradoxes of national self-consciousness in Russia. Such paradoxes of national self-consciousness in Russia are largely supported by the state and become state policy. The main difference between Russian nationalism and Western forms of nationalism is that the Russian social and political mainstream, while condemning manifestations of xenophobia and racism, demonstrates an ambivalent connection with this worldview (Umland 2008). The results of my own observations, interviews and discussions with Russian experts (Abashin 2014; Karpenko 2014; Gudkov 2014; Rozanova 2014), as well as numerous scientific studies (Umland 2008; Iarskaia 2012; Mukomel 2014) have shown that the nature of racism in Russia is institutional and is ensured by the constant reproduction of racist ideas through the media and other relevant institutions.

In the analysis on topic of this thesis, due consideration should have been given to the position of the *pseudointellectuals*. If Dyatlov and Grigorichev (2010; 2012) have attempted to conceptualize the words "Tajiks", "black Tajiks", etc., then their attempts are nothing more than the subjective verbal expression of personal ideas. These words do not indicate anything and remain outside the framework of both the rules of the sociological method, as argued by Durkheim (1982) and Weber (1978), and the principles of sociology, as reasoned by modern sociologists (Hollis 1994: 99; Appelrouth 2020: 95). Social facts must be studied without bias or prejudice, and sociologists must respect the objective scientific method (Durkheim 1982: 2). And even if the task of operating concepts is to capture some aspects of the lifeworld under study, then these concepts cannot carry out such a function. These words do not work in a sociological context and should be replaced with more relevant concepts. Unreasonably repeating the same words (Tajiks), the authors gave their research a tautological character. This informs the reader more about the emotional situation of the authors than about the subject of their study. Of interest in their study is a class of concepts called categories. Here it is appropriate to mention the Durkheimian rules of the method (1895) once again. With their help, science encodes the world, giving it coherence and explainability. Accordingly, authors should ask themselves and answer the following rhetorical question: How does a working concept become code?

Perhaps these metaphors ("Tajiks", "Black Tajiks" etc.) were aesthetically appealing for these authors. I would argue these ready-made clichés represent Russian colonial thinking in relation to representatives of a small nation. The authors used metaphorical language as a means of forming and as a function of their own subjective

views. Such a way of using the language is expressed in a certain system of language codes. Decoding them is necessary to understand the possible hatred of Others. In the text of the article, biased assessments often prevailed over an objective analysis of the facts. Reality was seen in the categories of hatred and struggle, as well as "we" and "they", "ours" and "theirs." They often used the methods of humiliating "others", referring to the personality of "others"; their emotional evaluations often prevailed over academic constructive content. However, the content analysis of the text reveals its scientific qualities and value orientations of the authors.

Language symbols and words help us understand the situation and the world. Therefore, language, especially academic language, should be a neutral means of understanding and exchanging information in texts and communications. Symbolic values and their meanings are not derived from the lexical content of words and sentences; they are determined by the specific situation. Language should act as a unifying symbol that ensures the cohesion of one group ("we") in relation to others ("they"). The purposeful use of language means controls not only the attention of the public, but also its opinions, behavior and actions. In this sense, language controls and shapes public opinion. The use of such words is intended to promote certain ideas, have an emotional impact on Others and encourage them to action. In such cases, the implementation of linguistic resources is intentional. I believe that in this article, verbally expressed stereotypes associated with the "Tajiks" are a kind of surrogate for the result of the genuine cognition of reality.

Undoubtedly, the efforts of the authors of such metaphors as "black Tajiks", "gray Tajiks", etc. are aimed at achieving a greater propagandistic and manipulative effect by

using the attractive verbal packaging of their products. At the same time, the authors use a figurative means of language, which allows them not only to influence the intelligence of the population, but also, and perhaps more importantly, to stimulate the dynamics of their emotions and, consequently, to model the behavior of the population in the direction needed for the manipulator. In their articles, the form of the merits of "us" and the inferiority of "them", as well as the mechanisms of their impact on public consciousness, are implemented in the creation of a kind of simulacrum of reality. Hence, I was primarily interested in the degree of objectivity of the metaphorical mirror and the objective picture of Tajik identity, reflected in the metaphorical mirror of Russian authors, regardless of their sympathies and antipathies. Methodologically, even if I sometimes use the term "*Russian*" in connection with violence, the focus of my research is not on the nation or even society, but on meaningful acts of violence and the subjective meaning of social actions committed in Russia.

5.3.3 Theme 3 – Challenges with Illegality

For labor immigrants from Tajikistan, illegal access to Russia is practically absent in comparison, for example, with migrants from Mexico to the United States.

Territorially, Tajikistan is separated from Russia by other countries. How do Tajik labor immigrants become illegal and experience "illegality" in a Russia? Focusing on the experiences of labor immigrants is key to understanding the issues of illegality.

The most famous newspaper in St. Petersburg "*Fontánka.ru*" is in the city center. My appointment was scheduled for one of the June mornings of 2015 in the office with two reporters from that newspaper. I was planning to obtain more information on the Khursheda case (the case is analyzed in the section 1.3). But that day the plan changed;

one of the reporters texted me when I was on my way to their office. I was informed that we must go to *Pionerskaya metro* to the event, which “is a much more interesting case for my research” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2015). The event was called the *Russkaya Zachistka*.¹ It was named so because the members of the organization *cleared* the residents of Russia from immigrants, the *Us* from the *Others*. The members of the organization are called *druzhinnikami*.² They also called themselves the “*voluntary hunters for Gastarbeiter*” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015).

Pionerskaya metro station is in the *Primorsky district* of St. Petersburg. Labor immigrants in St. Petersburg mainly live in “*spal'nyye rayony*” (“bedroom suburbs”), residential areas with undeveloped infrastructure. “If you want “to visit” the Middle Ages, go to these areas; in fact, what we are going to do now...” ([my conversationalist-reporter laughs] Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2015). In such places, the so-called “compact residence of immigrants”, laws cease to be in effect and power passes into the hands of local authorities. On the way to *Pionerskaya*, they explained ‘my duty’ to me: “only to observe, and not to reveal your identity to them as a Tajik... for security reasons” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2015). “The most problematic places in our city are settled neighborhoods. This is where immigrants settle in. But some representatives of your country [Tajikistan] also settled on *Sadovaya* [street], because their fiefdoms [votchiny]³ are *Aprashka* and *Sennoy Rynok* [marketplaces]; on *Bumazhnaya Street* there

¹ *Russkaya Zachistka* is a term meaning “cleansing”, including ethnic cleansing. Earlier, the term *zachistka* was used to refer to violations in the wars in Chechnya (Gilligan 2016). When in 2013-2014 in St. Petersburg *zachistka* operations were conducted against immigrant vendors, the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs regarded it as an “effective measure” (Nikulin 2014). The support for the initiative led to the spread of raids throughout Russian society, including Moscow and St. Petersburg.

² Voluntary organization of citizens helping police to maintain public order.

³ ‘votchina’ is a Russian (historical) word. By using this word, he meant places where Tajik immigrants feel and behave like masters, “masters of the place”.

are mainly Dagestanis and Ingush people [they are Russian citizens]. Along the *Obvodny Canal*, there are many emergency houses and even abandoned factories. These places are also inhabited mainly by people from your country [Tajikistan]; they work in shops and construction sites” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2015).

“It happens that sometimes they [the same diaspora of immigrants] fight each other, and sometimes between diasporas [of immigrants]. Mass fights and sometimes shootouts take place between them for the division of spheres of influence in certain areas of business. Often these fights occur for trivial reasons, for example, because of the mini-bus parking route. For example, recently there was an incident near the *Prospekt Veteranov* metro station. There was a massive brawl between the Dagestanis; all of them were bus drivers. Hot guys could not share who should carry passengers to *Lomonosov* and *Petergof* [the municipal towns in St. Petersburg]. When law enforcement officers separated the furious minibus drivers, one of the police officers was wounded. As a result, 8 of them were detained... Another incident occurred quite recently on *Millionnaya Street* between several Russians and Tajik immigrants. I did not understand what the reason was, but as a result, one Tajik received a serious head injury” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2015).

When we arrived at *Pionerskaya* to observe the *Russkaya Zachistka*, there were many more policemen than *druzhinniki*. It was clear to my conversationalist-reporters why so many police officers had gathered: similar events have already taken place in the city and ended in a huge conflict between Russians and labor immigrants. The police knew it, and in order to avoid conflict, the law enforcement agencies allocated more forces.

Further insights into the forms of violence against the Tajik immigrants can be gained by the focus group interviews that I led in 2015. One of the focus group discussions was moderated by Izzat Amon, a human rights activist for the Tajik diaspora in Moscow. Asking rhetorical questions, he had interpreted the rights of labor immigrants: “The Constitution of the Russian Federation equalizes our rights with Russian citizens. But how it would work in reality? We are stopped everywhere, we are caught everywhere, our rights are being violated at almost every step. Each plane arriving from Tajikistan takes back 20-30 migrants who were denied entry. But in 90% of cases we ourselves are to blame, because we do not know our rights” (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015). The FGD participants have moved on to the topic of registration. And one of them stated the following: “Everyone knows that it’s impossible to register in Moscow without a bribe. I am more than sure that no one sitting here is registered at his place of residence.” Indeed, no one contradicted him. After completing the FGD, I spoke separately with several other labor immigrants from Tajikistan in Russian and Tajik.

I talked with Izzat about job opportunities for Tajik labor immigrants. He began a conversation with a special labor portal for immigrants¹ and why and how this labor portal was organized. Its founder and CEO is Svetlana Salamova, an expert on labor migration. The labor market in Russia, according to Izzat, is completely in the shadow. “There are competent lawyers on migration, but they do not know the labor market. There are other work sites, but they are not interested in immigrant workers” (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015). “Actually, people with decent education

¹ (www.migranto.ru)

and good work experience often come to Russia, but they go to work as janitors, simply because they do not know how to sell their skills.” When I talked to Izzat, a man approached us, thinking that I was perhaps an employer, said: “My name is Farhod, I have been working more than 16 years in the construction industry doing finishing work and facades. I want to work in Moscow or the Moscow Region with a salary of 40,000 rubles”. Farhod is a Tajik immigrant, about the age of forty. “In fact, I still have a job. But we have a lot of guys with documents and without. I was sent here to see if there is a good job”, he explained to me (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015).

When I asked another Tajik immigrant, who was standing next to Farhod if he has a job, he replied: “I have a normal job, but no salary”. He looked younger than Farhod. “We get paid 30 thousand [he used "we" instead of "I"]. And we need to give 5 thousand each month for a patent, 7 for accommodation, 5 for food, 4 thousand for registration. There is less than 10 thousand left. Now, if the salary was at least 45 thousand and with housing, then it all made sense to us.” The name of this young man is Tabrez. According to his story, he is a man of many talents. He has a pharmacist diploma. A year ago, he learned to be a welder, but for the most part, he works on repairing things. He added that he can be an actor: “We shot a film in Tajikistan, but it did not come out, because there was not enough money and equipment” (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015).

Another Tajik immigrant, Nozim, who is a construction worker, does almost the same calculation: “Well, 15 thousand per month for a patent, 3.5 for registration, 3 for a fare, 5 for a meal, if you eat *Doshirak* [instant food products]. Therefore, a salary of less than 45 thousand [rubles] I am not interested in” (Abdusamadov, Focus Group

Discussion, 2015). Indeed, it is difficult to disagree with these calculations. It makes no sense for immigrants to work for less than 40-45 thousand rubles in Moscow.

A Story of a Roushan

On the last day of my second stage of data collection in Moscow (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2016a), when I was preparing for the trip to St. Petersburg, I met Roushan, who briefly told me his story. At the time his story seemed a little strange to me. He could not get a job after having lived in Russia for many years, having his own apartment and all the necessary immigration documents. But he had good reasons for that. When I met Roushan, he was still jobless. Roushan is a citizen of Tajikistan; he is 38 years old, and he is married and has two children, 8 and 14 years old. Like many of his compatriots, he came to Russia in search of a better life for himself and his family. Before moving, he sold his house in Tajikistan and upon arrival in *Podmoskov'ye*, he bought a one-room apartment in the *Lyuberetsky* district. From the first days of their stay in Russia, he and his wife met all the requirements of the migration authorities.

His family was registered at the place of residence in their own apartment, passed the necessary medical examinations and Russian language exam. Roushan received a patent officially giving him the right to work. He got a job as a yard-keeper at the *GUP* “Zhilischnik” [state unitary enterprise] under an employment contract and enrolled his children in the school.

According to Roushan, he never violated a single rule of the law. He is law-abiding, healthy, hardworking, has a family, and is even ready for low-paying jobs. But in November 2015, after checking his documents, the police officers demanded money from Roushan and, having received an indignant refusal, drew up a protocol for

administrative expulsion from the Russian Federation. Roushan was sure he could win in the court by all the rules. “There were about 20 more immigrants in the Lyuberetsky City Court, just like me. We waited there a bit. We were not even summoned to the courtroom, and no one spoke to us. Deportation orders were issued to each of us, but the court's verdict did not specify what exactly was violated. All deportation orders contained the same general phrases such as ‘no notification of confirmation of residence in the Russian Federation’. All my documents were in perfect order; I have my own apartment with a residence permit here, I have a *patent* (Appendix 1), I have my wife and my children go to school ...”. Then Roushan filed a complaint with the Moscow Regional Court. The court issued another, in his words, “even stranger decision. For a non-existent violation, the court imposed a fine of 5 thousand rubles [about US \$75], but the deportation was canceled” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2016a).

When I met Roushan, he had a court decision to cancel the deportation. “But that was not the end of it. The police had refused to execute the court’s decision within two months and did not make appropriate changes to the state information databases”. Roushan kept going to one agency after another, and meanwhile, “the deportation is still hanging in the database.” At the end of his story, Roushan asked a rhetorical question: “So who is the most dangerous for whom – migrants for Russia or Russia for them? That’s why I am telling you that Russia is not the country where [international] labor migrants should come. We are deceived from all sides...” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2016a). This happened with Roushan around 2015 and early 2016. During this period, Russia made some changes to its migration policy and tightened some procedures for labor immigrants. In 2006, on my way home, I met Izzat Amon again and talked to him

briefly. This time we met near the *Sukharevskaya* metro station in Moscow. I asked him about these changes in migration policy and how they might affect the situation of Tajik labor immigrants.

From an interview with Izzat Amon

- “Izzat, the first question: how has the flow of migrants from Tajikistan changed: how many migrants are now arriving to Moscow; has this flow decreased?”

- “Of course. After the legislation [migration policy] was strengthened and pressure on migration [processes] began, both from the State Duma and other state bodies, the flow of migrants from Tajikistan and Central Asia, as well as from other countries to Russia, of course, decreased. We don't have statistics on this, but we can see it. Even on Fridays we see it” [Izzat was referring to Friday prayer, when most of the labor immigrants come for collective prayer at the main mosque on *Prospekt Mira*].

- “However, they are still coming...”

- “Yes, of course, nevertheless, they will come.”

- “Why are they still coming?”

- “Whatever happens, Tajik migrants cannot do without Russia, and Russia won't be able to manage without labor migrants from Tajikistan. Because they need to work, they need to feed their families. In Tajikistan and other countries of Central Asia, from where they come here [Russia], there are unbearable living conditions; there is no work, even if there is work, it gives meager wages that are not enough even for food.”

- “What is the situation with migration policy in Russia in your opinion?”

- “Unfortunately, there was no such policy in Russia, and today there is no such policy. Because, until the beginning of the current century, there were no migrants in

Tajikistan, Russia and other countries of the former USSR. They, citizens of the former *Shouravi* [Soviet Union] are not migrants. They were called fellow countrymen or fellow citizen, compatriots. Migrants are those people who come to another country, a completely unfamiliar place. They do not come to a foreign country, they come to Russia..." [Izzat did not answer my question directly, or perhaps he simply avoided it, that it was an 'incorrect' question].

- "That is, you want to say, they still consider Moscow their capital?"

- "Yes, they still feel Moscow as their capital. Because they know the language [Russian], they understand it. The Russians and Russia are no strangers to them, so they come here, if not to their own homes, but still not to the stranger's home. They are former Soviet citizens; they do not consider themselves to be migrants here [in Russia], because they have a common culture. As for migration policy, there is nothing at all; it is absent, that is, in the last 25 years, when there no longer exists a unified system of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, we still have not formed a consistent, integrated policy and a common view on migration. Even if it is somewhere in the books, the fact is that no policy has been implemented, it is absent. Every day we watch TV, they show us how terrible these migrants are; somewhere they work without documents, and they are caught and shown on TV. Thus, they frighten the population by saying there are many undocumented migrants in Russia. Well, suppose they are without documents. What are they doing here? They are building; they are building Russia, and they are deported; they are expelled, but unfortunately, no one deals with this question, because there is no migration policy in Russia. Nevertheless, migrants come to Russia, come to Moscow. And I get the sense that they come here because here you can somehow circumvent the

law. It is impossible to work illegally in some other European country if you do not process documents properly, but in Russia, you can do something, then find loopholes in the laws, bypass the rules, bribe and get a job somewhere in principle (*December 22, 2016, Moscow, Metro Sukharevskaya*).

5.3.4 Theme 4 – Policy and Immigrant Rights

Basically, labor migration between Tajikistan and Russia is regulated on the Russian side by three federal laws: “On Employment of the Population in the Russian Federation” (Federal Law, 1991), “On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation” (Federal Law, 2007) and the “Agreement Between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan” (Federal Law, 2003). The Agreement refers to labor activity and protection of the rights of citizens of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Tajikistan and citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan in the Russian Federation.

In accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation (Article 37 and Part 3 of Article 62), foreign citizens have the right to dispose of their ability to work, as well as the right to use their property for entrepreneurial activity. This basic constitutional right of foreign citizens is implemented, ensured and protected by migration legislation and other regulatory legal acts adopted in the field of external labor migration. Federal Law defines the status of a *foreign worker* as “a foreign citizen temporarily staying in the Russian Federation and engaged in labor activity in the prescribed manner” and *foreign citizen* as “a natural person who is not a citizen of the Russian Federation and has proof of foreign citizenship or nationality” (FLRF 115-FZ, Chapter I, Article 2).

Russian migration policy (FLRF 2006, 2007, 2011) is focused on temporary labor migration;¹ it does not facilitate the adaptation of immigrants and their integration into Russian society. Russia should not view all immigrants as "temporary"; it should consider long-term and permanent migration as the main one. It is necessary to create a system of migration status, as in developed countries such as the United States and Europe, with an emphasis on resident status. Foreign labor migration will always require integration and adaptation programs. It seems to me that Russia has a great immigration potential, but the imperfection of the migration legislation and policy and the underdevelopment of the migration infrastructure testifies to the low migration attractiveness of the country. An underdeveloped migration infrastructure and migration policy limiting the period of stay in Russia leads to disorder for a large number of migrants, their legal insecurity, vulnerability and social marginalization. It also becomes a reason for the negative attitude towards them on the part of the population of Russia. During fieldwork when I have been in *Rostov-on-Don*, I visited the Russian-Ukrainian border to see how Tajik labor immigrants extend their stay in Russia by simply crossing the border. The section was in the urban-type settlement *Chertkovo* (from the Ukrainian side, the same settlement is called *Melovoe*). At the border, I learned from a Russian checkpoint officer that about 1 million labor immigrants have been living in Russia for a long time and cannot obtain a temporary residence permit or a residence permit without crossing the border (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014).

¹ Federal Law No. 109 "On Migration Registration of Foreign Citizens and Stateless Persons in the Russian Federation" (amended on December 22, 2014) states: "The allowed time of stay in Russia for citizens of Tajikistan is 90 days from the date of entry into the Russian Federation. After 90 days, a citizen of Tajikistan must leave Russia for 3 months or extend the migration registration, if he has a reason for it."

Only in 2006 did the Russian authorities realize the importance of labor migration and its regulation. The new labor migration law was adopted on July 18, 2006 and entered into force on January 15, 2007 (Laruelle 2008: 70). The new policy reduces the requirements for obtaining work permits for those labor migrants who cross the border legally. In fact, this is for those who come from countries that do not need visas to enter Russia. Tajikistan is one such country. Yet in 2006, out of millions of illegal immigrants, only slightly more than 700,000 foreigners received work permits (Laruelle 2007:104; Jani 2007). The law also established quotas for labor migrants. In 2008 the number of quotas was fixed at only two million (Marat 2008). These quotas apply only to those labor migrants who come from visa-free countries to enter Russia. To allay the xenophobic sentiments of Russian citizens, on April 1, 2007, another law came into force limiting the number of foreigners in bazaars and markets. But the law turned out to be less effective for some Russian citizens and was enacted depending on the popular attitude towards immigrants in cities. However, it also led to a deterioration in the working conditions of Tajik labor immigrants in marketplaces (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014a, 2014c). The law came into force when, in October, 2006, Russian president Putin denounced “semi-gangs, some of them ethnic” immigrants who control the wholesale and retail markets in Russia, and that those markets should be regulated “with a view to protect the interests of Russian producers and those of the native population of Russia” (Myers 2006). This policy was in line with the xenophobic slogans of nationalists and skinhead groups (Shenfield 2016: 74). Obviously, such restrictive and prohibitive anti-immigration policies encourage violent acts by skinhead groups.

Current migration policy itself pushes immigrants to work without official permission or to live in violation of the rules of residence. It turns the problems of integration and adaptation of labor immigrants and their family members into one of the most complex social problems. The current Russian migration policy lacks state integration programs and regulation of the civil and legal status of labor immigrants. The isolation of labor immigrants from the host society leads to negative attitudes towards immigrants, encourages and condones xenophobic hostility and violence. Surveys by the Levada Center show that if in 1998 43% of respondents were positive about the idea of “Russia for Russians”, then in 2011 this percentage increased to 58% (Levada Centre 2012). And new procedures in migration policy, which came into force on January 1, 2015, reduced the number of Tajik labor immigrants in Russia. It can be assumed that the new legislation, requiring preliminary financial investments (purchase of a patent, confirmation of knowledge of the Russian language and culture, etc.), forced them to refrain from traveling to Russia for a while. Many immigrants I interviewed, borrowed from a bank or relatives, even before 2015, to cover travel expenses (FGD 2015). An explanation for this can be found in the migration legislation. As I have already noted, Russian migration legislation is primarily focused on the influx of temporary foreign workers, who in Russian society are commonly called '*Gastarbeiter*'. The fact is that there are no state programs for permanent migration in Russian legislation. Accordingly, the concept of “labor migrant” or “immigrant” has not received a legislative definition (Decree 2018).

The migration legislation meets neither the real needs of foreign labor immigrants, nor the interests of employers. The recruitment procedure for temporary

labor migrants is ineffective; employment contracts with immigrants are limited to 1 year. There are no special programs for seasonal migration, even if the migration legislation is focused on temporary foreign workers. Such a legislative system, adapted to Soviet times, is just an additional bureaucratic procedure (Bisson 2016; Bahovadinova 2016; Chudinovskikh and Denisenko 2017; Malakhov 2017; 2019) separating immigrants and employers. It is clear that migration policy, fueled by significant disregard for the rights of immigrants and disrespect for the norms and practice of international rights of immigrant workers, leads to structural violence (Light 2010:277).

5.3.5 Theme 5 – Police and Immigrant Rights

“[There is] no respect for Tajiks. All we want is just a little respect. The price of Tajiks in Russia is equal to socks. Life is dangerous here” – Tajik immigrant, Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015.

Qurbon is 22 years old; he is from a small village near *Khujand* of Tajikistan, speaks very bad Russian: “There is nowhere to work at home. Partly, money was raised by my relatives, the other part was given to me by my older brother who works in *Podmoskovye* [Moscow Oblast]. I decided to take the train at the end of May and arrived here [Moscow] in June. On the way, I saw a lot. First, the Kazakh border guards wanted to place me in a *SIZO* [*sledstvennyy izolyator*, pre-trial detention center], saying that I did not have enough documents and I had to pay. A few stops before Moscow, some other people who introduced themselves as “fellow countrymen”, got on the train with different proposals; someone handed out SIM cards [for mobile phones]; someone exchanged currency, and someone promised a job and a bed. At the same time, they promised to come to an agreement with law enforcement agencies in order to facilitate our further

trip. In fact, the extortion had already begun at the Khujand train station; the police sell train tickets three times more expensive, customs, border guards, and then the conductors themselves [ask to pay a bribe]. The same story [continues] in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and all the way to the Moscow terminal station. Plus 30% of migrants' earnings take intermediaries” (Qurbon 2014). Karimjon Erov told me that some “leaders of the diaspora” who came to Russia many years ago “parasitize their own people,” that is, they rob and exploit their own fellow citizens, mainly inexperienced “newcomers” (Erov 2014).

My conversation with Qurbon was completely accidental; when he was visiting the “*Tojik Diaspora*” of Karomat Sharipov, I was already there. He arrived there with his friend, who had arrived earlier in Moscow. His friend Khurshed worked at a construction site. “I invited Qurbon, he is an old friend of mine. I work here as a bricklayer and earn 50-60 thousand a month. I send half home to my family (my wife and two sons), pay 5 thousand [rubles] for an apartment in *Lyubertsy* [a city in the *Moscow Oblast*], where I spend the night with four other builders. It is better here than at home; there is a computer, washing machine, refrigerator, TV. Last year I lived in a dormitory of some institute that we were renovating. Now, at the beginning of each month, our brigadier collects 3 thousand [rubles] from us so that the district police officer does not touch us [not bother us]. I am satisfied with my job, but I want to learn how to be a driver, then I can earn another 20 thousand” (Khurshed 2014).

5.3.6 Theme 6 – A *Patent* and Deportation

What is a *patent* for work in Russia? An application for a labor patent (Appendix 1) and a patent (Appendix 2) for work for foreigners contains information of a profession

and a place as the *subject*¹ of the Russian Federation for the implementation of labor activities.

Since January 1, 2015, work permits are issued only to foreign citizens who need a visa. For citizens arriving in Russia in a visa-free regime, a patent is required. In the absence of the patent, the labor activity of a foreign citizen will be considered illegal (FLRF No. 115). In Article 1 of Federal Law “On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation” it is referred to as a "patent" (FLRF No. 115). It is named the same in the document itself (Appendix 2). It is not called a 'labor patent' or a 'work patent' in any official document, although it is written that way in the media and even in some scientific works as *trudovoy patent* (work patent). In addition to the "patent" there is a *razresheniye na rabotu* ('work permit') that allows a foreign national to be legally employed in the Russian Federation. How is a patent different from a work permit? A patent can be used to perform work or services for one's self or household, as well as other services not related to the implementation of business activities. The use of a patent or the labor of foreign workers holding a patent for business purposes is a violation of migration legislation. In this case, administrative responsibility lies on an immigrant and the employer in the form of a fine and expulsion of a foreign citizen from the country (Kozhevnikov 2019).

The marking of the name of the territorial unit (*subject*) of Russia in the patent of labor immigrants is considered by many experts as a violation of the natural rights of immigrants (Chupik 2015; Amon 2015). Migration itself is an objective phenomenon. The objectivity of the migration process is explained by the fact that territorial

¹ *Subyekty federatsii*. The name of the territorial units. The subjects of the Russian Federation are the top-level political divisions according to the Constitution of Russia.

movements of the population are an inevitable process of human civilization. This means that population displacement is an inalienable and natural human right. Each stage of the mobility of labor immigrants and their territorial movement, if it is not forced migration, is the right of immigrants. At an early stage of migration mobility, an immigrant may realize the need for territorial movement. Then, at the next stage, possible movement of an immigrant to a new place occurs. That is, the movement is carried out voluntarily by residing in a new place with the intention of staying there and improving the material and social situation.

Tajikistan is one of the key providers in the Russian labor market among other CIS countries. In 2015, according to the Federal Migration Service, almost 1.8 million patents were issued to labor immigrants; 24% of them were granted to citizens of Tajikistan (FMS 2016). However, most Tajik immigrants do not see Russia as a possible new homeland (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015a; Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2016b). For them, Russia is exclusively a place of work, which is beneficial not only to the labor immigrants themselves, but also to the political elite of Tajikistan.

5.3.7 Theme 7 – Legal Violence

This section focuses on the role of the state and its structures in legitimizing and facilitating migration-based violence. Here I examine how the state promotes violence against immigrants, what is the relationship between migration and violence, and how does Russia in this context respond to the rights of labor immigrants? Another section of this chapter (5.2.8) also looks at state complicity and its role in escalating xenophobia and contributing to violence. By analyzing state-sanctioned violence and focusing on

institutional and structural forms of violence, I also shed light on the lived experience of labor immigrants.

I focus on the basic parameters of violence as a sociological construct. In my fieldwork, I examined the various cases and scales of how violence operates against migrant workers as a mechanism through which the state stabilizes society. We see that such institutionalization of violence and the ambiguous role of state creates conditions favorable to the emergence of the institutionalizing of youth organizations and movements, such as Nashi which alludes to Nazism (Tarasov 2001; 2008, Clarke 2006). Nashi, meaning “ours”, has been compared to the Hitler Youth (Saunders et al, 2010: 401). In an example of "Nashi" we see how violence could endure within the state institutions and structures. I argue that the normalization or institutionalization of violence against labor immigrants in Russia (Berman 2013; details in the Section 6.7.1) at the beginning of the 21st century was the result of a broader historical cultural process. Modern everyday life was affected by it, influencing the ways people think about violence and fighting it. To emphasize the historical roots of contemporary migration violence, I go over problematics and analyze it as something different from construct, but originated in the framework of the same cultural process. I will present the empirical data that form the basis for analyzing the historical roots of contemporary violence, and give an overview of their content.

The lack of institutional control over violent behavior against foreigners contributes not only to an increase in such behavior, but also to the normalization of violence in society (Berman 2013). Therefore, I also want to put the emphasis on the phenomenological notion of meaning (*sens*), asking how violence against labor

immigrants can be meaningful in my study. Thus, I re-approach violence based on the lived experience of labor immigrants, and rely on the concepts of “experience”, “everyday” and “problematic”. I describe the “problematic” in terms used by the labor immigrants themselves in their daily lives. This identifies the “everyday” and “violence” within which their experience is located.

In a broad sense, the conditions for the escalation of violence are derivatives of the existing policy of the Russian state, focused on the radical market modernization of the country. This creates an aggressive and conflicting social context in which the violence that arise between immigrants and the host population are most often regulated through a balance of power. Most often, such contradictions occur in the labor markets or in relation to them (FGD 2015). I will continue my discussion of legal violence in more detail in the Section *Monopoly on Violence*, 6.6.3.

5.3.8 Theme 8 – Xenophobia

Much has been written about racism and xenophobia in Russia. I have noted some of these works in the *Literature Review* section. But there are facts related to this phenomenon that not all researchers want to write about. After reading the manuscripts of the first version of my dissertation, one of the reader-reviewers asked me if I really connected the perpetration of acts of violence against immigrants in Russia with the authorities. She asked me why I described it as “*state-sanctioned violence*”. The evidence is visible, observable and partly confirmed by experts. I have discussed some of its elements in previous chapters. Some of the evidence comes from the narratives of the labor immigrants themselves, while others are based on the available literature. Furthermore, it is very remarkable that if European racism and the skinhead movement

emerged from the proletarian consciousness and the working class, then Russian skinheads come from the educated middle class in urban centers (Tarasov 2008; Berman 2013; Camus and Lebourg 2017: 108). Therefore, the most challenging aspect of the Khursheda case in my study (details in *Section 1.3*) was examining how the behavior of those young murderers was shaped by social structures, such as family, friends, neighbors, communities and other groups.

Skinhead culture is a xenophobic culture. A person with xenophobic behavior is opposed to strangers on both cultural and confessional lines. If xenophobia is interpreted as *fear of a stranger*, then it is understood as a herd, tribal and pre-reasonable feeling (Arnold 2016). In this regard, below I would like to analyze some documentaries (Pendry and Kemp 2007; Antonevich 2016) based on the facts and observations of their authors. I was informed about these documentaries at one of the focus groups (FGD 2015a).

After a video of the brutal murder of two immigrants – a Tajik and a Dagestani – was posted online, Russian Nazis openly claimed responsibility for this act of extreme violence. The video shows one of the skinheads shouting *Slava Rossii* [glory to Russia] and shooting a Tajik immigrant in the back of the head. But Russian law enforcement agencies were reluctant to investigate the case. One Israeli filmmaker decided to independently investigate the case in order to find and expose the killers. He has been investigating the case for 6 years. However, his documentary results in an ominous picture. He concludes that many unsolved hate crimes committed in Russia go unpunished, because they were committed with the assistance of the authorities. I believe that some of the labor immigrants are aware of this fact. They know that if they say it in public or even tell me in an interview, they will be in great trouble. They hint at this fact,

but do not elaborate (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015d). As scholars (Tarasov 2001; Clarke 2006) observe, skinhead culture is centered around the concepts of “community” and “territory.” Clarke notes that “the skinhead style represents an attempt to recreate the traditional working-class community as a replacement for the real decline of the latter since the 1960s” (Clarke 2006: 80).

Russia is one of the three countries with the most negative attitudes towards immigrants (Mastikova 2019: 56). The skinhead subculture, known in Russian as *skinkhedy*, appeared in 1992 in Moscow (Tarasov 2001: 52). If xenophobia and hatred of strangers is not only a Russian phenomenon, then *Russia for Russians* is a unique Russian phenomenon. In my interview, Russian expert Lev Gudkov (2014) argued that the overall level of ethnic hatred in Russia is two to three times higher than in most other European countries. Xenophobia is on the rise in Russia. However, the Russian media pays attention only to extreme manifestations of radical nationalism and Nazism. Expert opinion is less and less represented in the media (Gudkov 2014; Chapman et al. 2018).

Ross Kemp on Gangs (2007) begins with these words: “We have come to Russia, a country where the extreme rights are on the rise. Violent attacks on immigrants by neo-Nazi gangs happen *every day* [emphasis added]. It staggers me that in a country who lost millions of people to the Nazis during World War two, these gangs exist. So, I've come here to find out why. My journey begins in my hotel room. I know these gangs have a presence on the Internet. Disturbingly it doesn't take me long to find skinhead sites showing videos of their racist attacks [his laptop screen shows the site of *Format 18*]”¹

¹ *Format18* is a neo-Nazi group based in Moscow. The group was founded by the neo-Nazi Maxim Martsinkevich, nicknamed Tesak.

(Pendry and Kemp 2007). Ross's documentary reminded me of the book *Gang Leader for a Day* (Venkatesh 2008) I read in graduate school.

In Russian society, hatred of Tajiks is vast. Tajiks are especially hated by Russian skinheads. Even the headlines of articles in the media indicate it (Ivanova 2015). The attack on Khursheda and his relatives (details in Section 1.3) was not the result of phobia; it was the result of hatred. The term xenophobia no longer refers to the fear of outsiders, but it "is associated with ethnocentrism, which is characterized by the relationship of one group or culture to others" (Yakushko 2009: 44). In 2012, 62 Tajiks were killed abroad, 94 in 2013, 59 in 2014, 49 in 2015, 56 in 2016, 49 in 2017 and 27 in 2018. Data on these murders and the protection of the rights of immigrants are not published. These figures are based on the report of the Tajik government to the OHCHR (Taghizada 2019).

Below, I will first structurally identify nativists' backlash and the emergence of young nationalist movements and the meanings of skinhead in the context of Russian post-Soviet politics: "I was very happy that they killed her", "I was very glad that she was killed" (Traill 2016: 16). These words were expressed by a Russian girl, Lena, about the murder of nine-year-old Khursheda from Tajikistan. Lena is a seventeen-year-old law student, an active member of the People's National Party. Next we hear these words: "She'd just grow up to sell drugs like her father or cheat or beg or do some other shit. Nobody says 'Don't kill a little rat, it's done nothing.' It will when it grows up. Why not kill it while it's small?" (Traill 2016: 17). "In fact, I was very happy that they killed her though many ordinary people said it was bestial. But, as a result of them beating her, her mother said she'd never come to Russia again. That's a positive change. We've done something." (Traill 2016: 18).

Throughout my research, I have often used the phrase "a section of the Russian population". By this phrase I meant the young adult generation of Russians born after 1981, whose independent life began in the 2000s. American authors Neil Howe and William Strauss (2009) called them *millennials*. These young people are the engine of social change. In the post-Soviet context, this new generation of youth has a huge impact on social interaction and communication between people from different countries. It was these "zero-tolerance millennials" who became the engines of violence in post-Soviet Russian society. While nationalism is outdated for most millennials, and *Homo Sovieticus* are people of the past, the emergence of youth organizations like Nashi demonstrates a new perception of the nation (Tarasov 2008: 36). Today, patriotism in Russia is understood as nationalism. It has developed in the first decades of the 21st century as a product of radical nationalist ideology. And the emergence of modern Russian skinheads is the outcome of that ideology (Pilkington and Omelchenko 2010: 99-101).

5.3 9 Theme 9 – Labor Exploitation

Only half of the interviewed immigrants consider their working conditions as normal. Most of them consider 60 hours of work per week is normal too. However, their understanding of the idea of normal differs significantly from international labor standards. The most common violations of labor standards are the excessive working hours and poor working conditions of labor immigrants in Russia (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014f; Jurayeva 2014; Chupik 2015; FN 2015c). On average, 20% of interviewed labor immigrants cannot freely quit their jobs and leave for their countries due to the confiscation of their passports (Chupik 2015). According to the Constitution of the

Russian Federation (articles 34, 37) and the Labor Code of the Russian Federation (FLRF 2001: articles 2, 4), as well as the norms of international human rights law, such as the UDHR (articles 4, 23) and the ECHR (article 4), such work is considered unfree labor. The seizure of documents (basically passports) is the most common form of control and manipulation of employees. Every tenth migrant in Moscow reported that their passport is with the employer. About the same number (20%) of migrants do not have the opportunity to move around the city freely and are practically in an underground situation because of the lack of registration or illegality of hiring. Since the absolute majority of migrants work informally, that is, without an employment contract, they have virtually no chance of legitimately upholding their rights, including the right to pay the labor remuneration due (Chupik 2015). According to labor immigrants, deception in the calculation of their salary is quite frequent. In such cases the most popular solution for the Tajik immigrants is to appeal to non-governmental organizations, for example, the *Center for Migration and Law* (Amon 2014a; Jurayeva 2014; Sharipov 2014).

Employers usually do not enter into contracts with immigrants, or if they do it, they do it only unofficially, that is between each other (FGD 2015, 2015a). It is very beneficial for employers: an absence of any official documents on the hiring of foreign workers *de jure* means the absence of any relations of the employer with migrants according to the well-known principle of “*net cheloveka – net problemy*” [no man, no problem] (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014d). That is, in case of any trouble, the administration does not have any formal relationship with these hired immigrant workers. Employers do not directly hire them; there are the *brigadiry* [‘taskmasters’], who usually engage in this activity. These taskmasters organize groups of immigrants. They bring in

many groups and assign them to construction sites. Besides concluding contracts with immigrants, taskmasters settle cash settlements with the customers and groups:

“*Brigadiry* control the day of payment, they collect money on the day of payment, give them to the employees and leave to themselves a certain share” (Chupik 2015). Such a narrow group of taskmasters is formed from the most enterprising and locally adapted migrants, who concentrate in their hands the key functions for organizing the economic interaction of the migrants and employers. Representatives of this layer are significantly different from ordinary migrant workers, both outwardly and by income level: “As a rule, they [*brigadiry*] are more experienced, more qualified. Well, that's what I say in my personal practice. They are more knowledgeable; they speak well, they dress well, etc. I know that taskmasters earn very well. These are the ones who are masters, foremen. They earn very well, much more than us. Well, hundreds of thousands they earn over the summer period only, hundreds of thousands” (Chupik 2015). Thus, the taskmasters perform for the immigrant workers the role of intermediaries. Such a complex organizational structure of the immigrant group and a narrow group of taskmasters performing the function of mediators provides a breeding ground for the formation of such a system, on the one hand, facilitating the adaptation of immigrant workers into the host society, and, on the other hand, distancing ordinary immigrants from direct interaction with employers and local communities.

CHAPTER 6: DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

In this chapter, I classify my understanding of violence against Tajik labor immigrants into three levels of analysis. At the first level, violence is explained as a phenomenon of attitude towards *Others*. At the second level, using modern approaches (Robarts 2008; Hoang 2017), I tried to explain violence by the very nature of the migration regime. At the third level, I look at the role of systemic factors in anti-immigrant violence, or the role of the *systema*, as noted by British sociologist Ledeneva (2013). The system influences state behavior. There is no other supreme body than the state that governs violence. But the Russian *systema* works for the common good (*v interesakh dela*) of *Ours* (Ledeneva 2013: 50).

6.1 Three Levels of Analysis

Based on the analysis framework (3.5.1) throughout my research, I have used the following steps to analyze interviews, focus groups and narratives:

- Since the field research was carried out in three languages (mainly in Russian), I read the original and the translation of the transcripts several times;
- The narratives and excerpts related to the main phenomenon of the study, anti-immigrant violence, were identified and thematized during the initial review of the transcripts;
- These themes were used to develop a descriptive thematic interpretation of the actions of Russian residents, and the actions and experiences of labor immigrants;

- I focused on the nuances and multiplicity of violence, on the actual words of actors and labor immigrants;
- During my analysis, I have always emphasized the rigor of the phenomenological approach (section 3.3.1);
- Critical thinking and interpretation have been an integral process of my research.

6.1.1 Level 1 Analysis: Observation and Mediated Data

Why do most Muscovites hate labor immigrants from Tajikistan? This was one of the main issues discussed at the focus group meeting with Tajik immigrants in Moscow in February 2015. There is a complex of factors influencing aggressive behavior and violence against Tajik immigrants, which can be divided into two groups; I would call them the historical aspects of *unverified* and *verified* factors.

The first group is mainly based on the historical context of the interethnic interaction of Russians with Tajiks. Basically, they are rooted in historical events, such as the intervention of the Red Army in the territory of Central Asia at the beginning of the twentieth century and the suppression of the *Basmachestvo* (Basmachi movement), the liquidation of the newly formed republic as a result of *natsionalno-territorialnoye razmezhevaniye* (national-territorial delimitation),¹ *korenizaciya* (nativization) and *rusifikatsiya* (Russification) policies, as well as Soviet ethnic cleansing and Stalin's repressive policies (Weitz 2002; Chang 2019).

¹ The Russian term *natsionalnoye razmezhevanie* for state policy is not the same as the concept of nation-building in that a nation is defined as a social construct, and political and national units are harmonized, as modern scholars believe (Laitin et al. 2007, Gellner 2009). I have put a short description of it in this subsection.

Russians considered the Soviet Union their country. They “regarded themselves as a “chosen people,” rode roughshod over traditions” of other non-Russian Soviet peoples (Hosking, 2009:227). The USSR was even called ‘Soviet Russia’, where Russians were considered *starshiy brat* [big brother] in relation to other non-Russian Soviet peoples (Suny 2012: 17). Perhaps this idea of imperial thinking and Russian nationalism is related to Stalin, who gave Russians the status of ‘*pervym sredi ravnykh*’ [first among equals].¹ Awareness, and sometimes unawareness, of the complexity of all these historical factors, as well as the often-one-sided interpretation of these events through television and the media by Russian politicians, have generated a kind of *conscious* and subconscious hostility towards Tajiks in the Russian public sphere.

In addition, some authors circulated false and undocumented information that an ethnic cleansing of Russians took place in Tajikistan in the 1990s. Following the riots in the early 1990s in Dushanbe, which led to the civil war in Tajikistan, there were reports in the media of alleged anti-Russian pogroms in the city. The names of the authors of two of these reports are Vladimir Starikov and Pyotr Chernov, former residents of Dushanbe. But their identity is unknown, although one of them, according to his written article *Dolgaya doroga v Rossiyu* (The Long Way to Russia), lived in the Kirov Oblast of Russia. In his article, he stated the following: “they [Tajiks] dragged Russian women out of buses and trolleybuses and raped them”; “Anti-Russian pogroms swept across the city. The main slogans of the rioters were “Tajikistan for Tajiks!” and “Russians, Go to your Russia!” Russians were robbed, raped and murdered even in their own apartments. No

¹ George Orwell used a version of this phrase in his novel *Animal Farm* (1996: 25) as “all are equal, but some are more equal than others”.

children were spared” (Starikov 2014).¹ This author even speaks of the genocide of the Russians: “All this taken together clearly falls under the definition of genocide. Genocide of the Russian diaspora in Tajikistan in the 1990s” (Starikov 2014). Later in the same article, he quotes another slogan on behalf of the Tajiks: “Russians, do not leave, we need slaves!” (“*Russkiye, ne uyezzhayte – nam muzhny raby!*”) (Starikov 2014), which is in no way consistent with the previously mentioned slogans. But no one else wrote or spoke about this, even those who wrote scientific articles and books about the Tajikistan of that period (Akiner et al. 2013, Dagiev 2013, Epkenhans 2016, Gudkov 1993). Paul Bergne, who was the British Ambassador to Tajikistan in the early 1990s and published the book, did not even hint at this in his book (Bergne 2007).

These reports had no reliable sources and these allegations did not correspond to reality. However, I was curious to find the roots of this false information. It is as if a *LiveJournal* blogger publishes such a report on his blog, referring to another blogger, and another to another, and thus at the end of the search, you again return to the same first blogger as it is called *flist* (*friends list*). That is, these bloggers quote each other without any credible information sources. And then the bloggers posted the same information on their blogs under different headings, such as “*Expulsion of Russians from Tajikistan*”,² “*Tajikistan 1990. Memoirs of Eyewitnesses*”,³ “*Genocide of Russians in Tajikistan*”,⁴ and so on. However, these reports and posts cannot be ignored because they affect the minds

¹ While, I believe, this name is fictitious, I have used it here and below to exemplify my content analysis. The date I affixed for this author’s resource is the date that resource was used.

² *Izgnaniye russkikh iz Tadzhikistana* (Expulsion of Russians from Tajikistan) <https://yaslyam-da.livejournal.com/77162.html>

³ *Tadzhikistan 1990. Vospominaniya ochevidtsev* (Tajikistan 1990. Memoirs of Eyewitnesses) <https://dobryiviewer.livejournal.com/282232.html>

⁴ *Genotsid russkikh v Tadzhikistane* (Genocide of Russians in Tajikistan) <https://simplicius.livejournal.com/54153.html>

of a certain audience, primarily the Russian audience. Hence, hatred based on the 'authors of false reports' and some other messages that are not supported by facts, I call *unverified* factors and mechanisms for generating a climate of hatred and violence. And these materials are printed and reprinted to this day. Recently the largest e-book market in Russia *LitRes* has published another xenophobic work on this topic (Ignasheva 2018). The book repeats false information about the genocide of Russians that allegedly took place in Tajikistan in the 1990s.

In everyday types of communication actions between labor immigrants of Tajikistan and citizens of Russia, I observed two extremes of the behavior model; on the one hand, the passivity of labor immigrants and, on the other hand, the aggression of local people in relation to labor immigrants (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014c; Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015e). Passivity and aggression are used almost continuously and significantly interfere with the social functions and relationships between these groups. In the first case, an immigrant voluntarily assumes the role of a victim with fear of self-doubt, fear of change or of losing what has already been acquired. In the second case, there is a clear desire to manipulate immigrants, subordinating them to their own host-country interests. In this case, the aggressor is guided by the principle 'you owe me because I am stronger.' But the labor immigrant in the first case is guided by the principle 'you owe me because I am weak', assuming that the weak need to be supported. But relationships between these two groups must be based on a fundamentally different principle: 'I do not owe you anything, and you do not owe me anything, we are partners.' Such a relationship is only possible if labor immigrants know their rights, and initiate and maintain comfortable relations with the host residents.

During my fieldwork, I observed the tragic deaths of labor immigrants and the horrors experienced by their relatives (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014b). I have seen and talked with young, Tajik labor immigrants stranded at borders (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015), stuck at Domodedovo Airport, and with those immigrants who entered Russia and were deported on the same day (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014b). Violence against Tajik immigrants by border guards at the police station of Moscow Domodedovo Airport, poses additional threats to other labor migrants (FIDH 2014).

6.1.2 Level 2 Analysis: Interpretation and Understanding

Whenever there is an incident with immigrants, experts first begin to discuss structural violations of the rights of labor immigrants based on existing laws and policies, as is done in this dissertation. In fact, the rights of labor immigrants in Russia have never coincided with international human rights (Light 2010), since we see massive and persistent violations of the rights of immigrants. “Hundreds of immigrants were moved to *Sakharovo [Moscow Migration Center]*, where they were held and tortured as slaves” (Amon 2015).

How can we better understand violence experienced by labor immigrants? What is the migration experience of Tajik labor immigrants? I have always thought that the answers of immigrants to such questions capture the ambiguity of their lived experience and allow me to see their intersubjective lifeworld in new and deeper ways. But I noticed that whenever I ask this question to Tajik immigrants, many of them associate their migration experience with their identity and pride in being Tajik. Below are three narratives, transcribed and translated from the Tajik and Russian languages. The narratives were analyzed using content analysis, guided by the principles of

phenomenological interpretive understanding. All sentences of the narratives described below are the fragments of the ‘biographical situation’ of the respondents to open-ended interview questions, for example ‘*Tell me about your daily life related to the violence you have been subjected to*’. They were audiotaped, transcribed and translated into English. The narrators’ stories were used to identify the *meaning units* that emerged from the ‘reasons why’ and from the ‘reasons for’ (Schutz 1999: 28). These fragments were selected from individual and focus group interviews, when narrators changed the content of the interview to “*because motives*” or “*in-order-to motives*” (Schutz 1972: 26) as they saw fit and made up a narrative of their national identity. In the excerpts below, the meaning units were the words of *nation* and *nationality* spoken by Tajik labor immigrants during interviews. They told a story about themselves as representatives of Tajiks, their experience of being a Tajik and its role in their lives, their experience of communication with Russians and representatives of other nations, and any other events related to their nation. The motivational theory of Schutz was used to understand the stories of labor immigrants, as well as discuss the findings. Thus, national identity is correlated not only at the level of perception, but also at the level of narration. In other words, national identity is, first of all, a narrative that the holder of identity tells, and not distributed by the media of communication and indoctrination. The following are texts of three narratives with the authors' sentence structure preserved. For the convenience of conducting narrative analysis each sentence is assigned a serial number indicated in parentheses before the beginning of the relevant sentence.

Narrative 1. (1.1.) *I am Tajik and I belong to not the “highest” nation in the world. (1.2.) It has a bunch of flaws, but I like my nation and I am proud that I belong to*

this nation. (1.3.) And I do not care what the world community thinks about it [my nation and my identity]. (1.4.) My nation is no worse than the rest [of nations]. (1.5.) Our athletes [Tajiks] take prizes in the World Championships. (1.6.) Although in many sports “strangers” advocate for our country [nation] (1.7.) But ours [Tajiks] play somewhere overseas, are successful, but in Tajikistan many don’t even know them and have never heard of them, except for the fans. (1.8.) I come to Russia to earn money, but mostly I live in Tajikistan and live well. (1.9.) The Republic of Tajikistan can be called the “home of the Tajik nation”, and what is happening in our country should be like this [as it is], and it should not be equal to others, it must be free and independent. (1.10.) I think this applies to all nations (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015a).

Narrative 2. (2.1.) Awareness of my nationality came from the nationality of my parents, recognition of my nationality by other people and my personal perception. (2.2.) This is my perception of my nation. (2.3.) It plays a huge role in my life. Russians and other foreigners make the first impression of Tajik identity when they know me and learn my nationality. (2.4.) We, Tajiks, are famous for tolerance and this is good. (2.5.) I observe some traditions of my nation, because it is complemented by other traditions introduced by the new generation (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2015c).

Narrative 3. (3.1.) I am a Tajik and I am very proud of it. (3.2.) I do not want to lose my nationality and I will hold on to it with my arms and legs. (3.3.) First, because I was born in Tajikistan and will return there. (3.4.) Secondly, other nations have a completely different culture. (3.5.) I agree to do everything so that our nation does not die, that it is the best and different from other nations. (3.6.) I have little experience in contacting other nations. (3.7.) Mostly I communicate with Russians. (3.8.) Today we are

forced to move here [Russia] and earn money. (3.9.) In principle, we understand each other [Tajiks and Russians], there are no differences as such, but still I would not want to live here; I want to back to my homeland, it is closer and dearer to me; I will never exchange it for another [state] (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2014b; Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015).

These narratives have identified three facets of national identity. Structurally, as we see, these sentences are fragmented without a linear narrative and often with interconnected stories. The storyline of narrative 2 can be described as a fragment of the biographical situation and ‘a narrative about the experience of national identity’ and tells almost exclusively about the phenomenological, and not about the reflexive level of identity. Hence, a useful starting point in seeking an understanding of the experiences of labor immigrants and the meanings that they attach to them is a use of social constructs that they themselves create in the process of their narratives, when they describe their experiences, and try to fit them into the realities that make up their lifeworld. Constructs created by labor immigrants’ experience and their ideas about the reality based on their observation allow them not only to explain the behavior of other people, but also to project their own behavior. Constructs are used as ideas to interpret and explain reality, or even predict experience from the point of view of similarity and contrast (for example, in narratives described above as “good-bad”, “we-they”).

The sentence (2.1.) lists three fundamentally different factors in the formation of national identity, but, apparently, such a configuration is not problematic for the narrator. Respect for national traditions (2.5.), in my opinion, provides general consistency in the

experience of the narrator of his past (2.1.), present (2.1. and 2.4.) and, to a lesser extent, the anticipated future (2.5.).

The texts of the third narrative principally describe the patriotic feelings of the narrator. His goal is to temporarily stay in Russia (3.3), focusing on his nation and origin (3.5), as well as on the social reality he faces (3.8). He stresses the importance of the homeland (3.3) but notes some similarities between Tajiks and Russians (3.9). The words of nation, nationality, culture, homeland, place of birth and loyalty to them were significant units.

Narrative 1 is dominated by ethical issues and, accordingly, the events described are not directly experienced, but have a more reflectively mediated nature (sentences 1.5. – 1.7.) and occur in the present time, corresponding to the absolute necessity of ethical laws. The main storyline of narrative 1 can be described as ‘a narrative about the ethical adequacy of the nation’, the final one being affirmed in the sentence 1.9.

6.1.3 Level 3 Analysis: Understanding and Re-Interpretation

Residents of Russia are generally hostile to immigrants from Central Asia, and ethnic Russians are more hostile than non-Russians (Ruget and Usmanalieva 2010; Alekseev, 2010; Gorodzeisky et al., 2014). Based on my observation, one of the main factors of anti-immigrant and xenophobic attitudes towards labor immigrants, especially Tajik immigrants, is the growth of their number in Russian cities and regions. This argument is supported by other literature sources of the theory of group threats (Mayda 2006, Levada Centre 2013, Carter and Lippard 2015). In fact, most Tajik labor immigrants live and work in Moscow and St. Petersburg. However, they do not

predominate either in Moscow or St. Petersburg in comparison with other ethnic nations (Table 2). Interestingly, some other works assert the opposite, that low-paid and “poorer regions are more xenophobic” (Bessudnov 2016).

City	Population (2017, thousand)	Ethnic composition (2010), per cent
Moscow	12,381	Russians (92)
		Ukrainians (1.3)
		Tatars (1.3)
		Armenians (1)
St. Petersburg	5,282	Russians (92)
		Ukrainians (1.5)
		Belarusians (0.9)
		Tatars (0.7)

Source: Population data according to Rosstat estimates (2017). Ethnic composition according to the 2010 All-Russian Population Census.

Table 2. Population and ethnic Composition of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

According to the theory of labor market competition, foreign labor immigrants can pose an economic threat to local workers (Olzak 2013; Malhotra et al., 2013; Bonacich 1972; Bonacich 1972). But many Russian studies refute this theory in the case of employment in Russia (Gudkov 2014; Mukomel 2014). However, in my own conversations and interviews with some Russian residents, the factors of unemployment due to foreigners and immigrant remittances were present as reinforcing causes of xenophobic sentiments (Table 3, section 8.1). The table also demonstrates that the

concerns of residents of Russia and their negative attitude towards Tajik labor immigrants are more economic than cultural (for example, you do not see any comments in the table about fears of impact on Russian identity). But in Europe the picture is exactly the opposite; for Europeans, individual cultural values and beliefs are stronger than economic concerns (Semyonov et al. 2006; Meuleman et al. 2009; Hjerm 2009; Markaki and Longhi 2013).

On the other hand, during my fieldwork, I met some Tajik immigrants who said they had “good relations” with the local population. For this category of Tajik labor immigrants, in most cases, “good relations” simply meant almost no relations with non-immigrants. In the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants, a certain stratum has formed, which lives its own life in contrast to other groups of labor immigrants. Some representatives of this stratum find it difficult to enter the life of Russian society for objective reasons, such as not knowing the language or not knowing the culture. This group of immigrants has their own everyday social world, which they never mix with the world of non-immigrants and try not to communicate with them whenever possible. Obviously, this is not the correct model for the immigrant lifeworld, which hinders the integration and adaptation of the host society. One of these immigrants was Nozanin.

I met Nozanin by chance at the Moscow *Halal Chaykhana* (Uzbek restaurant) one day when I was having my lunch a little later than usual. When I entered the Chaykhana, I heard a conversation in Tajik that she had with another worker there, and I learned that she works there as a cleaner of the tables. The *Chaykhana* was in the city center, on Shchepkina Street. Although the term halal in the restaurant's name is typically associated with Islamic food, “more than 80 percent of the Chaykhana's consumers are always

Russian” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015c). When I asked her if she was from Tajikistan, she answered only in monosyllables, letting me know that she is eager to talk, but is not allowed to engage in conversation while working. I have always been interested in talking to immigrants at random. It was indeed late for a lunch and there were few customers in the Chaykhana. After having my lunch, I decided to get permission from her manager to speak with Nozanin for 20 minutes. Instead, the manager gave her permission for 30 minutes.

She preferred to speak Russian to me. The Russian language of some Tajik immigrants has slight peculiarities linked with the interference of the native language (for example, with the absence of the grammatical opposition of masculine and feminine genders in Tajik; it is dominated by masculine endings due to the absence of gender in Tajik) or sometimes causes a situation with the use of Tajik words instead of Russian due to insufficient vocabulary. That is, a person speaks Russian and suddenly uses a Tajik word, or vice versa; speaks Tajik and suddenly uses a Russian word. It was the same with Nozanin; she used masculine instead of feminine when she introduced her manager to me without her being present, which was a bit confusing.

Many labor immigrants learn Russian by communicating with other labor immigrants, for whom Russian is also not their native language. They rarely interact with native speakers. Nozanin also said that there are many Uzbeks and Tajiks in the dorm where she lived. She preferred to speak to me in Russian, as the manager of the Chaykhana demanded that all employees speak Russian to each other and customers, and she apparently decided to speak to me in Russian as well.

Nozanin came to Moscow from Dushanbe. She was 40 years old. She graduated from high school in Tajikistan and after that did not study further and went to work in a store. She moved to Russia a year ago (in 2014), invited by her friends. For a year, she managed to work "as a cleaner in several places" and now she would like to stay at the Chaykhana. "I clean the dishes and tables and I love it. The team is good here. If I am allowed to cook *pilaf*, I will learn it from the chef and will do it," she said with a smile. She works seven days a week, and the apartment she rents is located near her workplace, that is, she comes to work on foot and does not pay the fare. She claimed that her friends are very different; some of them are Kyrgyz, some are Tajiks, some are Uzbeks and Russians. When I asked how many Russian friends she had, she replied (smiling again) that one of them was a manager, from whom I was asking permission to speak to her. She is well treated both in the Chaykhana and in the apartment where she lives: "In general, Muscovites have a normal attitude" (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2015c).

Nozanin does not send the money she earned back to Tajikistan. "I have no one there. I am lonely. No parents, no husband." She did not want to go into more detail about her personal life. When I touched upon the topic of the civil war in Tajikistan (1992-1997), she also did not want to talk about it, although in those years she lived in Dushanbe and experienced the consequences of the bloody conflict. She said very briefly: "I remember the war. It was not scary, but bad" (but this time she did not smile). And I did not ask her why she said: "*It was not scary*" (Abdusamadov, Field Notes, 2015c). And with all this, Nozanin is not going to stay in Moscow forever. She firmly knows that someday she will return to her homeland and does not intend to receive Russian citizenship. Her goal is to make money in Russia and buy an apartment in Dushanbe.

6.2 Understanding Migration Policies (Russian and Tajik)

Since the collapse of the Soviet system, immigration policy in post-Soviet Russia has been the subject of much debate (Zayonchkovskaya 2007; Korobkov 2007; Heleniak 2008; Robarts 2008; Ivakhnyuk 2009; Light 2010; Schenk 2013; Malakhov 2014; Light 2016; Schenk 2018). While these studies discuss migration policy, none of them address the issue of violence and xenophobia associated with labor migration. Migration policy in Russia reflects the functioning of bureaucratic governance mechanisms. “Therefore, attempts to liberalize migration regulation, i.e., to simplify the legalization of foreign workers, have always been incoherent, accompanied by reservations and limitations” (Malakhov and Simon 2018: 61). The use of a bureaucratic apparatus and xenophobic sentiments is always linked with a balance of power. To solve this problem in other societies outside of Russia, a large number of studies have used rational methods and governmentality to regulate labor migration (Bigo 2002; Rudnycky 2004; Inda 2005; Hedman 2008; Fassin 2011; Truong 2011; Hoang 2016). An analogy to this procedure can be observed in the US jurisdictions, framed as “legal violence” (Menjívar and Abrego 2012). In the case of the Russian bureaucratic system, corruption was a key element in the regulation of migration in Russia as a part of the governmentality and mentality of the Soviet bureaucratic regime (Schenk 2018:9; Berman 2013; Malakhov and Simon 2018:63). In the understanding and way of thinking of Russian officials, “to govern means to restrict and prohibit rather than to encourage and foster” (Malakhov and Simon 2018:62). And for the Russian police, the lack of documents of labor immigrants is a source of personal enrichment (Light 2010). In addition, it is noteworthy that in post-Soviet Russia, migration and relations between immigrants and the Russian authorities

were determined by the Soviet laws of 1981. The new basic law (“*On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens*”) was adopted only in 2002 (Mukomel 2005). Restrictions, deportations and entry bans are a normative measure of the current migration policy in Russia.

Restrictive measures always produce illegality. Thus, the basic problem in regulating migration is the regulatory system, and this system itself systematically generates illegality and makes the immigrant a criminal (Dave 2014). I have encountered such cases among Tajik labor immigrants almost daily during my ethnographic research, when I interviewed them, or when I spoke to immigration lawyers (Amon 2014b; Jurayeva 2014; Chupik 2015).

Russian immigration law is weighted in such a way that it is almost impossible to comply with it (Kahn 2002; Yudina 2005) or it does not work at all (Greenberg 2007; Chupik 2015). In fact, it works, but according to its own logic. The logic is that the law should ‘*punish and discipline*’ (Foucault’s phrase) labor immigrants for alleged violations of immigration rules governing the legalization status and conditions of the stay of labor immigrants in Russia. For example, after committing the two lowest-level administrative offenses, a Tajik immigrant was blacklisted. He had to go through the migration “rules of the game” and the “spiral effect of the law” to prove his innocence (Kubal 2016). In practice, the complete picture of cases of migration policy is much more complicated, as was experienced by the Tajik immigrants themselves involved in this process (Erov 2014). Caress Schenk called it the “implementation gap” (Schenk 2016: 469). There are plenty of such gaps in migration policy. For example, the 2007 law (amended in 2014) gives immigrants from visa-free countries the right to stay in Russia for three months (FLRF 2007). During this time, if they find a job, their period of stay is automatically

extended up to 9 months. In fact, this never happens. The authorities of the migration system have always found reasons to refuse immigrants an extension of their stay, pushing them to give bribes. Thus, the deviant system makes immigrants both illegal and criminal. Thus, the legality or illegality of labor immigrants in Russia primarily depends on their relationship with the police and bureaucracy, and not on compliance with migration policy and other federal laws. All this gives grounds to draw a kind of paradoxical conclusion about the peculiarity of the Russian migration system, according to which the majority of immigrants are always unauthorized and illegal, and therefore, violence against immigrants and xenophobic attitudes towards them are always authorized and legal.

Experts believe that the migration system needs to be radically changed so as not to leave immigrants at a disadvantage (Mukomel 2011; Gudkov 2014). It is paradoxical when there is visa-free entry, but the Federal Migration Service is tightening the registration procedure for labor immigrants. The strict registration procedure will lead to even greater “justifiable and morally acceptable” corruption among Russian law enforcement officers (Gerber & Mendelson 2008; Guillory 2013).

The problem is that there are no concepts of “migrant”, “migrant worker”, “immigrant” or “labor immigrant” in the legislation of the Russian Federation; there are the concepts of “foreign citizen” [*inostranny grazhdanin*] and “foreign employee on temporary job contracts” [*inostranny grazhdanin, rabotayushchiy po vremennomu trudovomu naymu*] (FLRF 2002). It means that, according to Russian federal law, foreign labor immigrants working on the territory of the Russian Federation can only be called a “foreign employee on temporary job contracts” (FLRF 2002).

It is obvious that any migration policy must first be based on the principles of economic interests and humanism. However, in Russia “most Tajik labor immigrants are practically in the position of half-slaves” (Amon 2014b). However, if the migration policy is based on economic interests and humanism, there will be no such level of xenophobia and violence against immigrants that we observe in Russia, and both sending and receiving societies will receive a huge benefit for development (Jurayeva 2014). Logically, if a society has problems related with migration, then it is poorly managed.

The Concept of State Migration Policy was adopted in 2012 (Volokh and Suvorova 2013). “All documents accepted by the relevant departments begin with one phrase: “In pursuance of the Concept ...” [*Vo ispolneniye Kontseptsii ...*], but the Concept itself is on paper, and everything that happens in the field of law enforcement is contrary to its principles. Labor migration here [Russia] is regulated by money or a police baton. This is the most efficient integrator, regulator and whatever” (Amon 2014b).

The next time (2015) I met Izzat at the Sukharevskaya metro station. There was a McDonald's about 50 steps from the subway entrance. We settled on the second floor and discussed how the migration policy is being implemented in practice. “Each new legislative initiative turns into the abuse or exploitation of immigrants. It is quite clear that several million immigrants who are in the country illegally pay money in the wrong place; money does not go to the [state] budget. A new legislative migration policy is currently in force; an immigrant must pay for patents. But the problem turned up again; the patent system is slipping away. And again, the problem is in the legislation [migration policy], which is overloaded with norms that are difficult to implement: language tests, medical examinations, and so on” (Amon 2015).

“Let me tell you a paradox. More recently, the Moscow City Duma discussed the issue of which medical institutions should serve immigrants. The struggle began between medical institutions, which wanted to serve immigrants, that is, to issue them certificates for money.” He asked me a rhetorical question: “Do you know who won this 'game'? The *Kremlyovka* [Central Kremlin Hospital] was one of the candidates, and she won. We see such paradoxical solutions at every step” (Amon 2015).

Some immigrant rights advocates and analysts are ready to tell you their critical thoughts on the concept of migration policy, however, I felt that they were not ready to publicly express their thoughts. “As an example, I can cite one more incomprehensible norm. You [Tajikistan] have a visa-free regime with Russia. But in the migration card there is a column "purpose of entry". If you have specified a purpose other than “work,” you are no longer eligible to work. But a migration card is not a visa; it should not have such functions; this norm is present in the legislation. 40% of immigrants who were denied a patent at *Sakharovo* [Moscow Migration Center] were refused precisely because of this. And there is a lot of such absurdity; the Concept [of the State Migration Policy] has been pushed aside somewhere” (Amon 2015).

I believe that the welfare state must perform its functions not only in relation to its citizens, but also to any other citizens, including immigrants. Article 7 of the Russian constitution proclaims the state as a welfare state. In accordance with it, Russia undertakes to pursue a social policy aimed at the social protection and security of its citizens. In addition, everyone is guaranteed the right to a dignified life and free development. This right is also enshrined in article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which establishes the rights of everyone. It is unacceptable for

people to leave for other countries to work, build and clean, but the state takes their passports from them and, without paying them a salary, deports them back to where they came from. This is not a function of the welfare state. It has been observed (Crepaz 2009) that in Germany, one of the first to declare its welfare state, some are unhappy with the fact that immigrants use too many social services. The picture is exactly the opposite in Russia, although it is also a welfare state. It lacks a state mechanism to protect immigrants from xenophobia. In Russia, labor migration is used as a political leverage in the hand of the Kremlin, especially regarding an economically poor country like Tajikistan. The very migration policy creates structural and social conditions for inequality, as well as illegal migration flows. The legislative framework of migration in Tajikistan primarily includes policies such as labor migration strategies to manage outward migration. These policies primarily focus on the placement of Tajik migrant workers in receiving countries, specifically in CIS countries such as Russia and Kazakhstan. Most migration policies modeled on western countries (Light 2016: 397), however, were not applicable to the local socio-economic context of Tajikistan and Russia. During the period when Russia and Tajikistan were part of the USSR, the migration policy was restrictive and, therefore, limited the rights of citizens to travel abroad.

Typically, agreements and strategies (DGT 2008, 2011) for migration policy between the governments of Tajikistan and Russia are only valid on paper. Often, they are not fully implemented due to lack of money or other factors. This was the case, for example, with the National Migration Strategy, adopted in October 2011 with the support of the World Bank (OGRT 2014). There are other obstacles, such as bureaucracy,

corruption and lack of political will (Berman 2013). One of the priorities of these strategies is to protect the rights of immigrant workers, especially children. However, about 70,000 Tajik minors are involved in “dirty work” in Russia (Gritsyuk 2013),¹ although in November 2001, the Tajik parliament ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (FIDH 2011a: 31). Labor immigrants also communicate the fact that Tajik, Uzbek and Kyrgyz children and teenagers work in restaurant kitchens, where they are invisible to customers and others (Chupik 2015).

The Tajik authorities face multiple challenges when it comes to cooperation with Russia to protect the rights of Tajik immigrants. I see several factors here that may explain these difficulties. The main factor is the lack of power of the Tajik Migration Service in comparison with the FMS of Russia. This explains the timidity and lack of reaction of the Tajik authorities when the rights of Tajik citizens are violated in Russia. In addition, given the fact that Tajik labor immigrants are not aware of their rights and obligations, Russian law enforcement agencies manipulate their situation. According to the Tajik labor immigrants themselves, police officers especially infringe on their rights. They are suppressed both morally and legally (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015). The roots of the oppression of immigrants lie in the migration policy itself; the police simply pursue the migration policy. In other words, migration policy itself leads to structural violence against immigrant workers. Structurally, based on the nature of migration policy, Russian society imposed system-wide restrictions on immigrants as isolated social groups. The dominant policy and system make the current situation of

¹ Rusija muhojirati navrasonro man' mekunad (Russia Bans Teen Migration)
<https://www.ozodi.org/a/russia-banned-child-migration/24961851.html>

immigrants what it is. Policy makes a situation structural, that is, that immigrants are subjected to violence not only by the system, but also by the population. The attitude of state bodies towards immigrants affects the behavior of the population.

It makes more complicated the everyday condition of Tajik labor immigrants. The migration process from Tajikistan to Russia reflects contradictory interests and disparate economies and power. Tajikistan needs the revenues of labor immigrants to finance its administrative budget, while Russia needs labor immigrants to fill labor shortages. Thus, Russia, as a more powerful actor, uses its dominant power in its own interests at the expense of Tajikistan as a weaker actor. Immigrant workers are often victims of this balance of power. They are “used as scapegoats in moments of crisis between Russia and Tajikistan” (FIDH 2011). Addressing this situation requires empowering labor immigrants at a higher systemic level on both sides within the framework of a constructionist strategy in managing migration.

6.2.1 Legalizing Violence Against Immigrants

Labor immigrants in Russia are called captive workers. The fact that they work and live in slavery conditions is observed by many (Jurayeva 2014; Gannushkina 2015; Chupik 2015). A high-ranking official like Russian Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin has called the condition of labor immigrants a “slave situation” (Mukhamedyarova 2005). However, he did not mention the violence committed at that time against the nine-year-old Tajik girl Khursheda, who was stabbed (details in section 1.3), or other acts of violence against Tajik labor immigrants. Why are labor immigrants in Russia called slaves? They are indeed vulnerable. In all slave societies, the method of

material production was based on the physical labor of slaves, who have been deprived of all legal and property rights.

Attacks and acts of violence “are often legitimized, or at least presented as a “natural attempt” on the part of Russians to struggle against the violence to which migrants subject them” (Laruelle 2008). Violence against immigrants in Russia is a kind of systemic problem of an authoritarian regime. It is inherent in the regime and is an integral part of it. Nevertheless, in the end, it is the Russian state that is responsible for ensuring that Russian citizens do not violate immigrants or kill people from other countries.

Under Russian migration law, illegal migration is not considered a crime. It is a violation of the norms of migration policy, not a crime. This situation makes the illegal immigrant deportable, but not criminal. However, Russian law enforcement agencies punish illegal immigrants as criminals. This means that whenever labor immigrants are punished, migration is regulated by criminal rather than by immigration laws. Criminology fights crime. Therefore, it is more logical if the phenomenon of illegal migration is studied in the context of sociological theories of violence and conflict, rather than criminology or criminality. This also raises doubts as to why the Federal Migration Service (FMS) was dissolved in 2016, and the function of regulating migration was transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), which is the chief law enforcement agency in Russia.

Russia is a visa-free country for citizens of Tajikistan. But at the same time, citizens of Tajikistan and citizens of the CIS for whom Russian entry has a visa-free regime must not stay longer than 90 days in any 180-day period. Overstaying up to 180

days is punishable by a three-year entry ban. Whenever they travel to Russia, it is legal migration for them. They will become "illegal" in Russia. How does this process of illegality take place with labor immigrants in Russia?

The CIS countries, except for Turkmenistan and the Baltic countries, do not have a visa regime with Russia. Citizens of these countries do not need to cross the Russian border illegally as, for example, some of the immigrants from Central America illegally cross the US border almost every day. It would be respect for the dignity of immigrants to replace the concept of "illegal immigrant" with the concept of "undocumented immigrant", as in Europe and the United States. If the documents of labor immigrants from countries with visa-free entry are not in the correct order, for example, no work permit or registration, forged or expired, they should be called "undocumented labor immigrants" but not "illegal labor immigrants". The so-called "illegal migration" in Russia is mainly associated with labor migration, which occurs only for economic reasons. This is evidenced by one of the economic aspects of labor migration, which always provokes lively debates among Russian scientists; it is the remittances of immigrants. Russian scholars of the Moscow Center for Migration Studies, Zayonchkovskaya et al. (2009) humorously called it *migradollary* (*migra* as migration, and *dollary* as dollars). On the other hand, employers tend to hire these "illegal immigrants" because they are easy to fire and will not pay them or underpay them for sick days. They usually do not enter contracts. And since it is difficult for immigrants to find a job (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015; Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015b),¹ it becomes clear that the conditions resulting in the uncontrolled employment of

¹ This was noted by about half of my respondents.

immigrants are beneficial and desirable for most employers. The policy of the legal import of labor is extremely complicated by bureaucratic obstacles both in Tajikistan and in Russia (Mukomel 2005; Bahovadinova 2016). For the most part, the problem of labor activity of immigrants in Russia is the inconsistency of Russian labor legislation with the practice of its application.

The “illegal labor” of immigrants in Russia creates a breeding ground for the development of the shadow economy, corruption and political violence (Berman 2013). It is obvious that the bureaucratic regime is an obstacle to the legalization of labor of labor immigrants. At the same time, one of the primary tasks of the Russian authorities is to *legalize* the labor of immigrants. My emphasis on this word (*legalize*) is based on my interviews with the labor immigrants themselves, most of whom would like better to have a visa regime with Russia, and thus be able to work within a legal framework (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015a).

Below I would like to describe the procedure for how easy (or difficult) it is for a labor immigrant who has become “illegal” to go legit in Moscow. The main aspects of this procedure are derived from focus group discussion in Moscow (2015). The first obstacle for labor immigrants to become legally registered and registered immigrant workers is the existence of a shadow economy that thrives on “illegality.” Other factors are ineffective application of existing migration policy standards and the restrictive quota system [this system was canceled in 2017], which limits the number of work patents issued. In addition, the legalization of immigrant labor remains difficult due to anti-immigrant sentiments in Russian society. Since 2013, according to the migration policy, foreign citizens can be employed in Russia only on the basis of a *patent* (Appendix 2). To

legalize their employment in Moscow, foreign citizens arriving visa-free must request and obtain a *patent*. In doing so, they must submit medical documents at the same time as the application for a *patent* (Appendix 1). The change in migration policy made it possible to include labor immigrants in tax accounting when applying for a patent, which is its positive side. The patent not only allowed legal employment, but also ensured the automatic registration of its owners. Registration in Russia for foreign citizens is the state migration registration with the FMS. This means that, in accordance with federal laws (FLRF-109 2006; FLRF-42 2011), foreign citizens, within seven working days from the date of arrival, have to register in the city and notify the FMS. An application shall be filed to the migration registration authority to the address on the application for registration.

Russian scholars Mkrtychyan and Florinskaya (2017) state that in the first five months of 2017 alone, labor immigrants transferred 18.8 billion rubles (about \$247 million) to the Russian budget as tax payments for patents. 86% of these payments were provided by immigrants from Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Accordingly, as of June 2017, there were 1,067,247 Tajik labor immigrants and 1,923,388 Uzbek labor immigrants in Russia (Mkrtychyan & Florinskaya 2017: 78, 80). In accordance with the migration policy, the possession of patents by immigrants points out their legality. These figures and the higher percentage of labor immigrants from Tajikistan indicate that they were legally in Russia. At the same time, based on an analysis of the ratio of wages of labor immigrants from post-Soviet societies, Tajik labor immigrants receive the lowest wages in the Russian labor market (Denisenko & Chernina, 2017).

Attitudes towards immigrants are usually shaped according to the specific interests of the people or groups concerned. They vary depending on the state of the social environment (Ceobanu and Xavier 2010). At the end of the last decade of the Soviet Union, the “migrant issue” was not problematized by public opinion. According to the latest All-Union polls in March 1991, the level of intolerance towards immigrants was at a “fairly low level” (Gudkov 2007). Open intolerance was identified by about 20 per cent and aggressive ethnophobia by about 6–12 per cent of the population of the USSR. It is noteworthy that in Russia, these figures were noticeably lower than the average for the Union (Gudkov 2014). The ethnicity of immigrants in Russia has been problematized after the collapse of the USSR (Suny 2012). Compared to Russians coming to Russia, a different policy was applied to non-Russians coming to Russia; non-Russians were considered “strangers” [*ponayekhavshiye*]¹ (Vendina 2011), “illegals” [*nelegaly*], “Gastarbeiter” [*gastery, gastarbaytery*], or “aliens” [*prishel'tsy*]. This is almost the same method of distinguishing residents that is observed in Europe and America “between ‘locals’, ‘nationals’, ‘citizens’, ‘autochthons’ or ‘insiders’ on the one hand, ‘foreigners’, ‘immigrants’, ‘strangers’ or ‘outsiders’” on the other hand (Nyamnjoh 2006: 3). Typically, such images of immigrants are first formed in the media based on the subjective point of view of the author and then they pass into everyday use by the people.

If we semantically analyze the above-mentioned images of immigrants, we can find similar dimensions in them. The combination of these dimensions creates the image of immigrants. For example, in all these images of immigrants, we can find the following

¹ “Strangers” is not the exact literary meaning of “*ponayekhavshiye*”; in part, it is close in meaning to “*wetbacks*.” “*Ponayekhavshiye*” was formed from the verb *ponayékhat*, which means ‘come in large numbers’. The notion has a derogatory connotation and is used to emphasize the fact that immigrants arrive in large numbers and are not welcome.

parameters as a single criterion for formation: a) legal; b) national; c) cultural; d) and religious ones. This means that labor immigrants in Russia are usually labelled in accordance with the criterion of their a) legal stay; b) nationality (or race) (Weitz 2002:6); c) culture they represent; d) religion and, possibly, their language and appearance. But it is a fact that transnational labor immigrants everywhere in the world belong to a different nation, culture, religion or language. These parameters should not be a reason for a negative attitude towards them.

On the other hand, in Tajikistan labor migration is also not organized properly. Labor migrants usually travel on their own along their own migration connections to specific locations. This leads to their concentration in certain regions, which, in turn, leads to migrantophobia in the host community and an increase in social tension. Besides, the cultural differences of immigrants are often perceived by the Russian population in the form of stereotypes that have a negative connotation, which I described in detail in the sections 5.1 – 5.3.

Attitudes towards immigrants also depend on the ethnicity and nationality of the host population and immigrants, as evidenced by some sources (Carter et al., 2015; Weitz 2002:1). Russian and Tajik immigrants are of different ethnicity. The identity of the political nation in Russia, that is, “*rossiyskaya*” (Russian) and “*rususkaya*” (Russian) identity,¹ as well as the identity of Tajiks and other Central Asian nationalities is the influential factor in the attitude of Russians towards immigrants (Weitz 2002; Drobizheva

¹ In English (and other languages) there is no distinction between “*Russkiy*” and “*Rossiyanin*”. Both words are translated as Russian (person). For foreigners, all *Rossiyanin* (Russians) are *Russkiye* (Russians) and vice versa. *Russkiy* is a nationality, while *Rossiyanin* is any person with Russian citizenship. A *Rossiyanin* can be German, French, or any other person with a Russian passport. For many Russians, “the very word *Rossiyanin*” is disgusting (Kotlyar 2016). In English (and other languages) there is no distinction between “*Russkiy*” and “*Rossiyanin*”. Both words are translated as Russian (person). For foreigners, all *Rossiyanin* (Russians) are *Russkiye* (Russians) and vice versa.

2011). I want to emphasize here that most Russians do not perceive their nation as a *rossiyskaya* nation in terms of ethnicity. In their opinion, according to them, their identity must be *Russkaya*, that is, based on the '*Russkaya natsiya*' (Russian nation) (Gorshkov et al. 2011).

Multiplicity of identities is a natural phenomenon. However, it becomes problematic when a certain social significance of a certain identity is emphasized. For example, because you are an immigrant, you are denied the opportunity to rent a home, etc. In such cases, labor immigrants face the so-called 'inconveniences with identity'. It is abnormal when people exalt the image of their 'own people' and represent others with a negative and hostile image. An identity, in which others are represented in a hostile image is called "negative identity" (Erikson 1962: 102; Rustenbach 2018; Menjívar 2016; Yakushko 2008). It is this identity that is interlinked with a hostile attitude towards immigrants in Russia. These people, for Russians, are different in ethnicity and they are *other* and *foreign* ethnic immigrants. Such an attitude is associated with the collapse of the Union and loss of the former Soviet identity, the change in territorial boundaries and critical reassessment of the past. Negative identity is the basis for nationalism and its aggressive manifestations towards other nations. In the following chapters I will discuss this phenomenon in more detail in connection with the notions of discrimination and violence.

6.3 Social Network Analysis

Social networks are the powers that shape the actions of people. They are also a vehicle for the discourse of symbolic violence. There are some mechanisms which operate through social media that contribute to the spread of violence. Symbolic violence

is produced through language and legitimizes the relationships of domination (Bourdieu 1999). Hence, symbolic violence is a product of discourse. It is a form of representation of the everyday social world. Some authors create a specific system of knowledge in terms of the relationship of power and domination, which Foucault (1972) called discourse. Social networks are full of such discourses that denigrate the image of Tajiks and create an image of the enemy out of them. Some of these examples have been used in the section "Analysis of Mediated Data", 6.1, p. 211, footnotes 1, 2, 3. These examples demonstrate how networks have provided space for the reproduction of the discourse of violence. Such social networks are usually bounded with other social spaces and their content is widely shared.

Tajik immigrants react painfully to the images of labor immigrants covered in the Russian media (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015). As labor migration has become part of everyday politics in the post-Soviet space, Tajik labor immigrants have become the most convenient targets for the Russian media. Almost every day, the *Vesti-Moscow* channel¹ broadcasts a report, in the role of which are "illegal labor immigrants" and mainly Tajik immigrants. About 40 percent of Russian media texts about immigrants are negative and bear the image of an enemy. That is, the words can be all correct and not offensive, but the enemy is sensed. Immigrants are portrayed as unwanted, uneducated, uncultured, and alien (Dzyaloshinsky & Dzyaloshinskaya 2019: 176). Moreover, in recent years there has been a shift from the "aliens" category to the "enemies" category. This is due to the inaccurate statistics crediting the immigrants with crimes and an inability to accept Russian culture and values (Dzyaloshinsky & Dzyaloshinskaya 2019:

¹ The channel is available worldwide at <https://russia.tv/>

177, Panov 2010:91). In particular, after the Russian annexation of Crimea (2014), an aggressive information policy towards foreigners of "non-Slavic Asian appearance" and "persons of Caucasian nationality"¹ grew into hatred of practically all labor immigrants. They were called *churki* (chock), *churban* (chump), that is, a dumb, uneducated person, or *khokhols*.² At that time, labor immigrants were the most vulnerable segment of Russian society.

There is also a nickname *baklazhan* [eggplant] in Russian-speaking social networks. The label "baklazhan" is used as a collective image of all "non-Russians". In fact, it is originally used to refer to Dagestanis [Russian citizens] as an allusion to their skin color. Also, the Russian rapper Timati has the song "Baklazhan", in which he created a collective image of *Teymuraz*, a labor immigrant, taxi driver and womanizer from Central Asia, driving a "Lada-sedan" with "color of baklazhan". This is all promoted by the fact that most people in Russia believe that labor immigrants have taken their jobs (FOM 2011). While this is not true (Gudkov 2014; Mukomel 2014), there are certain levels of racial prejudice. This is why Bloomer (1958) suggested that racial prejudice arises when members of a dominant group feel threatened by their higher social status from subordinate outgroups. These cases were observed mainly in the Southern Russia (Foxall 2014; Shardakova and Pavlenko 2009).

6.4 Labor Immigrant vs *Gastarbeiter*

¹ Stereotypical perception of immigrants from the Caucasus, formed in the Russian consciousness in the 1990s.

² The latter is a humiliating or offensive ethnic insult to Ukrainians.

After my conversations with Tajik labor immigrants in the field, I once again realized the importance of the usage of the word “labor immigrant” versus “Gastarbeiter”. “The term ‘*gastery*’ [Gastarbeiter] is a derogatory word. Nobody calls himself [a] *Gastarbeiter*. This word is always used in an offensive sense. It always involves derogatory criticism of us [immigrants]” (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015a). However, no one doubts that the term *Gastarbeiter* is completely false and immigrants in Russia cannot be called such, although their humiliation is not limited to this term in Russian society. This cannot be said to be a universal phenomenon; only in Russia (labor) immigrants are called *Gastarbeiter*. If the word is used in some other societies, it possesses no offensive sense. “Russian skinheads are most likely proud of their skinhead title, but we [Tajik labor immigrants] are not proud of being called *Gastarbeiter*” (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015a).

The German authorities named these categories of people *Gastarbeiter*, meaning guest workers. If, in Russia, it is preferable to call labor immigrants the *Gastarbeiter*, why does Russia not institute, for example, a “guest worker program” instead of calling migrant workers *Gastarbeiter*? This was my rhetorical question. In the next two subsections (6.4.1 and 6.4.2), I will describe the meaning of the words ‘labor immigrant’ versus ‘*Gastarbeiter*’.

6.4.1 Who are Labor Immigrants?

Article 2 of the *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families* defines a migrant worker as “a person who is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or

she is not a national.” This term, by its definition, encompasses very different legal categories, which include migrant workers, contract workers, seasonal workers, and illegally employed workers who stay at work for the duration of their employment.

Tajik labor immigrants call themselves “*muhajirs*”. They do not call themselves “migrants” when they speak Tajik. The Arabic word *hijra* means migration. In Tajik, “*muhajir*” is a migrant, “*muhajiri kori*” is a labor immigrant. The name is directly related to the prophetic event in the year 622. In that year, Muhammad and his Muslim followers completed the migration (*hijra*) from Mecca to Medina. This was considered such an important event that Muslims used it to mark the beginning of the Muslim era (the Hijri era). Tajik immigrants dub themselves *muhajirs* (migrants) because of that event, even though they were not a part of that *hijra*. They think it is part of the *Sunni* tradition.

In fact, during times of economic or political trouble, those who can sell their skills to another society, leave the country. But in the case of Tajikistan, the majority left the country; there was no family from which at least one did not emigrate to Russia. However, this majority did not have high sales skills. These people used their last resource or borrowed some money to emigrate. They did not even have a choice in which country it was better to go to work. Russia was obvious; they left for Russia in large numbers, except for a small percentage of people who left for Kazakhstan.

Tajik labor immigrants increasingly began to call themselves *muhajirs* in order to avoid using the word *Gastarbeiter* to refer to themselves. The word “*Gastarbeiter*” has been such a negative term since its appearance in Russian language, unlike some other words, such as *Gastrolle* or *Gastprofessor*, which also came into the Russian language from the German language. It became widespread in the Russian media in the late 1990s,

first in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and then entered colloquial Russian speech. Later this word was widely spread in some other CIS countries, where labor immigrants come to Russia. Labor immigrants in Russia are neither the "guest workers" nor "Gastarbeiter"; they are labor immigrants or "international migrant workers" (Perruchoud 2011). Here I no longer want to discuss the historical background of the term; it is obvious that this term is not accurate for modern transnational migrant workers in Russia. In addition, "guests" in relation to labor immigrants is meaningless. Because of the use of this word, in just one year and from only one country, a huge number of labor immigrants suffer. This term is not academically and politically correct, although it is used by Russian academics and politicians as well. It is used in everyday life because it includes negative connotations and is used colloquially and xenophobically. The *Gastarbeiter*, unlike transnational migrant workers, has no legal status in the labor migration policy.

6.4.2 Who are *Gastarbeiter*?

What is the perception of the labor immigrants themselves, who are called *Gastarbeiter*, and how are they interpreted in the media and scientific articles? As an introduction to this section, I will relate a brief story of the adoption and use of the term "*Gastarbeiter*" by the Tajik audience that I encountered. The word *Gastarbeiter* was borrowed by the Russian language from the German in the 1990s. But back in the early 1990s, this word was not used in Russia in relation to labor immigrants. According to my observations, the first mention of this word in post-Soviet Russia was in the newspaper *Moskovskiye novosti* on March 31, 1998. The article (Emelianenko 1998) was written about the 'illegal *Gastarbeiter*' in Germany, but not about labor immigrants in Russia. In Soviet times, this term has always been associated with 'black illegal immigrants.' We

see it even in the title of the aforementioned article. The further active use of the term in Russia in relation to labor immigrants began since mid-1999.

The German word *Gastarbeiter* (plural) literally means *guest workers*. If we translate it into Russian, it is pronounced as ‘*priglashenny rabochiy*’, which in turn translates into English as ‘guest workers’, but not *Gastarbeiter* as used in Russian literature. The term is rarely used in standard language and does not match a specific sociolect. It is mainly used in media, colloquial and everyday speech. However, since the early 2000s, this word has been used colloquially as a term for labor immigrants, and later it moved into the language of professional journalism and even into the language of Russian science.

Initially, *Gastarbeiter* is a phenomenon of post-war Western Europe: “The German government recruited temporary foreign workers from Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia. These workers contributed to the rapid rise of Germany as an industrial power, working in low-skilled production jobs and, in later years, in the manufacture of electrical goods, automobiles, and textiles. Germany’s Federal Labor Office (DfA) selected foreign workers on behalf of employers, tested their occupational skills, conducted medical examinations, and screened out those migrants with a criminal background. Migrants were granted permits to work only for restricted periods and only for specific jobs, and entry of any of the worker’s dependents was forbidden” (Hanlon 2014: 111). The term has been ‘an obituary’ for a long time, since 1974 (Castles 1986). Historically, the term *Gastarbeiter* refers to a group of people who have been granted temporary residence, equivalent to a modern residence permit, in West Germany to work under a special employment contract of a ‘guest worker program’

(*Gastarbeiterprogramm*) (Hanlon 2014: 112). Initially, the recruits to the program were from European countries. Turkey and Yugoslavia were later included in the program, and Turkish migrant workers became the largest group in the program until its end in 1973 (Hanlon 2014: 112).

A researcher who follows the norms of objectivity is never prejudiced against science. While researching this phenomenon, I have read many articles and books and noticed some elements of bias in the scientific works of specialists. For example, Stephen Castles, a sociologist dealing with international migration, never uses the unscientific term *Gastarbeiter* in his works. Instead, he uses the term *guestworker* (Castles 1986, 2006). Hanlon (2014) uses the term ‘migrant workers’ or ‘foreign migrants’, although the objects of her discussion are precisely those people who fall under the category of this term. It is noticed that even in the sources of German authors, immigrant workers are called *guestworkers*, but not *Gastarbeiter* (Rist 1978; 1979). Referring to the postwar labor recruitment contract, Chin (2007) states that “the treaty mapped out the legal and operational aspects of work trajectory – the application process and placement procedures. On the other hand, it articulated the meaning of “guest,” defining labor migrants to West Germany” (Chin 2007: 30).

The *Gastarbeiter* has become a constant epithet and figurative definition of labor immigrants, especially Tajik labor immigrants. Russians have always had a kind of nickname for foreigners, especially foreign workers. In the late Soviet Union, seasonal workers from the Caucasus and Central Asia were called ‘*grachi*’ (rooks), and now they are called *Gastarbeiter*. And even today, when they say ‘*Grachi prileteli*’ (The Rooks

Have Arrived) and ‘*Grachi uleteli*’ (The Rooks Have Fled), they mean the arrival and departure of foreign workers (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015a).

Thus, if in German a historical meaning of *Gastarbeiter* is “invited workers”, in Russian use of this word, no content gives a meaning as “invited workers”. Instead, all meanings are derogatory, although some Russian dictionaries interpret it in their own way, as a term denoting foreigners or residents of another state, employed on a temporary basis, etc. In modern Russia, it is used in transliterated form (in Cyrillic, *застрабаўмер*). But neither the Tajik labor immigrants, nor the majority of other labor immigrants from other countries in Russia are the *invited* labor immigrants. These immigrants did not come to Russia under any program or agreement for guest workers, such as the *Gastarbeiter Program* in West Germany in the 1950s. Accordingly, modern labor immigrants in Russia cannot be called *Gastarbeiter*. Today both the *Gastarbeiter* and *Fremdarbeiter* (“foreign worker”) have only negative connotations representing the Nazi era, and the use of these terms should be avoided due to the nature of these terms based on class, “racially foreign people” and forced labor (Joshi 2003.).

6.5 Researching Workplace Violence

How does a labor culture lead to violent acts? For Tajik labor immigrants, the workplace is a recognized site of discrimination and violence. This type of act refers to the form of physical violence or threat that poses a risk to the health and safety of immigrant workers. It can lead to physical injury as well as psychological injury (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2016). There have been cases when Tajik labor immigrants at construction sites in St. Petersburg (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014c) and at the

Khovanskoye Cemetery in Moscow (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2016) reacted and fought for their rights due to acts of violence against them. When you fight for your rights against violence against you, and use physical force, this is also called violence. Many Tajik immigrants were completely perplexed when they were punished, according to the immigrants themselves, for fighting the violence against them. Many of them were imprisoned for 15 days (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2016). This is exactly the opposite case, as we argued in section 6.1 above about the 'passivity of Tajik labor immigrants' versus the aggressiveness of the local population. But such cases were very rare. Tajik labor immigrants believed that fighting violence is not violence. It was important for them to clearly understand who is violent and what violence is. Whoever uses force commits direct violence. However, it is human nature that when the residents of the host country behave with aggression, immigrants feel threatened and begin to aggressively defend themselves.

Typically, immigrants' behavior is characterized by a habitual pervasive pattern of non-active behavior. Most often, such patterns are found in the workplace, where local employers negatively relate to this type of attitude, although it can also occur in interpersonal contexts. The passive behavior of immigrants, fear and resentment, and making excuses, on the one hand, and the aggressive behavior and negative evaluation of immigrants, social undermining, sarcasm, destructive attitudes and anger, on the other hand, establish and maintain between the immigrants and employers a violent and conflicting interpersonal relationship (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015; Chupik 2015). By social undermining I mean the expression of negative assessments and emotions directed against Tajik immigrant workers. This behavior often includes

discrimination and criticism of labor immigrants and their actions. It is based on concrete perspectives and goals, which inevitably leads to violence and destroys the possibility of cooperation between immigrants and host residents.

6.6 Content Analysis

Content analysis is the study of any type of recorded human communication, such as books, websites, videos, letters, text messages, tweets, etc. that I have done in this dissertation. Media content analysis research (6.9.2) focused on labor migration and its main problems, such as violence and intolerance through the images of one of its key figures, that is, images of Tajik labor immigrants. I have also used content analysis techniques in case studies of academic materials (6.9.1) to prove the media information covering acts of violence.

Not everything we do in everyday life is rational. However, scientific activity, by its definition, must be rational. Through the content analysis of this Grigorichev's article (Grigorichev 2012), I would like to determine whether the author has provided an accurate description of the lifeworld of labor immigrants, or whether he has described his idealized thoughts without any foundation in sociology. In my opinion, Schutz offered a unique solution to the problem of understanding, especially to lifeworld understanding. But the problem begins because many sociologists interpret both Weber's methodology and Schutz's methodology in a specific direction, in order to use their methodologies to solve the problems of their own research (Scaff 1984: 191).

The article analyzes the adaptation process of temporary labor immigrants to the suburbs in Irkutsk oblast. The author considers the peculiarities of the adaptation of

foreign labor immigrants (according to the author, "*Tajiks*") as a heterogeneous immigrant group. He emphasizes the formation of new social groups in this process and a new system of relations between foreign immigrants and local communities. One such innovations, according to the author, is the emergence of new seasonal immigrant workers from China and the countries of post-Soviet Central Asia that formed some new groups and subgroups. These group and subgroups are "Tajiks", "White Tajiks", "Grey Tajiks" who are "Gastarbeiter", "wrong" Chinese and a "captured" city [«nepravilnie» kitaytsy i «zakhvachenny» gorod], etc. To what extent these concepts (in the author's opinion, these are concepts) are objective and acceptable in academia, I will examine below.

6.6.1 Subjectivity and Objectivity of Academic Works

Perhaps a discourse on the subjectivity and objectivity of academic articles and the insincerity of some authors in sociological articles should be conducted in a different research context than in a doctoral dissertation. However, I would like to discuss the quality of some academic works that affect the levels of hatred and xenophobia in a society.

Labor migration and violence related to it are proving to be a serious challenge not only for public policymakers (section 6.10), but also for academics, whose works have consistently been described as analytical and rational, requiring reasoned thinking. Academic works should shed light on a thoughtful path based on scientific evidence. Sentimentality should not be a research method for scientists, and they should rigorously use rationality.

Reading some scientific articles while studying the literature got me thinking about the selectivity of collection, the use of evidence, and the one-way process of building a case study. It affects how we perceive the world around us. In such cases, the standards of objectivity are not applied or not respected, and such researchers “search for, interpret, favor, and recall information” (Stanovich et al. 2013: 260) that supports their point of view and organizes knowledge according to their own preferences. It is a confirmation bias, a bias towards supporting one’s point of view. When evidence or its interpretation does not meet the expectations of a researcher, the researcher seeks and gives preference to those data and information that correspond to his or her point of view. American psychologist Raymond S. Nickerson (1998) quotes the English philosopher Francis Bacon on this point: “And though there be a greater number and weight of instances to be found on the other side, yet these it either neglects and despises, or else by some distinction sets aside and rejects; in order that by this great and pernicious predetermination the authority of its former conclusions may remain inviolate... And such is the way of all superstitions” (Nickerson 1998:176).

In his discussion of foreign migrant workers in the Irkutsk suburban areas, the author of the article orients readers to a "definition" of migrant workers by Irkutsk municipalities authorities: " “Despite ignorance of the number and composition of migrants, representatives of the administration have confidently divided them into two large groups. The first is the "Chinese" (immigrants from China, living predominantly in the surrounding settlements). The second is the "Tajiks" (a collective name for a group that includes immigrants from the post-Soviet Central Asian countries, mainly from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan).” The author explains the use of the word “Tajiks” in his work

as follows: "Tajiks" is a collective name for a group of migrants from the post-Soviet countries of Central Asia, mainly from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan" (Grigoriev 2010: 262).

And then he "explains" to the readers "how" and "why" he wants to use these "terminologies": "Here I will use the terms "Tajik" and "Tajiks", not in their ethnic meaning, but as a collective designation of the category of foreign labor migrants arriving from the above-mentioned region [post-Soviet Central Asian countries]. These groups are rigidly divided both in the representations of the authorities (local administrations) and in everyday life. At that the criterion for this is not the ethnic factor, but rather a civilian one (the country of origin). So, in most interviews, the "Chinese" are opposed to "non-Russian", "Tajiks" and even "Gastarbeiter"" (Grigoriev 2012: 18). The author's claim seems to be based more on emotion and subjectivity than on impartial data. "Subjectivity [of the researcher] guides everything from the choice of topic that one studies, to formulating hypotheses, to selecting methodologies, and interpreting data... Other researchers are also encouraged to reflect on the values that any particular investigator utilizes" (Ratner 2002). According to the author of the article, "this group [foreign migrant workers] remains for both local residents and administrations as a "black box", a familiar but incomprehensible element of everyday life" (Grigoriev 2012: 19).

Here is the author's explanation of how Tajiks become a nominal noun for all Central Asian immigrants: "the name of the group existing in the local community, is perceived by them not as an ethnonym, but as a designation of a broad migrant group that includes representatives of various ethnic groups and immigrants from different states." I copy a fragment about it exactly as in his article:

- Сезонные рабочие, конечно, вот, таджики.
- Вы сказали “таджики”. Таджики – это люди из Таджикистана? По национальности таджики? Или это какое-то собирательное название?
- Скорее это собирательное, да, потому что так это их не определишь. Ну, знаем, сталкивались с бригадами строителей. Как правило, они идут именно оттуда, из Таджикистана. Но не обязательно...

[- Seasoned workers, of course, here, are Tajiks.

- You said “Tajiks”. Are Tajiks the people from Tajikistan? Are they Tajiks by nationality? Or is it collective name?

- It’s rather a collective, yes, because it’s not possible to define them. Well, we know, we are faced with the teams of builders. As a rule, they come from there, from Tajikistan. But not only [from Tajikistan]] (Grigorichev 2012: 19).

It is unclear whether the above-mentioned part is an interview fragment or something the author fantasized about. It is does not mentioned that this part is a fragment of an interview. Even if we suppose it is an interview fragment, we do not think by hearing the word, “Tajiks”, someone may ask such question as “Are Tajiks the people from Tajikistan? Are they Tajiks by nationality? Or is it collective name?” while you do not explain this is a collective/nominal word, there is nothing that comes to the mind of the hearer about a "collective name".

Later the author separates this group ("Tajiks") into two other subgroups: "White Tajiks" [*Beliye tadzhiki*] and "Gray Tajiks" [*Serye tadzhiki*] (Grigorichev 2012: 20). “The "White Tajiks" are labor migrants who are in the country and work completely legally. This group corresponds to a set of legal, "white" practices of interaction with the local community, including administrative authorities”. “The "Gray Tajiks" are "Gastarbeiter"

whose legality of employment and employment are not transparent and partly or completely illegal.” (Grigorichev 2012: 20).

The content of the article itself interprets its title as follows: "Tajiks" are "non-Russians", "non-Russians" are "Gastarbeiter" and "Gastarbeiter" are "Tajiks", not to mention about "white Tajiks" and "gray Tajiks". What does it mean? Doesn't it mean the author has biases against Tajiks? The author adds that in most interviews "Chinese" are opposed to "non-Russian", "Tajiks" and even "Gastarbeiter"; allegedly Chinese migrant workers are Russians or speak Russian. Here is another fragment allegedly taken from the interview:

– У вас таджики? Других не бывает?
– Почему, бывает. Киргизы, и узбеки, и таджики с Таджикистана.
Сейчас у нас – таджики с Узбекистана. Узбекские таджики. То есть они живут все в Узбекистане, но они таджики. А есть и таджики и с Таджикистана, есть и киргизы.

[- Do you have Tajiks [who work with you]? There are no others?
- Why, there are. Kirghiz, and Uzbeks, and Tajiks from Tajikistan. Now we have Tajiks from Uzbekistan. The Uzbek Tajiks. That is, they live all in Uzbekistan, but they are Tajiks. And there are Tajiks from Tajikistan, there are Kirghiz.]
(Grigorichev 2012: 21).

It is completely unclear to the readers who is an interviewee; there is no name or nickname of interviewee, date and place of the interview. If we knew at least an identity of an interviewee a reader might understand whether s/he is able to discourse in this way, since the intellectual level of what is written looks to be more directed to the expert than the ordinary interviewee.

According to the authors, the study is based on a series of expert interviews with representatives of local communities and local residents in the suburbs of Irkutsk in 2009-2011. There were no interviews with the immigrants themselves, so analyses are based solely on the perspective of the local community. But interaction here should be considered at least within the framework of the traditional dichotomy of “Tajiks” and the local community. This raises a rhetorical question. What was it that kept the researcher from using the names of the respondents, and the times and places of the interviews? Here, in my opinion, the logic of stereotypes and migrantophobia worked on a specifically oriented generalization of immigrant workers in the image of “Tajiks”. This raises another logical question: in what way is the author going to include these categories (“Tajiks”, “White Tajiks”, “Grey Tajiks” and “Gastarbeiter”) in the terminological framework of scientific sociology? Or how is he going to use these categories in migration management practices? Even if we avoid the analytical approaches used by these researchers, their research definitely suffers from terminological ambiguity (Ceobanu and Xavier 2010).

Dyatlov (2010) interprets this phenomenon of migration as a fundamentally new one for Russia. According to him, Russia is gradually becoming a country of immigrants. "This is not just an inevitable and vitally necessary, but also a painful, conflictual process" (Dyatlov 2010: 121). He is concerned that the arrival of new immigrants will cause the emergence of new groups and complex social relationships. Such an unexpected appearance of new elements in the cultural and ethnic spheres of Russian communities inevitably breaks the old equilibrium and forms the basis for the emergence of complex problems and conflicts. Thus, on the one hand, we observe different levels of

comprehension of this phenomenon in the minds of ordinary people, and on the other, different types of assessment of the process by academics of the host community. The process of understanding take place at different levels; in ordinary consciousness, in ideological and political spheres, and in scientific research. A correct understanding of these processes is extremely important. Indeed, the trajectory of relations between immigrants and the host population, as well as the level of conflicts and phobias, largely depends on the proper understanding of the phenomenon and process.

Migrantophobia in Russian society is an integral part of the already existing complex of xenophobia. The mechanisms effecting such a reaction, as we saw in the example of the article discussed above, is the formation of stereotypes. A stereotype is an assessment of social information based on *a priori* pre-scientific knowledge. It is these stereotypes that shape the attitude of society towards migration and immigrants. Observing the prevailing attitudes towards Tajik immigrants, I saw that stereotypes are built around xenophobic complexes. It was important for me to look at stereotypes from the inside and try to see how they change, what their ethnic and local versions are, and how they are perceived and assessed by immigrants themselves. How often and in what contexts are different vocabulary, new words and new meanings (for example, "Tajiks", "Gastarbeiter") saturated with offensive, negative or ironically sarcastic connotations used in relation to Tajik immigrants? This formulation of questions about studies of the prevalence and intensity of stereotypes and getting answers to these questions was precisely the primary task of the content analysis section of this study.

Studying a genesis of stereotypes plays an important role in understanding stereotypes and their content. The phenomenon of mass trans-border migration, everyday

and routine interaction with immigrants is new for post-Soviet society, respectively, stereotypes are also new. So, what are the source materials for such a process of stereotypes emergence? I argue that stereotypes did not arise out of nowhere. The new phenomenon arose from the standpoint of the old experience, i.e. new stereotypes and phobias have grown from the old ones. It is therefore important to understand the historical scene of stereotypes (Berman 2013; Mills 2000 [1959]).

The Soviet era gave rise to flows of internal migration and closed off external migration (Light 2012: 404). This created a certain set of stereotypes and phobias. For the closed Soviet society, xenophobia played the role of an instrument of ideological and political mobilization and control over this mobilization by the authorities. This mechanism performed an enormous consolidating function and, as such, was used efficiently and operationally (Gudkov 2004: 564-566). According to Gudkov, the instrumental use of ethnic groups as an internal enemy also was practiced, for example, through a widespread anti-Semitism among the ruling elite. They were part of the grassroots xenophobic complexes with an ethnic basis. Later, the anti-Semitism was replaced by an anti-Asiatic complex; "*chernyye*" ["black"], "*chernovolosyye*" ["black-haired"], "*churki*" ["churks"], "*baklazhany*" ["eggplants"], etc. (Gudkov 2004: 571). These offensive epithets become massive and ubiquitous. The strengthening of ethno-stereotypes and ethno-phobia contributed to the prevailing ideological discourse of the "national question". It was embodied in both public policy, including migration policy, and the practice of everyday life. Today, in the time of massive trans-border migrations and the need to form an attitude toward different ethnic groups, those historical stereotypes became the initial building material.

The “image of the enemy” played a huge role in the life of Soviet society and its citizens. Despite the existence of national conflicts, Soviet internationalism propagated the idea of a conflict-free society. At that time, it was sort of taboo for Soviet people to speak publicly about national problems. But now national conflicts, contradictions and hatred have become open and even included in the context of political and academic practice. In Soviet times, the status of foreign citizens was interpreted in different ways. In the first year of the post-Soviet period, the “Caucasian phobia” was replaced by anti-Semitism. The term "persons of Caucasian nationality" [*litsa kavkazskoy natsional'nosti*] was used to describe the ethnic characteristics of people from the Caucasus (Gudkov 2014). Much of the bias in the interpretation of data is the result of motivated mechanisms (MacCoun 1998: 260), while the motivational explanations for confirmation bias is associated with “wishful thinking” (Nickerson 1998: 197). This is a potential source of bias as it can interfere with a researcher’s scientific thinking, keeping him or her from objectively interpreting data and information.

Confirmation bias prevents researchers from processing all existing information. It will be too difficult to assess conflicting information when you are biased and decide what is reality. It is much easier to find two or three arguments in support of an already existing point of view. This is exactly the case with the author of “*Tajiks...*” (Grigorichev 2012), which I discussed earlier. Confirmation bias leads a researcher to interpret results incorrectly due to a tendency to seek data that meets his or her expectations and ignore data that contradicts it. In the article mentioned above, the author biased the information and used his own judgment to discard what he does not like. By misinterpreting the data, he constructed an argument to support the conclusion already reached. With such an

approach, when he relies entirely upon his subjective world of opinion, it is inevitable that the objective world of science remains somewhere in the back and loses its meaning. Interpreting his own 'second-person' view, this author says that he should adopt it as the first-person perspective without having any first-person evidence. But the fact is that his point of view is not a first-person perspective. In his study, this author has largely ignored the study of migration and *pure violence* (Schinkel 2010: 100). Moreover, such an approach is present in social theories on violence, and only a few studies have focused on the violent act itself (Schinkel 2004). As Schinkel states, social scientific research on violence should focus on *autotelic* violence (Schinkel 2010: 100)¹ rather than state propagated and *Sistema*-wide definitions of violence to avoid artificially expanding its definition. And autotelic violence should be studied in its real and objective aspects to avoid a one-sided view (Schinkel 2004).

In such cases, the study faces two serious shortcomings at once; first, unrepresentative or incomplete data, and second, their misinterpretation. Confirmation bias is not limited to the search for evidence; interpretation of data can also be biased (Stanovich et al. 2013: 261). Moreover, data that meets previous expectations is easier to remember and save then information that does not. Articles like Grigorichev's article portray negative images of immigrants, lead to ethnic and cultural diversity, spread racist and xenophobic ideas and stereotypes, and incite feelings of intolerance and xenophobia in the population. The author understands the dangerous framework of his articles (2010, 2012). He changed (perhaps upon the recommendation of the dissertation committee) their titles in the topic of his doctoral dissertation in sociology (2014), and completely

¹ Autotelic violence is violence for the sake of violence, or as Schinkel puts it, "violence that is its own goal" (Schinkel 2010: 99-100).

avoided using the word “Tajiks” and its nuances. To my knowledge, the authors of the articles are the university professors. I would have been stunned if the authors used such articles in an elementary introduction to the sociology of migration for undergraduate students.

6.6.2 Violence in Media Publications

Hate speech tools and ethno-labeled texts are very widespread in the Russian media. In fact, it is stereotypes that give rise to labeling individuals. Typically, the stereotypes link the names of certain ethnic groups in hate speech, which is defined as “communication that carries no meaning other than the expression of hatred for some group, especially in circumstances in which the communication is likely to provoke violence" (Baider 2019: 114).

Ethnic slurs against representatives of immigrants from Tajikistan and other Central Asian states are too popular. This is due to the view that these ethnic diasporas belong to the category of labor immigrants, whom Russian residents call ‘*Gastarbeiter*’. Hence, it can be assumed that the main victims of the hate speech are labor immigrants. It is noteworthy that in almost no report or summary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, or any other official information message published in the media, we never come across terminology that offends or denigrates an individual or people based on nationality, language, religion, etc. But in reactions at the everyday level these slurs are present, which is a violation of the principles of media law. To reach more audiences, media professionals disguise socially meaningful terms and use all sorts of linguistic manipulations or euphemisms, such as *Gastarbeiter*, with irony or negative connotations.

A new striking ethnic and racial slur, the term, "*tozherossiyane*", has become common and is used mainly in relation to immigrants from the states of Central Asia and the Caucasus, including labor immigrants who "come in large numbers" [*ponayekhavshikh*] to Russia. The word *tozherossiyane* ("also are Russians")¹ goes beyond the concept of ethnos, especially when it comes to the so-called "*Moscow nationalism*". "Unlike usual xenophobia aimed at representatives of other nationalities and religions, Moscow nationalism does not favor all visitors, including even ethnic Russians from the regions, for example, Kirov or Ryazan. In other words, the confrontation follows the principle of "native – visitor", but not "Russian – non-Russian" (Friedrichson 2013).

The relatively new bureaucratic and propaganda cliché, "*tozherossiyane*", very soon turns into an extremely offensive ethnic nickname, which becomes synonymous with established ethnophobias, such as *gastarbaytery*, *ponayekhavshiye*, etc. According to my observations, the Russian media has little competence in the topic of migration, which creates a group of problems. Journalists do not study the topic very much and choose sensational, alarmist and xenophobic expressions to attract readers.

6.6.3 Migration, State and Monopoly on Violence

When I was a student, I was taught that all forms of discrimination and violence are banned in the name of man-made rational order in political modernity. I taught the same to my students by citing examples of these banned forms of discrimination and violence. The problem, however, is that such a political mechanism remains inauthentic

¹ *Tozherossiyane* is formed from adding an adverb *tozhe* [also] to the noun *rossiyane* (the name of the citizens of Russia regardless of their nationality). This word is used in relation non-Russian citizens who come to Russia, especially labor immigrants.

towards the violence. Violence is a means of maintaining the state; it is domination under the name of state power. If violence as a means is aimed at solving migration problems, then logically the violence is lawmaking. Even if police violence against immigrants is committed for security reasons when there is no legal situation, the state confirms that the law is a direct manifestation of violence. As a leverage of the political regime, it was transformed into a legitimate manifestation of power. In *Politics as a Vocation*, Weber defines the state as an entity that successfully claims a “monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory” (Weber 1946: 78).

As we have seen (Chapter 3), violence is too frequently revised and redefined in modern positions in the social sciences and political and social philosophy. Even in the following excerpt from *Politics as a Vocation* (1946), translated by Geert and Mills, Weber used the terms “force” and “violence” interchangeably with respect to the state. It creates some ambiguity in understanding the term. I will quote this passage from the new edition of the book, even if it is a little long. In this passage, he argued for the legitimate use of violence by the state: “Every state is founded on force,” said Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk. That is indeed right. If no social institutions existed which knew the use of violence, then the concept of ‘state’ would be eliminated, and a condition would emerge that could be designated as ‘anarchy,’ in the specific sense of this word. Of course, force is certainly not the normal or the only means of the state – nobody says that – but force is a means specific to the state. Today the relation between the state and violence is an especially intimate one. In the past, the most varied institutions – beginning with the sib – have known the use of physical force as quite normal. Today, however, we have to say that a state is a human community that (successfully) claims the *monopoly of the*

legitimate use of physical force within a given territory” (Weber 2014:78). Today this definition of the state as a legitimate monopoly on the means of violence has become widespread. However, professors at Harvard and Stanford Universities saw the problem otherwise: “The state holds no monopoly of violence; rather, people retain control over the means of coercion, and it is their threat to revert to violence, should others defect, that supports order along the equilibrium path” (Bates et al. 2002: 600). However, in the modern nation-state, the power or force used by the state must be clearly divided into legitimate and illegitimate violence. Otherwise, any police can legally shoot you for the sake of “keeping the peace” or “following orders” that have been consistently carried out in recent years, such as the murder of George Floyd while being arrested by the Minneapolis police in May 2020 (Cappelli 2020).

In this study, by the state I mean a group of people who control all other people who obey the laws established by the same group of people and those who are at the top of the social pyramid. Charles Tilly (1929-2008) developed the theory of the state. Its continuum is the continuum between the modern state and violence. In his article (Tilly 1985), he proves how the state usually forms gradually and evolves from something like criminal gangs, but occasionally return to their sources and largely preserve the general logic of their behavior. For this transformation to occur, which, in the words of Mansour Olson (1932-1998), a "roving bandit" distinguished from a "stationary bandit" (Olson 1993: 567), it does not have to pass many generations and form something that eventually becomes a state. All forms of inequality, oppression and discrimination against labor immigrants in this study are embedded in the structures of society and therefore

interpreted as an expression of structural violence (1.6.1 and 5.3.7). The concept of straggling structural violence is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In previous sections, I discussed the attitudes of the mainstream population of Russia towards labor immigrants. Attitudes toward immigrants at the level of Russian politics is even worse (Ceobanu and Xavier 2010; Yakushko 2009; Mayda 2006). Liberals and conservatives alike hate immigrants. Liberals, more than conservatives, inhumanized all labor immigrants at any moment favorable to their political ambitions. Why is the role and opinion of a leader, especially a political leader, so important in the analysis? The leader creates an enemy out of labor immigrants, for example, by emphasizing the crimes of immigrants or their remittances to their countries. After his speech, all the country's media begin to work on the image of the enemy. It seems to me that many modern former Soviet states are in a status similar to that of the princely states, which were formally in vassal dependence on the British rule. These so-called post-Soviet protectorates refer to semi-sovereign states, which, although are under the direct control of the local President, nevertheless are subject to the superior Russian state in some form of indirect control over certain issues. These "client states" have a sort of mutual obligation to each other in the form of military support, for example, *the CSTO*, in exchange for certain privileges.

6.7 Lifeworld Analysis

The story of a labor immigrant is a kind of self-knowledge tool in understanding his or her lifeworld that concisely packs and conveys meaning. Such stories are easy to understand in comparison to, for example, philosophical texts, which sometimes have ulterior motives or double meanings. The biographical method has also been a way of

studying the lifeworld of labor immigrants in this study. In conversation with Tajik labor immigrants and residents of Russia, I made extensive use of their everyday language, and often cited large quotes from their colloquial language. Therefore, in some cases, my descriptive language of their lifeworld becomes closer to their everyday spoken language. These descriptions also often contained metaphors.

In this subsection, I would first like to analyze the forms of organization of the lifeworld that constitute social reality for the labor immigrants living in it. The lifeworld is pre-constituted and pre-organized, and it is specific to each culture and society (Schutz 1972: 14). However, since all these social worlds are based on universal human properties, we see some common features. Everywhere we see hierarchies of superordination and subordination, commander and the obedient. Everywhere there is also an accepted way of life, that is, ideas about how to handle people and things. Moreover, everywhere there are cultural objects, symbols, and religions. There are also certain ceremonies associated with these religions, symbols and objects. These ideas and social institutions create lists of basic needs that must be met by individuals belonging to certain lifeworlds. It is believed that these needs motivate the actions of these individuals and determine the organizational and institutional frameworks of their activities. These lists also include the need for protection against *others* and external enemies, as well as the desire to be recognized. As far as I understand, these needs and motives are natural for people and should be considered as basic and universal. Without this, protecting people is a challenge based on the common needs of humanity. Some studies (Schutz 1967, Psathas 1980, Unruh 1980) also suggest this idea.

Below I describe some features of the lifeworld of Tajik immigrants and how they experience them, living among others with their lifeworld. To do this, I studied in more detail the structure of everyday knowledge about the practices, patterns, customs, interactions among them and the structural and functional context of such interactions, status relations, as well as patterns of performance of Tajik labor immigrants. Their everyday knowledge, of course, by no means was identical with my knowledge as an observer. I observed that such patterns associated with status relations motivated immigrants to perform their functions depending on their status and position in the lifeworld system. I think this is exactly what Parsons says that the conceptual unit of the social system is a role (Parsons 2013: 5-6). The role of an individual immigrant was part of the system of actions of the lifeworld and the point of contact between the action of an individual subject and the social system. However, I look at these relations not within the framework of the social system, but from the point of view of social phenomenology and symbolic interactionism and see them not in the context of *system – individual* relations, but in the *lifeworld – individual* context. Likewise, the emphasis is not on the idea of social roles, but on the idea of meaning for the construction and interpretation of personal biography. The biography of the labor immigrant is reconstructed from his narrative to explain the lifeworld again using the biography. In the phenomenological context of hermeneutics, biographical reconstruction is methodologically similar to interpretation and explanation (Schütze 2007). Therefore, the fact and process of the narrative of the labor immigrant and its scientific interpretation are necessarily confirmed by its historical authenticity. In other words, the historicity of immigrant narratives about biographical experience lies in transcending the everyday situation of the labor immigrant as one of

the possibilities for intersubjective understanding. This is in equilibrium with reflection as understanding the self-representation of an immigrant in a certain period, condition and circumstances. It is important to focus on the subjectivity of the immigrant's narrative, its sociocultural context, and the interpretation of reconstructed facts and events. Then, I think, it can provide even more scope for interpretation and understanding.

In fieldwork, my focus has been on the subjective interpretation of aspects of the immigrant's lifeworld with a factual overview and guarantee of accuracy from the words of the immigrant himself. It was a kind of documentary description in which labor immigrants experienced, interpreted and defined the events of their lifeworld (Qurbon's story, section 5.1.1. or Nozanin's story, section 6.11). I also learned that what social theorists call a "system", "role", "status", "position", "situation", "institutionalization", etc., is experienced by an individual immigrant in very different ways. For an immigrant, all the factors identified by these concepts are elements of the typification of individuals, patterns and motives of their actions or socio-cultural products that are generated by these actions. Interpreting the lifeworld of the labor immigrants in terms of types is not the result of scientific conceptualization. That is, their socio-cultural world is lived from the very beginning in terms of types; there are objects, such as houses, tables, chairs, books, hammers, parents, brothers and sisters, relatives, outsiders and so on. Hence, typifications at the level of everyday thinking, in contrast to the typifications of sociologists, are made in the everyday experience of the social world, without any formulations of rules with logical subjects and predicates. To say, using phenomenological language, they belong to pre-predictive thinking, that is, not requiring the use of logical forms of thinking. Pre-

predicate experience precedes predicative experience (Schutz 1972: 113). I would like to clarify why lifeworld interpretation in terms of typification is not the result of scientific conceptualization and what a typification means at the level of everyday thinking. So, what is the typification process at the level of everyday thinking? If I name Raushan, whom I met in Moscow in February 2014, a labor immigrant, for example, I have already made some sort of typification. Each immigrant is one of many immigrants and, as such, is different from all other immigrants, although he or she shares many common characteristics and properties with the others. Recognizing in Raushan a labor immigrant and calling him a labor immigrant, I neglected to make Raushan a special and unique immigrant, which he is to me, if it is so. Typification is the exclusion of what makes an individual unique and irreplaceable (I also partially discussed this in section 3.4.1).

6.7.1 Normalization of Violence

Normalization means the orientation of human life to normality. And even coercion and influence are part of the production of expectations through normalization. Normality can be defined by standards, for example, by legal standards, as road signs are set for normative behavior. Or a normalization described by Foucault in his book, *Discipline and Punish* (2012), is based on discipline and punishment (as in a disciplinary society), when Deleuze in his *Postscript on the Societies of Control* (1992), on the other hand, proposes the concept of a control society in which normalization is achieved through access control (as in a society of control). Access control restricts access to resources, replacing the need for normalization in control societies by a desire to normalize.

Since the day of Khursheda's death (details in the Section 5.1.1) violence against Tajiks became a "natural", "normal", and "take-for-granted" phenomenon in the everyday life of Tajik labor immigrants. Khursheda's case is a violent episode. It has become part of the everyday problematic episode in the lives of labor immigrants. Violence against Tajik labor immigrants as a behavioral attitude was accepted as normal.

I divided the responses of study participants into the four classifications, which form a hierarchy of experiences of Tajik labor immigrants:

1. Direct experience of violence;
2. Know someone who has been experienced violence;
3. Heard of someone who has experienced violence (second-hand source);
4. No personal knowledge of violence (knowledge obtained from the media or hearsay).

Based on this, we can identify three levels of the understanding of violence:

- a). Violence refers to actions that can lead to the destruction of a labor immigrant;
- b) . Violent behavior is understood as any physical reaction of one person to another that can lead to the humiliation of a man, including any forcible or aggressive behavior;
- c). Violent behavior is understood as all actions and reactions related to the satisfaction of violent desire, including struggles, and so on.

To define this classification, I approached some issues related to labor migration and Tajik immigrants, such as immigrant situations; issues, hardships, frustrations of labor migration; migration policy trends; human rights issues; the media and labor migration, depiction of labor migration and immigrants in the media, and role of the press in defusing social tension between labor immigrants and locals; stories of migrants; attitudes towards labor migrants and migration; debates about migration and

controversies; social, political and economic consequences of labor migration for both Tajikistan and Russia, for the migrants themselves, and how migration and diaspora are experienced by labor immigrants; legal and illegal labor immigrants and their rights in theory and practice, efforts for integration and future challenges, etc.

I constantly observe the decision-making process in the field of labor immigration in Russia. I wonder why, even after such precedents, which serve as the basis for decision-making in such cases in the future, no decision is made, and no changes occur in this area. Although such a chain of events, for example, with Khursheda, Umar, Huvaydo etc.¹ are precedents on the basis of which changes in the immigration policy of any state must take place, but, in Russia, unfortunately, all these terrible acts of violence were perceived as “normal” and inevitably occurring events during labor migration. However, many labor immigrants see the roots of this “normalization” in Tajikistan: In one focus group in Moscow (2015), when immigrants remembered the murdered children, one Tajik immigrant said the following: “If others kill us in labor migration, then in our homeland we die because of the irresponsibility, mismanagement and corruption of “ours” (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015).

¹ These are just a few of the names of children of Tajik labor immigrants between the ages of two and nine who were killed in Russia because of hatred.

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter concludes thesis findings in respect of the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants in Russia. As noted, the main goal of the study was to better understand the phenomenon of violence in their everyday lives. For this purpose, questionnaires and interview contracts were e-mailed to some Russian state (*VSIOM*) and independent (*Levada Center*; *CISR*) sociological research institutes, as well as to both Tajik and Russian migration experts and individuals. Interviews were conducted mainly between 2014 and 2015. By December 2016, almost all of the interviews had been transcribed, translated and interpreted. Of the 42 interviews, 13 were conducted with Russians living in Russia. The main findings of the study are as follows:

7.1 Producing Illegality

According to field research, one of the most important components that produces illegality, and the growth of migrant-phobic sentiments is the accusation of the criminalization of immigrant workers (Qurbon 2014; Erova 2014; Chupik 2015; Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015). Experts also support this argument: “The current system of regulation systematically produces illegality” (Malakhov et al. 2018: 66). “The media always finds a way to emphasize the cases when the crime was committed by [im]migrant workers, especially when it comes to crimes against a person – rapes, murders, and robberies. This often proves the thesis about the ‘migration threat’. As soon as the economic crisis began [2008], there were many alarmist statements by politicians, journalists, officials that the labor [im]migrants who were left without work

would immediately switch to criminal activities. When the burst of crime did not happen, this hysterical propaganda campaign quickly ended. Tajiks have a special place in the network of the ‘criminal migrant’. They are accused of drug trafficking. A stable and strong semantic bundle has developed in the media: Tajik labor migrants are drugs [drug traffickers]” (Olimov 2003: 138-139).

In Russian practice, the definition of illegal immigrants basically means foreigners with a short-term or temporary status who work without patents (work permits) and without the right to stay in Russia (due to exceeding the permitted stay). This narrowing of definitions is explained by the nature of the migration processes of the visa-free entry of labor migrants from the CIS countries to Russia. Essential factors in the attitude of the host population towards immigrant workers is the transborderness and foreignness of the immigrants, and their consequent special legal status and set of rights. The comprehension of this phenomenon began through the use of a stereotype of a “foreigner”, a person who is not just from another country, but from another social world with a different culture. Since the beginning of the 1990s, a rapid process of the formation of national cultural societies has been going on in all post-Soviet countries. In the Soviet period, all the population of the countries have been considered Soviet citizens, and now they are “citizens of the near abroad.” Mass use of the word “*Gastarbeiter*” reflected a radical transition from the ethnic principle of stereotyping to a migrant one (Steshin 2007).

In the minds of the Russian host population, *gastery* (*Gastarbeiter*) are aliens, immigrants who came from abroad to work, and not local workers. They must “know their place,” and this place is outside the social hierarchy of the host society. In the

Russian TV show *Nasha Russia*, two comic immigrant workers, *Jamshud* and *Ravshan* (details in Chapter 4.1) are quite evil and poisonously commenting on the everyday lifeworld of labor immigrants in Russia. Their images are the images of illegal immigrants, images of “*Gastarbeiter*”, they are strangers and aliens to Russians. Migrantophobia is linked with the image of the migrant worker that is “*Gastarbeiter*”. The mechanisms of building such stereotypes are very absurd and paradoxical, and based on mutual ‘expert assessments’ of journalists, officials and even scientists. A paradox here is that a representative of the scientific community reproduces the information that appeared in newspapers with confirmatory intonation and with supporting ‘evidence’. Such way of building of stereotypes is circular. Received the ‘scientific value’, the thesis is included in the scientific circulation of the academia. Authorized by them, it is already used as a solid and reliable source in scientific research. And again, the media replicates authoritative opinions of scientists and practitioners. In exactly the same way, the word “*Gastarbeiter*” has become lodged in the consciousness of the Russian population.

The illegality produced by the system and migration policy affects immigrants on a daily basis. Tens of thousands of disenfranchised Tajik labor immigrants work in Moscow. They receive a meager salary for their work and the majority of them sleep with their families and children in basements and pay rent to various corrupt officials. Many of them work as janitors, and they themselves know that their work is exploited by officials and that their “*rabskiy trud*” [the respondent's phrase meaning “slave labor”] is good business for employers. Concerning the closed world of immigrant janitors and the business arising from their slave labor, I have heard in focus groups as well: “Employers do not benefit from hiring local legal cleaners, because then they must pay real wages and

comply with labor laws” (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015). Immigrants themselves report that if Muscovites become street cleaners, they can earn up to 30,000 rubles [530 US dollars] a month, three times more than immigrant workers earn. But utilities prefer to officially register their relatives, and instead send illegal immigrants to clean the streets. Thus, public utilities usually ‘hang’ objects that are documented to several fictitious employees, on illegal immigrants. Sometimes Tajik labor immigrants even replace the work of some equipment and tractors, which contractors also fictitiously use for cleaning. To have time to work out all the objects, the Tajik cleaner goes to the construction site at 3 am, working for 14-16 hours (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015).

The lives of labor immigrants are at risk, especially during the winter. Clearing snow from roofs is a very dangerous job. For such work, employers are required to hire an expensive and licensed specialist, but “they do this only on paper.” In reality, slippery roofs are cleaned by the same Tajik workers. “Employers buy the cheapest work clothes, but in documents they show it as expensive” (Sharipov 2014). All these machinations, according to Karomat Sharipov, allow contractors to ‘earn’ huge sums every month. “According to our data, employers, including state structures, ‘earn’ about 14 million rubles annually from Tajiks working in Moscow” (Sharipov 2014). Moreover, in damp basements, illegal immigrants are constantly ill, but because of their status they cannot turn to doctors. This institutionalized slavery in the system of housing and communal services must be checked and abolished by the Federal Migration Service, but instead this organization punishes the migrant workers themselves. Regardless of how the immigrant

workers died, whether they were killed by skinheads or died in a state of institutionalized slavery, the Russian migration system must respond (Amon 2014a).

7.2 Immigrants Are Others

"... they had no government, and were merciless to every one not of their own small tribe..." (Darwin 2003: 560). I have quoted here a fragment from the text written in the 19th century. If I had not given the author's name and the time of writing, it could well be attributed to the current situation with labor migration in Russia. The above quote refers to the *Fuegians* and their wild lifestyles, which Charles Darwin observed while having a round-the-world voyage on the Beagle ship in 1832. Today we are still dehumanizing the Other.

The growth of social tension and migrant phobia in Moscow and St. Petersburg is complicated by the scale of labor migration flows and the multinational composition of immigrants (Rosstat 2012a; Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015a). According to the Tajik immigrants in Moscow themselves, the cultural differences of immigrants are often perceived by Muscovites in the form of stereotypes with negative connotations of '*ugrozy*' ['threat'], '*opasnosti*' ['danger'], '*nepriyazni*' ['dislike'] (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion, 2015). This is confirmed by both the focus group analysis conducted in Moscow and the 2010 Russian census (Rosstat 2012a), which show that not all members of the host community can distinguish images of Tajik immigrants from other immigrants from Central Asia (Ruget and Usmanalieva 2018). Moreover, the majority of the population of Russia are unable to differentiate immigrants by culture. Their attitude towards different cultures of immigrants from Central Asia is generalized in a single negative attitude towards all arriving immigrants (Abdusamadov, Focus Group

Discussion, 2015). Most residents of Moscow do not want to live next to people who have come from Central Asia (60%) or the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia (56%) (FOM 2011). In this context, it was important for me to know with what characteristics Moscow Russians endow their image of Tajik immigrants. Most publications by Russian authors view the images of labor immigrants from Central Asia through the eyes of the Russian population. The images usually are negative. Several authors have discussed how immigrants themselves perceive the difficulties of integration into the host society (Tishkov 2003; Light 2016). However, both groups of authors did not so much analyze, but simply state the attitude of residents of Russia towards immigrants or immigrants towards the host society. The fieldwork of my 2014 Moscow study focused on studying qualitative aspects of these gaps in the interaction of Tajik immigrants and the host community.¹

The attitude of the host society towards Tajik immigrants is multi-layered and consists of many interrelated, but often contradictory categories. Both Muscovites and Petersburgers do not have a single opinion on the characteristics of Tajik immigrants (although, as I already noted, not everyone distinguishes Tajiks from other nations of Central Asia); one part of the respondents believes that the flows of Tajik migrants to the

¹ The fieldwork was carried out under the Open Society Global Supplementary Grant in 2014 based on a qualitative paradigm using interviewing techniques for both Tajik labor immigrants and members of the host community. This approach made it possible to compare and contrast the views of both sides on the problem of violence. The focus group consisted of blocks of specific questions (attitude of the local population towards Tajik labor immigrants, images of immigrants in the host community, relationships between them, ways of establishing interaction between the host population and Tajik labor immigrants). Two focus groups of 8 (1st) and 11 (2nd) Tajik labor immigrants and 42 interviews were conducted. Coding (with a focus on the coding paradigm of Corbin and Strauss (2014: 220-223) was used in the analysis of transcribed materials. The analysis was carried out using the interpretive theory of Schutz (1972) and Weber (1978). In addition, content analysis was used to analyze the image of Tajik immigrants (see Chapter 3 for details).

capital are constantly growing, that “everyone is coming here” [*priyeyzhayut vse pogolovno*], and the “city chokes on them” [*gorod ot nikh zadykhayetsya*]. Others believe that they “do a lot of work where ours do not go” or “do all the dirty and low-paying work” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014).

For some Muscovites, with whom I talked during the breaks and after the seminar at the Moscow Higher School of Economics, the very notion of "labor immigrant" is associated only with immigrants from Central Asia or the Caucasus. For them, “*migrants are Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Azerbaijanis*” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014). However, there was a very wide range of emotions and reactions on the part of the respondents: from negativity (“*they took our jobs*”) to pity (“*they are abandoned by employers*”) (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014). One of my respondents, a post-graduate sociologist at the St. Petersburg State University of Culture and Arts, Yekaterina Samoilova, who is originally from Pskov, expressed the following: “I have nothing against newcomers [labor immigrants] if they respect and understand our traditions, rules and culture of the city. I know many of those who came to the city relatively recently, but at the same time they treated the lifestyle of residents with respect from the very beginning. And they managed to fit into the rhythm of the metropolis in the shortest possible time. Not all, but many of the newcomers are initially biased against the capital and its residents. They do not accept the established rhythm and way of life. I would like to say to such immigrants, ‘do not stick your charter in a foreign monastery’ (*v chuzhoy monastyr’ so svoim ustavom ne suysya*)” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015d).

Another Russian conversationalist of mine, calling Tajik labor immigrants ‘*Gastarbeiter*’, associated them with the Soviet-era “*Gastarbeiter* and

limiters”(gastarbayerov i limitchikov sovetskikh vremen):¹ “They [limiters] were engaged in unskilled labor, and let these [labor immigrants] do only unskilled labor; those [limiters] were less educated and these [labor immigrants] are relatively less educated; they [limiters] did not have the same opportunities as we did, and these [labor immigrants] should not have [the same opportunities, as we have]; they [limiters] were very tightly controlled and these [labor immigrants] must be constantly controlled” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014).

A formation of the stereotype “Tajiks” in the articles of Grigorichev (2010, 2012) demonstrates the evolution of transformation from the image of enemy to the image of “Gastarbeiter” in the consciousness of the host population (details in Chapter 5). The main negative components of this stereotype are the markers of cultural alienation such as "others", "blacks", etc. They are indeed from the same post-Soviet area as Russians themselves, but they are culturally Others. As I have already noted, "caucasophobia" was the most mass xenophobia in the beginning years of post-Soviet Russia though the roots of such phobia go back to the Soviet period. The collapse of the USSR resulted in the formation of new independent states and the inevitable reformatting of ideas about who is "us" and who is "them." The fall of the Soviet Union not only created new independent states and divided the Soviet people into "us" and "them", it caused mass migration from

¹ My interviewee used here the lexicon of inequality of the Soviet period. It is due to the policy of the passport system and the *propiska* regime of the time. Propiska made it possible to control the population of large cities. The labor shortage at construction sites and factories in large cities of Russia was made up by attracting people from other former societies. But for enterprises, registration quotas for nonresident workers were specially introduced, the so-called *limitny propiski* [registration limits]. Such processes were especially evident in Moscow (details in section 2.1.1). So, the pejorative word *limitchik* [limiter] was used to refer to people who have received a limited residence permit because of the need for workers in these factories within the so-called *propiska* limit. Labor migration from Tajikistan to some Russian enterprises was also officially limited, so they were called *limiters*. However, in the post-Soviet period, the scale of migration to Russia has radically changed, as we see today. And, what is more interesting, my Russian interviewee calls these limitchiks “Soviet Gastarbeiter” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014).

small soviet republics to the country of “big brother.” As a result, the everyday contacts between immigrants and the host population created a situation of sharp conflict of cultures and xenophobic behavior. “The pioneers of mass labor migration from Central Asia, were residents of Tajikistan, Tajiks by nationality” (Dyatlov 2010: 440). Dyatlov links the image of the Tajiks to their “pioneering” role as immigrants. “The pioneering role of Tajiks, their massive, everyday, and constant presence in the life of the host society, formed the image of a “Tajik” (Dyatlov 2010: 441). The word “Tajik” has been filled with many new meanings by the host population. On the one hand, it means for them the usual ethnonym and designation of the resident of Tajikistan; on the other, it refers to all people from Central Asia who come to Russia in search of work. “The first Tajik labor migrants started from zero, practically from scratch. Therefore, they could count only on the most unattractive, dirty and low-paid occupations and spheres of employment. Employees, doctors, scientists, teachers, skilled workers, people with secondary and higher education became laborers” (Dyatlov 2010: 442). In fact, it has become synonymous with the word “*Gastarbeiter*”, a word which has become widely accepted and used in everyday language practice. This process created some other phrases, such as “*tadzhikskiy trud*” [Tajik labor], “*tadzhikskaya zarplata*” [Tajik salary], “*rabotat' kak tadzhik*” [to work like a Tajik], and even “*rabotat' tadzhikom*” [to work being a Tajik] (Abdusamadov 2014). “Tajiks” became the popularly accepted image of immigrants and part of their everyday life. Accordingly, the stereotype, “Tajik”, was formed. Naturally, “Tajik” is a native of Central Asia and not necessarily a Tajik. With the numerical predominance of Uzbeks in Russia, they are practically absent in public opinion and consciousness in this capacity. Dyatlov (2010) concludes that “the stereotype

of the “Tajik” is not primarily formed by ethnic connotations. It is of fundamental importance that this is a labor migrant, “*Gastarbeiter*”. In the eyes of others, the “Tajik” is a second-class person, low-status and disenfranchised, not claiming to be in someone else’s place in the social hierarchy, ready for any work, in general, for anything to earn money. He is not even at the bottom of the social ladder – he is out of it” (Dyatlov 2010: 444-445).

7.3 “Immigrants Are Ignorant”

During the workshop at the Moscow Higher School of Economics (February 12, 2014), it was easy to notice that among the participants there were some who were very negative about migration. Some other participants viewed migration and immigrants through the prism of universal values, human rights and freedom. A negative attitude towards Tajik labor immigrants and other immigrants from Central Asia was expressed mainly by those Muscovites who also had a very negative attitude towards labor migration itself (Yudina 2005: 598). It was also about the images of both labor immigrants and Muscovites: “Antipathy did not arise out of nowhere. In fact, the latent enmity between Muscovites and newcomers began with the influx of labor immigrants to Moscow (Schenk 2018: 127). The problem is a cultural diversity between them; Muscovites view the newcomers to be unintelligent and arrogant, while the newcomers call Muscovites “*mods*” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014a). Some respondents, who were, in fact, representatives of the host community, stated that among Muscovites there are the same deviants as among labor immigrants, and their personal experience shows that stereotypical ideas about immigrants are erroneous. They believe that if Muscovites

do not like some features of immigrants who do not violate law and order, then there is nothing wrong; this, then, is the problem of the Muscovites themselves; these are their complexes (“*eto ikh kompleksy*”) (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014a).

There have always been ambivalent opinions among the respondents about labor immigrants. With most, I could agree on the basis of my own observational data. Some Moscow residents look at labor immigrants from Central Asia with eyes full of pity; for them they are poorly dressed and they need to wash themselves [*im by pomyt'sya*]; immigrants are a cheap labor force; they work for nothing [*rabotayut zadarma*]; immigrants provide cleanliness and order in the city [Moscow]; they clean up territories, streets, entrances [*pod'yezdy*]; they clean the courtyards; without them, Moscow will drown in the mud [*bez nikh Moskva utonet v gryazi*] (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014a). The seminar participants sometimes noted neutral and positive assessments of Central Asians, and even sometimes acknowledged their moral superiority. During a break, one of the seminar participants came up to me to narrate his own experience: “...I was attacked by Russian scum; here one Tajik stood up for me; he did not hesitate, interceded... They [Tajiks] respect elders; they concede their place for our elderly people [in public transportation], which our Russian guys do not. Their reverence for elders is greatly appreciated; this is a big plus [for them] (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014a).

The opinions and attitudes of the residents of St. Petersburg and Moscow towards labor immigrants from Central Asia have been manifold. However, most Moscow residents have a negative perception of immigrants from Tajikistan and other Central Asian societies (Light 2016:74). It is based on the stereotypical idea of the ‘insufficient intelligence’ of these immigrants. “Tajiks, Uzbeks? ... in fact, they are not that scary. I

used to work in a bank, and we had normal people from Georgia, and from Tajikistan, by the way, too” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2014a). Characteristics of images of labor immigrants from Tajikistan and Central Asia are summarized in the table below (Chart 3). The table shows that negative views prevail over positive ones in the assessments of labor immigrants from Tajikistan and Central Asia.

7.4 Religiosity and Violence

As previously noted, the majority of Tajik labor immigrants work in Moscow. Moscow neoliberalism is constructed in close affiliation with the *systema* power and business. The term, crony capitalism, or, one might say, *clan capitalism* is more suitable for this metropolis (Kosals 2007). Although the Russian neoliberal project has proceeded intensively, it is synchronically connected with the rise of nationalism and nation-state ideology. This process has a very negative impact on the daily life of labor immigrants. Moreover, it is easy to notice the rampant speculative development of the city. It seems like being a labor immigrant in a neoliberal city is not easy. In such conditions, it is extremely arduous to be a labor immigrant with a very low income. However, being the most important financial center of Russia and the world economy, Moscow attracted not only businesspeople, but also labor immigrants (Schenk 2018; Light 2016: 71). The core business in this city is the construction business, in which most of the workers are labor immigrants from Tajikistan. These details were not so essential for this study unless considerable violence against Tajik immigrants were committed in this city. In neoliberal Moscow, the number of neo-Nazi skinheads is growing rapidly. “It is a new phenomenon in our city,” said Kirill. Kirill is an associate of the Moscow Levada Center. He calls

himself an *antifa* [anti-fascist] and, in his words, is also engaged in “some journalistic investigations.” Kirill invited me to the *Zhan-Zhak* cafe near the *Taganka Theater* to have lunch and show me the ‘Moscow hackerspace’ there. “Closer to the beginning of 2000, the musical hardcore style only blossomed in Russia. Participants in underground concerts were not interested in social and political problems in the country. Those guys just went to punk rock and hardcore concerts and did not think about violence against migrants at all. There was no hidden social motivation” (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015e). Knowing that I had arrived from the United States, he added: “In the USA, at first, there were hippies who tried to change something, but couldn't. Then there were punks who called their parents “vegetables”, carried mohawks, have thought up the slogan “No future” and were engaged in self-damage. Punks have also appeared as the answer to a hardcore...” Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015e).

However, one of the important facets of social and economic development is labor migration and its complexity in labor markets. Russia, and especially Moscow with a relatively developed economy in the post-Soviet space, constantly requires and attracts labor resources. Most Tajik immigrants are also in Moscow. The largest part of these immigrants with whom I spoke in Moscow and St. Petersburg, implicitly trust God (they use the word *Allah* instead) and sincerely believe that God is the real protector, guardian and trustee [*wakil*] (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015d). As an idea, *tawakkal* is one of the concepts of trust in Islamic studies that discusses the relationship of trust between a believer and the God. In the daily life of Tajik labor immigrants, it has evolved from its original meaning of ‘divine ethic’ into everyday social ethics and social trust (Abdusamadov 2019). For the lifestyle of many Tajik families, the importance of reliance

upon God has been emphasized since childhood. Nevertheless, I want to briefly interpret the concept *tawakkal* (details in section 5.1.1) within the framework of sociology, similar to what had been done earlier by Weber, when he analyzed the “unworldliness” of “Catholic conduct of life” and “worldliness” of Protestantism (Weber 2002: 4-5, 17-28).

This aspect of the vision of the world, which is part of the everyday lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants, one might say, is unknown to the Russian person, although it is the most important component of the unconscious. Labor immigrants from Tajikistan do not deny the existence of the unconscious, nor do they consider their vision irrational. The idea of the *tawakkal* for them resides in their capacity to cognize givenness, which is included in the realm of the trustworthiness of God (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015). But for a typical Russian person, this is a mysteriously obscured sphere that comes not from feelings, but from conceptual thinking, and therefore they call it irrational. Obviously, this is not the individual experience of a Tajik labor immigrant and his practical perception of God. Many Tajiks go to a religious leader or *mullah* to gain basic religious knowledge in childhood. For many, the knowledge gained in childhood becomes the principal guide throughout their lives. In his narrative, Qurbon (2014; details in section 5.3) recited an *ayah* (verse) in Arabic from Qur'an, recalling the moment when he was caught by the police in Kazakhstan: “...when you have decided [on something], then rely upon Allah. Indeed, Allah loves those who rely [upon Him]” (Qur'an 3: 159) [a translation of the *ayah* quoted from *The Qur'an* 2010]. Thus, to draw an analogy, while American youth build their lives on the ideals of the American Dream, both materially and spiritually, Tajik youth create it by relying on Allah.

Below I interpret a scope of the conceptual thinking of Tajik youth, as well as how and why they think and behave in the framework of ‘*tawakkal ba khuda*’. As mentioned earlier, many Tajiks gain basic religious knowledge as early as childhood, falling into the circles of *a mullah* or *a Sufi*. There is a temporary state of consciousness of Sufis called *hāl*. The nature of this state is spiritual and transient. When a Sufi reaches this state, he unconditionally trusts God. This state is the state of understanding the knowledge of the God. Hence, *hāl* is a product of the spiritual practices of a Sufi on his path to God. Thus, epistemologically, *hāl* is the spiritual state or practice of a Sufi, not a labor immigrant. This is the deep and abiding faith of a Sufi in God, and his faith in God [*tawakkal*] is a renunciation of his will. For a Sufi, this state means that he owns nothing, except perfect faith, and no one owns him, except God. *Tawakkal* is a result and consequence of perfect faith. Therefore, he says ‘*tawakkal ba khuda*’ (Abdusamadov 2019).

In the daily life of Tajik labor immigrants, there are many mystical elements and notions deconstructed and transformed from the world of Sufis and leaders of Islamic mysticism. Above, I mentioned *hāl*, a temporary state of consciousness of a Sufi. *Hāl* is an Arabic word. The plural of this word is *ahwāl*. When one Tajik asks: “*Chi ahwāl dori?*”, it means “How are you?” A literary meaning of the former phrase is ‘what is your condition?’ Many do not understand that the original meaning of the words *hāl* and *ahwāl*, which are used daily and repeatedly, is a spiritual state, and they use it as something taken for granted. There is nothing wrong with that, of course. The fact is that the everyday life of Tajiks is mixed with the religiosity of the *past* (Abdusamadov, *unpublished work*). My emphasis on the ‘past’ indicates a low awareness of religion in

the modern world, as well as a similar level of legal and political understanding both in Tajik society and among Tajik labor immigrants in Russia. It is easy to see this by observing the daily resacralization of modern Tajik society (Abdusamadov 2019).

In sociology, the phenomenon of “*tawakkal*” is a regular pattern of beliefs, along with values, attitudes or behaviors. This phenomenon stems from an individual experience of a special state; so, it is an *experience*. In everyday life, we attach meaning to our lives, interact with others and interpret them. Interacting and giving subjective meaning to our behavior implies social action. Hence, the search for meaning and an interpretive understanding of the meaning of experiences are vital in understanding the lifeworld of Tajik labor immigrants. In a social context of religious experience, the state of *hāl* is interpreted as a temporary altered state of consciousness of a Sufi when he achieves a divine essence, an understanding of ultimate truth and subjective knowledge of transcendental and ultimate reality. This state and its meaning does not coincide with the actual state of Tajik labor immigrants, their belief in total determinism and complete dependence on God, as well as the meaning they attach to the phrase ‘*tawakkal ba khuda.*’

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Introduction

Tajikistan is one of the key players in the Russian labor market among other CIS countries. Tajik political elites regard the employment of their citizens in Russia as one of the priority areas for regulating domestic policy. Such a mechanism is aimed at stabilizing the national labor market, reducing protest sentiments in society, as well as bringing money into the economy through remittances from immigrants. From this point of view, it should be noted that for the Tajik elites, Russia is partly the guarantor of maintaining the stability of the existing political system in Tajikistan. At the same time, it is noticeable that other factors, such as high birth rates, low living standards, nepotism, downward mobility, and corruption contribute to the growth of protest moods (Kataeva 2012). Such situations make the authorities look for opportunities for the legal outflow of active citizens to Russia, using the mechanisms of labor migration. The issue of violence against Tajik labor immigrants in Russia is currently within the framework of complex, tense, uncertain and, therefore, unresolved issues. These uncertainties and complexities further complicate the situation of labor immigrants. Although the problem of the transnational labor migration has no simple decisions, one of the key issues must be oriented on integration of immigrants into the host society. Therefore, I believe that the most effective and operative instrumentation in relation to labor immigrants from Tajikistan should be an expansion of opportunities for their integration into the Russian labor market. Two factors are the main ones in increasing labor migration from Tajikistan to Russia; first, the gap in GDP per capita between these two states (Map 2) and, second,

the comparative receptivity in Russia for Tajik migrants among other post-Soviet countries and the need in Russia for labor migrants. Both factors significantly influence the level of violence against Tajiki labor immigrants. In addition, there are some other factors that stand out in the dissertation data. During the analysis of the dissertation data, I repeatedly mentioned otherness, in particular, the cultural and religious differences of Tajik labor immigrants (Chapters 5.1.1 and 6.5). These factors were most noted in the Moscow fieldwork data.

8.1 Interpretation of Findings

During field research and other trips, I have met hundreds of Russians both in Russia and elsewhere: in the streets, bazaars and construction sites, universities, conferences and on the roads. Everyone I interviewed or I was talking to, saw both positive and negative aspects of the presence of immigrants in their country, although many stressed its negative aspects.

How do Russians treat immigrants from Tajikistan? This is the question I have asked throughout my research in order to find the answer. During my conversations with them (2014-2018), I felt that many do not know exactly who the Tajik immigrants are; they could not identify them and some have confused them with other immigrants from Central Asia. However, I have always questioned them about Tajik immigrants. Sometimes it seemed to me that some of them were a bit 'subjective' in their answers; some others, knowing that I am also a Tajik, answered me in a more modest manner. As I transcribed interviews and conversations, I noticed both positive and negative aspects in their reaction to the way they see Tajik immigrants. These views have been accurately

translated verbatim according to their answers, which I have provided in the table below (Chart 4). The content of the answers shows that respondents generalized Tajik and other Central Asian immigrants, since, as I mentioned, many Russians cannot identify Tajik immigrants among the other immigrants from Central Asia (Ruget and Usmanalieva 2018; 2010).

Tajik Labor Immigrants: Who Are They?

Positive aspects	Negative aspects
<i>About "Tajik workers take jobs from residents of Russia"</i>	
"they do any job" "they work where the Russians don't work" "do a lot of work where ours don't go" "do all the dirty and low-paid work" "do hard, low-paid work" "work for 'black' work" [<i>rabotayut na 'chernoy' rabote</i>] "do hard work at a construction site"	"they take jobs, bring down the level of wages" "salaries because of them have fallen below the baseboard" "it is difficult for the local population to find a job" [because of Tajiks] "because of them, there are no normal salaries, and they take away jobs" "they steal our work" "they took away jobs; it is impossible to get a job for a Russian in the ZHEK [housing office, municipal infrastructure]"
<i>About "How Tajik immigrants behave, responsibility, manners"</i>	
"they do well at what they came [to do]." "high-quality performance of work; quick and proper" "they know how to work in good faith" "they execute their obligations in good faith" "Hardworking workers" [<i>Trudolyubivyye rabotniki</i>] "Ordinary people. I see nothing wrong [with Tajik immigrants]"	"they behave ugly" "provoke local residents into scandals" "their manners leave something to be desired" "they do not want to respect and observe our traditions" "they are ill-mannered" [<i>vedut sebya pokhamski</i>]
<i>About "Tajiks are cheap labor, crime, rape"</i>	
"cheap labor"	"there is a high crime rate among them"

<p>"free labor force" [<i>darmovaya rabsila</i>] "excellent workmanship" "free manual labor" [<i>besplatnaya rabochaya sila</i>] "dirt cheap" [<i>rabotayut zadarma</i>]</p>	<p>"they distribute drugs" "they steal and rape" "Because of them [Tajiks], crime is growing in our city" "Tajiks bring drugs and distribute them here [in Russia]"</p>
<p><i>On the number of "Tajik immigrants in Moscow, how they clean Moscow streets"</i></p>	
<p>"they clean the streets, entrances" "clean the courtyards in the city" "the streets have become cleaner" "clean the entrance well" "Without Tajiks, Moscow will drown in the mud"</p>	<p>"Their number is growing; they are crowding out the local population" "there are a lot of them" "wild overpopulation [in Moscow because of the Tajiks] that must be stopped" "the number of Russians is decreasing" "they marry Russians, non-Russian children are born, the Russian nation suffers" "soon there will be fewer Russians than arriving Tajiks and others" "the city is teeming with blacks" [my interlocutor had in mind Tajik and Central Asian immigrants, thinking that I was American]</p>
<p><i>About 'Tajik business' for the benefit of the Russian economy, language, values, culture</i></p>	
<p>"contribute to the development of the city's economy" "they invest in our city" "make a profit for the hotel business" "they open their shops" "cheap goods are imported" "they sell vegetables cheaper"</p>	<p>"Tajiks know Russian poorly, adapt poorly to local culture" "Ignorance of the Russian language" "they must know the Russian language" "they do not accept our values, mentality" "do not know Russian culture" [<i>ne znayut russkoy kul'tury</i>]</p>
<p><i>About Tajik culture, religion, and 'The Other'</i></p>	
<p>"They are different people; it is always interesting to talk to them" "with a wonderful culture" "exchange of interests, outlook on life" "‘You can communicate with these people, broaden your horizons’" "‘I had good, interesting communication with the Pamiris" [natives of Badakhshan, Tajikistan]</p>	<p>"they are strangers, with a different culture, religion" "Their culture is alien to us" "another culture, mentality. It is hard to converge" "they have their ways, and we have ours" [<i>u nikh svoi ustoi, a u nas svoi</i>] "after all, they are strangers in everything"</p>

<i>About how Tajik immigrants live, work, earn money</i>	
<p>"They work and work [work a lot]" "People make money" "they come to us to work" "“They come here to escape poverty [spasayas' ot nishchety]. They work hard" “The same people [like us]. Probably, it is impossible for them to live there [Tajikistan]" "These people earn money here [Russia] and provide for their families"</p>	<p>"they live crowded, unsanitary conditions, spread the infection" "there is a lot of dirt, other problems" "they bring us infection" "they pull any infection from the south"</p>
<i>On the 'naivety' and 'sociability' of Tajiks, remittances and how 'they harm the Russian economy'</i>	
<p>"Worthy people" "they are simple and humane, naive, like children" "sociable, kind" "they are normal guys" "give way [to elders] in the subway" "they help retirees" [<i>pensioneram pomogayut</i>]</p>	<p>"they harm the economy of the country" "they take money out of our country" "they do not pay taxes; money is taken out" "taxes are not paid, all the money is transferred"</p>
<i>On the 'illegality' and 'uncontrollability' of Tajiks</i>	
	<p>"many of them live illegally" "uncontrolled" "many newcomers from Tajikistan try to work illegally, without registration" "part of them live without a visa" [apparently, the interlocutor was unaware of the visa-free regime for Tajikistan]</p>

Table 3. Positive and Negative Aspects of Respondents Regarding Labor Immigrants from Tajikistan and Central Asia (based on author's interviews and conversations with residents of Russia).

Conclusion

Tajiks and Russians have a common past; they lived in the same country and have a common 70-year history. Most Tajiks know Russian. Even after gaining independence,

Tajiks have mostly watched Russian TV channels for over 20 years; they know about all political and economic events in Russia. Russian-language newspapers are the most popular and widely read in Tajikistan. All educational institutions in Tajikistan, especially those with a technical profile, work according to Russian standards. And, the most important thing in interstate relations is that Russia is a strategic partner of Tajikistan. Therefore, it can be assumed that the number of labor migrants from Tajikistan to Russia will not decrease, but, on the contrary, will increase, since the above-described reasons play an outstanding role in attracting Tajiks to Russia. Herewith, the key factors that determine the migration of labor from Tajikistan to Russia are the following:

a). The economic factor. On the one hand, mass emigration from Tajikistan to Russia was stimulated by push factors; the decline in production, low wages, high unemployment, lack of jobs, the spread of poverty and a surplus of labor. On the other hand, pull factors were also stimulating: a large labor market, a diversified economy, the need for workers in many sectors, a higher level of wages, a better quality of life, etc. The difference in the level of wages most clearly illustrates the situation. For example, in 2013, if in Tajikistan, the labor market set a minimum wage level of only \$81; in Russia this figure was \$689 (Ryazantsev 2016: 7). The differentiation of the unemployment rate also largely explains the trends in labor migration in Tajikistan. In the same year, the minimum unemployment in Russia was 5.5%, and in Tajikistan – 11.6% (Ryazantsev 2016: 13). Nonetheless, mass labor migration for Tajikistan has mixed consequences. The positive effects of remittances are clear. In 2013, according to the World Bank, Tajikistan ranked first in the world in terms of remittances in GNP with 52% of national income

(Ratha 2016). The negatives of it are hidden and include both the economic impact and social costs (Milkman 2020: 26), which I have discussed in chapter 6 of this dissertation. Meanwhile, Tajik government policy is still focused on the export of labor, which has only short-term consequences, since labor migration remains the most powerful resource for Russia's influence on the political situation in Tajikistan.

b). Socio-demographic factor. The working-age population in Russia has been declining in the 2010s. This situation continues today, with the population aging faster than before (Ryazantsev 2016). This situation is constantly exacerbating labor shortages in Russia and increasing labor migration from Tajikistan and other post-Soviet countries. In Tajikistan and other Central Asian states, the demographic situation looks radically opposite to that of Russia. Studies show that by 2050 the working-age population in Tajikistan will increase by 2.8 million (Ulmasov 2018). Even with the rapid development of the economy of Tajikistan, the entire working-age population cannot be employed in Tajikistan. In addition, the current model of behavior in Tajikistan is completely predictable. In the mass consciousness of the population, especially young people, an orientation towards a strategy of success in life has been formed exclusively through labor migration to Russia. Most youngsters and middle-aged people in Tajikistan prefer work in Russia over further education.

c). Cultural and linguistic factor. The migration system between Tajikistan and Russia is based on socio-economic ties and the widespread use of the Russian language in Tajikistan as the main means of communication, particularly among the older generation (Laruelle 2007: 106). Choosing the direction of migration abroad, residents of Tajikistan give preference to Russia. Knowledge of the Russian language and an understanding of

the mentality of the Russian population significantly increases their chances of finding work there. Most Tajik labor migrants find work in Russia through family contacts and private intermediaries. The role of state structures and private employment agencies in the employment of Tajik immigrants is extremely low.

d). Geographic factor. Tajikistan, despite its geographical position in the center of Eurasia, is much more closely connected with Russia than, for example, with China. There are different types of transportation from Tajikistan to Russia: rail, road and air. Direct flights are available from Tajikistan to major Russian cities. The transport factor, combined with geographic location, stimulates labor migration from Tajikistan to Russia.

There are other factors influencing the decision of the citizens of Tajikistan to choose Russia. For citizens of Tajikistan there is a visa-free regime for entry into the Russian Federation. Having arrived in Russia, they can search for an employer within 30 days and obtain a patent for work in the country. At present, Tajikistan is second to Uzbekistan in providing labor migrants to Russia. According to the FMS of Russia, as of early August 2015, there were 985,000 Tajik citizens in Russia, and in 2014 there were about 626,000 (Ryazantsev 2016). Out of this figure, in 2014, according to my interview with the expert, Tajik immigrant workers in St. Petersburg and Moscow mainly engaged in construction (44%), as well as trade (18%), service (17%), industry (11%), agriculture (4%) and transport (3%) (Sharipov 2014).

One of the pressing problems for labor immigrants in Russia is the problem of the education of their children in the schools. This problem is difficult to investigate due to the lack of reliable statistics. Based on my own interviews, in Moscow schools, up to 10% of students are children of immigrants (Gannushkina 2015), while in St. Petersburg

about 3% (Nazarsho 2014). This is despite the fact that, according to my observations, between 15% and 20% of Tajik immigrant workers come to Russia with their children, most of whom must go to school (Abdusamadov, Field Notes 2015e). I spoke with a Russian expert who was directly involved in this issue: “One of the main problems is a unified state program of socio-cultural integration, a system of language adaptation of immigrant children to the conditions of life in a new Russian environment. In the all-Russian legislation, there are no normative documents, especially methodological developments of the federal level in the sphere of education of migrant children” (Karpenko 2014). Thus, Russia and Tajikistan are unequal in the ratio of labor migration; while Russia attracts more foreign labor migrants, Tajikistan basically provides labor migrants. If in Russia the output of labor immigration exceeds labor emigration by about 34 times (34:1), then in Tajikistan the ratio is the opposite; labor emigration exceeds labor immigration by 600 times (1:600) (Ryazantsev 2016). At the same time, the exploitation of this labor force is explicitly observed. The results of my interviews in St. Petersburg and Moscow show that the labor of Tajik labor migrants is practiced in various sectors of the Russian economy. In many sectors, there is a mechanism in which Russian workers are officially listed in enterprises, but in fact, Tajik immigrants work there. A good example is the housing and communal services. Since the wages of Tajik immigrants are much lower, the difference between these costs is the net profit of business owners (Sharipov 2014).

I came to the same conclusion based on the results of the focus group in Moscow. Immigrant workers from Tajikistan face serious social and humanitarian challenges in their everyday lives. During a focus group meeting in Moscow (2015), I asked immigrant

workers about the conditions under which they live. It turned out that more than half of my respondents (54%) live in poor conditions, receive much lower wages, are exploited by employers, and their work and human rights are universally violated (Abdusamadov, Focus Group Discussion 2015). In fact, we can talk about the formation of a segment of forced labor in some sectors of the Russian economy. Receiving superprofits from the labor of immigrants, employers do not bear any social responsibility for medical insurance and the provision of labor migrants with social services.

The main problem of labor migration from Tajikistan to Russia are the low qualifications of the bulk of labor immigrants. Only reforms in education can change the situation that may affect the status of Tajik immigrants in Russia. The development of education can dramatically reduce the flow of labor migrants and open up new opportunities for young people. Building a positive image of Tajik immigrants should be the first step the government should focus on. The next necessary step should be the social and cultural adaptation of Tajik labor immigrants to Russia. These tasks should be solved by the Tajik state. It needs to organize free lawyers, doctors and other professionals for the daily needs of immigrants. The only state center "Tajik House", located in Moscow, should become a real center that would support every Tajik immigrant in solving migration problems.

Labor migration should be seen as a connection between people and culture. This connection should be based on cooperation. However, migration from Tajikistan to Russia is a connection without cooperation; it has led to misunderstanding and violence. If these states want to cooperate because of the mutual interests of labor migration, then, first of all, Tajikistan must demand the rights of its labor migrants. The rights of labor

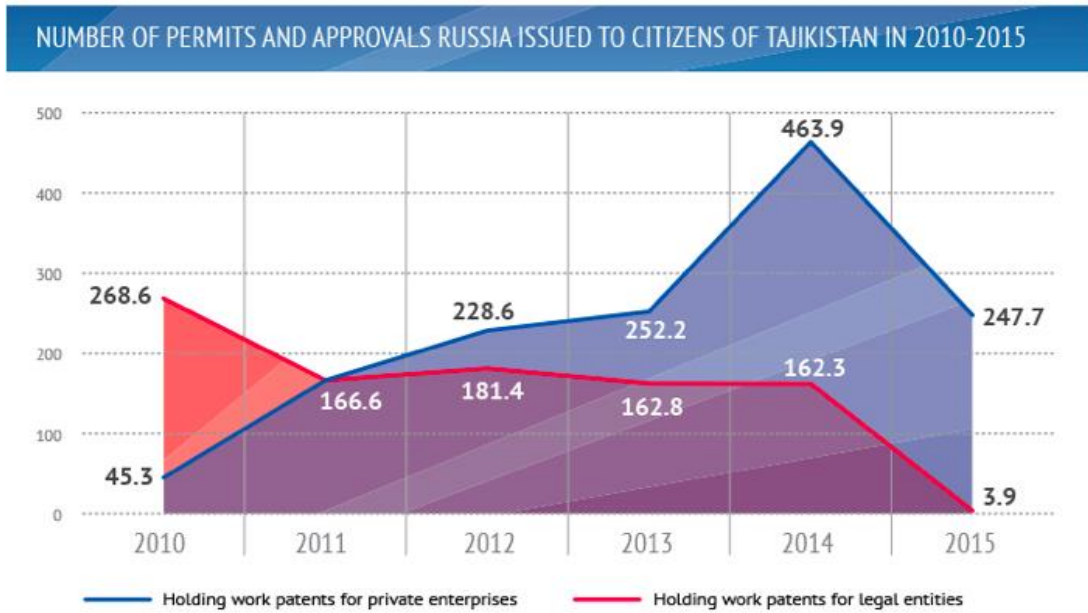
immigrants should not be sacrificed within the balance of power system. Tajikistan's actions and behavior are often interpreted as the result of pressure that Russia puts on it.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1. A Sample Patent for Work of a Tajik Labor Immigrant.



Appendix 3. Number of Work Permits Issued to Tajik Labor Immigrants Prior to the Introduction of the Patent System.



Source: Federal Migration Service of Russia Data (obtained at the official request of the author in February 2016).

Appendix 4. Number of Immigrants from the CIS in Russia in 2019.

Country of Origin	Number of Immigrants as of 2019	2018–2019 change
Tajikistan	1,303,302 ↑	+179,348
Uzbekistan	2,188,835 ↑	+171,005
Kyrgyzstan	716,118 ↑	+77,383
Azerbaijan	650,495 ↑	+42,759
Belarus	655,846 ↑	+38,213
Kazakhstan	496,096 ↑	+36,839
Armenia	491,767 ↓	-13,068
Moldova	326,178 ↓	-49,390
Ukraine	1,763,930 ↓	-177,519

Source: GAMI MIA of Russia, 2019.

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Appendix 5. Author's Interviews and Conversations

- Abashin, S. (2014). Author's Interview. Moscow, Russia, February 12.
- Amon, I. (2014a). Author's Interview. Moscow, Russia, February 10.
- Amon, I. (2015). Author's Interview. Moscow, Russia, July 2.
- Bobonazarova, O. (2015). Author's Interview. Dushanbe, Tajikistan, June 9.
- Chupik, V. (2015). Author's Conversation, Moscow, Russia, July 5.
- Erov, K. (2014). Author's Interview. Moscow, Russia, February 17.
- Gannushkina, S. (2015). Author's Interview. Moscow, Russia, July 6.
- Gudkov, L. (2014). Author's Interview. Moscow, Russia, February 13.
- Jamsheed, U. (2014). Author's Interview. St. Petersburg, Russia, January 8.
- Jurayeva, G. (2014). Author's Interview. Moscow, Russia, February 11.
- Kabir, N. (2014). Author's Interview. St. Petersburg, Russia, November 21.
- Karpenko, O. (2014). Author's Interview. St. Petersburg, Russia, December 17.
- Khurshed, Z. (2014). Author's Conversation. Moscow, Russia, January 29.
- Rozanova, M. (2014). Author's Interview. St. Petersburg, Russia, January 10.
- Nazarsho, E. (2014). Author's Conversation. St. Petersburg, Russia, December 21.
- Qurbon, O. (2014). Author's Conversation. Moscow, Russia, January 29.
- Rozanova, M. (2014). Author's Interview. St. Petersburg, Russia, December 18.
- Samoilova, Y. (2015). Author's Conversation, Moscow, Russia, July 5.
- Sharipov, K. (2014). Author's Interview. Moscow, Russia, February 14.

Appendix 6. Field Notes and Focus Groups

Field Notes. (2014), Rostov-on-Don, Russia, February 10-11.

Field Notes. (2014a), Moscow, Russia, February 12.

Field Notes. (2014b), Moscow, Russia, February 14-18.

Field Notes. (2014c), St. Petersburg, Russia, December 23-24.

Field Notes. (2014d), Moscow, Russia, April 4.

Field Notes. (2014e), St. Petersburg, Russia, February 19-20.

Field Notes. (2014f), St. Petersburg, Russia, February 21-24.

Field Notes. (2015). Saint Petersburg, Russia, January 8-13.

Field Notes. (2015a), St. Petersburg, Russia, January 14
(*Conversation with the Participants of the Seminar on Labor Migration*).

Field Notes. (2015b), Dushanbe, Tajikistan, June 2-3.

Field Notes. (2015c), Moscow, Russia, June 18-24

Field Notes. (2015d), St. Petersburg, Russia, June 25-27.

Field Notes. (2015e), Moscow, Russia, July 7-11.

Field Notes. (2015f), Dushanbe, Tajikistan, January 19-23

Field Notes. (2015g), Moscow, Russia, February 6-16.

Field Notes. (2016b), St. Petersburg, Russia, July 24-26.

Field Notes. (2016a), Moscow – St. Petersburg, Russia, July 23-24.

Field Notes. (2016), Moscow, Russia, July 22-23.

Focus Group Discussion. (2015), Moscow, Russia, February 12.

Focus Group Discussion. (2015a), St. Petersburg, Russia, June 24.

VITA

Abdusabur Abdusamadov / Ozod was born in one of the beautiful towns in Tajikistan. After graduating from high school, he arrived in Dushanbe and entered the Tajik State National University. He graduated from the university with a degree in classical literature. After two years of teaching there, Ozod studied social philosophy with the Aspirantura program of the Institute of Philosophy and Law. He earned his Candidate of Sciences degree in 2007. Ozod has a long and varied record of teaching across disciplines and institutions; over the course of a decade he has taught literature, peace studies, law and political sciences, philosophy, and sociology. In the hopes of continuing his education and research, Ozod applied to and was accepted into the PhD program in the Department of Sociology at the University of Missouri. He completed his dissertation, “Intersubjective Understanding of Violence: The Lifeworld of Tajik Immigrant Workers in Post-Soviet Russia,” in the Fall of 2021.