

BOLAT L. TATIBEKOV, REVEL R. HANKS

# GRAVITY MODEL OF ETHNIC MIGRATION AND ITS MANIFESTATION IN KAZAKHSTAN



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The monograph reveals the scientific, fundamental bases or patterns of the ethnic migration development. The presented objective laws are offered not in a specifically narrow, but in using an interdisciplinary approach. The book shows how physical laws of gravitation manifest themselves in social phenomena, in particular, in ethnic migration processes.

Kazakhstan's experience as a particularly specific example of the ethnic migration development processes has been adopted as a basis for practical reflection of these objective laws.

The provisions set forth in the work have an appropriate theoretical, methodological and practical importance and may be used by scientists, teachers, students of higher educational institutions specialized in Economics and Mathematics when carrying out research in the field of population migration, as well as in lectures and seminars on subjects related to Economics, Demography, Sociology, Economics of Migration.

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# LIST OF ACRONYMS

**GDP** – Gross Domestic Product

**GDR** – German Democratic Republic

**DPRK** – Democratic People's Republic of Korea

**Kazakh ASSR** – Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

**Kaz. SSR** – Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic

**IOM**– International Organization for Migration

**NGO** – Non-governmental organization

**UNDP** – United Nations Development Program

**CIS** – Commonwealth of Independent States

**USSR** – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

**FRG** – Federal Republic of Germany

# INTRODUCTION

In the context of globalization with the development of transport technologies, people migrate from one country to another more often than earlier. The flow of migratory people is growing rapidly. People migrate for various reasons and for different periods. They move from country to country not only as tourists and/or businessmen, but also for permanent residence. At present time, in general, there is a global tendency for migration from underdeveloped countries to more developed ones, from less democratic countries to the ones with developed democracy. At the same time, in some countries the migration processes have their own specifics and peculiarities.

Germany, Israel and Kazakhstan prove this idea. In the context of globalization, when a cross-border exchange of information and technologies is taking place everywhere in the world, when the limits of use of different languages in these countries expand, the migration policy, due to certain circumstances, is established on the basis of their ethno-cultural, national characteristics, and this, in our opinion, is absolutely reasonable. Thus, for example, it is conducted, on the one hand, for the purpose of preserving one's national identity and, on the other hand, to remedy any historical mistakes.

Among these countries, Kazakhstan is the youngest one. With the collapse of the USSR and the acquisition of independence on December 16, 1991, Kazakhstan began to pursue its own specifically justified migration policy. On the one hand, in many ways, it was associated with a sharp decrease in the population of the country, due to the high emigration of various ethnic groups. On the other hand, it was associated with the restoration of the country's national identity: development of the Kazakh language, culture, and traditions which were lost during the Soviet period.

One of the main goals of this book is to disclose the specifics of the Kazakhstan migration policy. Moreover, the disclosure is not only through the prism of political, socio-economic, and cultural factors, but also through the prism of universal laws of gravity, inherent in the author's opinion, not only to physical processes, but also to social phenomena. For example, in determining the gravity force in physical processes, the time-space factor is the main and the

decisive one factor. The same can be observed in analyzing the ethnic migration processes.

The peculiarity of this book is that it covers ethnic migration in Kazakhstan based on such method of scientific knowledge as the principle of historicism. It shows not only the 25-year period of implementation of the ethnic migration policy, aftergaining the Kazakhstan independence, but also the reasons for its implementation, which originated from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The brief disclosure of historical migration processes in Kazakhstan was made to reveal the connection and logic of the current Kazakhstan migration policy.

For a quarter of century, after gaining independence, ethnic migration processes had a significant impact on the cultural, political, economic, and social appearance of Kazakhstan. The country becomes a country with a pronounced market economy, going through transformation of the strong presidential governance (inherent in the transition period) to more democratic system, providing greater powers to the Parliament, etc. In many ways, these changes have occurred and happen due to the particularly specific migration policy pursued by Kazakhstan.

Based on the results of sociological study conducted by one of the authors of this book under the auspices of UNDP in 2004, the book reveals the specifics of economic, cultural, social and economic adaptation of ethnic migrants in Kazakhstan.

In general, the integration of Kazakh's repatriates (oralmans), the policy implemented with regard to them, are revealed in the book in the context of analyzing the global experience, the demographic, economic, and cultural policies of the country.

# Chapter 1. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF GRAVITY MODEL IN THE CONTEXT OF ETHNIC MIGRATION

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## 1.1 Space and Time and Ethnic Migration Issues

The formation of contemporary world order was directly related to the movement, migration. The stable state of any object without movement, is eventually subject to oblivion and death. This is true for both the natural, physical world, and the world of people, animals and, apparently, other undiscovered worlds.

In the knowledge of the laws of motion, and especially of the physical world, one of the greatest discoveries was undoubtedly that of Isaac Newton. His theory of universal gravitation revealed the basis for the interaction of various objects and allowed the humanity taking a fresh look at the universal laws of motion of matter, physical objects and, finally, overcoming the attraction of the earth to escape into the space.

Taking into account that the theory of universal gravitation, the laws of gravity are tangible enough in the physical, material world, do they manifest themselves in the interrelations of people, in social relations and, in particular, in the area of population migration?

According to theoretical calculations of economists<sup>1</sup>, the laws of gravity can be observed in foreign trade relations. These relations and/or interactions are manifested in the following expression:

$$T_{ij} = A \cdot Y_i \cdot Y_j / D_{ij}$$

Where  $T_{ij}$  is the volume of trade between country  $i$  and country  $j$   
 $A$  is a constant

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<sup>1</sup> Paul R Krugman, Maurice Obstfeld *International Economics: Theory & Policy*, Pearson International Edition. Addison Wesley. 8<sup>th</sup> edition, 2009, ISBN – 13: 978-0-321—55398-0; ISBN-10: 0-321-55398-5,

$Y_i$  – Gross Domestic Product of country  $i$   
 $Y_j$  – Gross Domestic Product of country  $j$   
 $D_{ij}$  – Distance between country  $i$  and country  $j$ .

As can be seen from the above expression, the gravity force in the external trade relations between countries  $i$  and  $j$  is directly proportional to their economic potential, GDP, and is inversely proportional to the distance between them.

It should be noted that similar laws of gravity apply to the population migration processes.

For example, some works<sup>2</sup> note that the gravity force in the migration of people depends on the number of people living in areas  $P_1$  and  $P_2$  and the distance  $D$  between these areas, which can be reflected in the following form:

$$G = \frac{P_1 * P_2}{D}$$

Where  $G$  is the force of gravity;  
 $P_1$  – population of  $P_1$  area  
 $P_2$  – population of  $P_2$  area  
 $D$  – distance between the areas  $P_1$  and  $P_2$ ;

According to other authors<sup>3</sup> who disclose the essence of gravity, the relative strength of connection between the two areas is determined by multiplying the city A population by the city B population and dividing the result by the distance squared between the two cities.

---

<sup>2</sup>Zipf (1946) *The  $P_1 * P_2 / D$  hypothesis. On the intercity movement of persons.* Am. Social Rev. 11677-686; Joel E. Cohen, Marta Roig American G, Daniel C. Reunman, and Cal GoGwilt *International Migration Beyond Gravity: A statistical Model for the Use in Population Projections*

<http://lab.rockefeller.edu/cohenjc/PDFs/345CohenRoigInternationalMigrationBeyondGravityPNAS2008.pdf>

<sup>3</sup>Matt Rosenberg “Gravity Model. Predict the Movement of People and Ideas Between Two Places”

The above opinion can be reflected as the following expression:

$$F = \frac{A \times B}{D^2}$$

Where F is the gravity force between cities A and B

A – population of city A

B – population of city B

D – the distance between cities A and B

According to the above expression, the gravity force between two places is directly proportional to the population and inversely proportional to the squared distance between them.

Without discussing the extent to which the distance (squared or not) should be reflected, we shall note the importance of the fact that in all the above expressions the distance is in the denominator. Taking this into account, we can conclude that the greater the distance, the less is the force of gravity or attraction.

Transforming this conclusion for the migration of population, and in particular ethnic migration, it seems reasonable to conclude that ethnic migration, in particular migration of the same ethnos is manifested the most prominently between the countries located nearby.

The distance, bearing a spatial aspect, directly influences on the difference in the culture of the same ethnos: in their language, traditions, behavior, etc. This value is in the denominator, thus, the greater is the distance between the country of residence of the diaspora and the country of origin, the greater is the difference in their cultures and language.

As shown by our analysis of gravity model of the ethnic migration in Kazakhstan, in addition to the spatial factor, the time factor should be noted too. The longer the ethnic diaspora lived outside the country of origin, the weaker is the gravity forces between them. Taking this into account, the above formulas and expressions need to be adjusted. In our opinion, the formula of the gravity model of ethnic migration should look as follows:

$$Fem = \frac{P \times Px}{D \times t}$$

where:

$Fem$  is the force of gravity of ethnic migration between the country of origin and country of residence

$P$  – population of the country of origin of this ethnic group

$Px$  – population of the same ethnic group residing in the country  $x$

$D$  – distance between places of residence

$t$  – duration of residence of ethnic group in country  $x$

The presented formula which determines the force of gravity of the one and the same ethnos (who live in two different countries) reflects the most significant physical, natural factors that exert the most powerful influence on it, namely, population, distance and time.

## 1.2 Others Factors in Ethnic Migration Issues

The gravity model of ethnic migration largely depend and are closely related to a number of factors that are not, to some extent, quantifiable, as discussed above.

This includes such components as the political and economic structure of the countries where the people reside, their standard of live, socio-cultural factors (language, traditions, etc.).

One of the most important of the above factors is the political one. Moreover, this is the most important and basic factor.

Different political systems not only impose certain restrictions on the intensity of migration processes within the same ethnos, but also may be a factor, which completely restricts them.

Examples can be observed not only in the historical context, but also at the present time.

For instance, in the historical context, this was most clearly observed at the example of the USSR and the countries of the former Socialist Block. At present, this is most clearly observed between DPRK and South Korea. The example of DPRK and South Korea, like the example of the former GDR and the FRG, is an example of division of one ethnic group, one country into two countries for

political reasons. At the same time, this example is a clear indication of importance of the political factor in the context of analysis of the gravity model of ethnic migration.

Taking note of the political factor, we do not deny and do not separate it from other closely related forces of gravity: the level of democracy, the corruption in the country, the existence and actual functioning of the legal framework, etc. At the present time, migration from the countries of the third and second world to the countries with more developed democracies is clearly observed, to the countries where human rights are strictly complied with in accordance with internationally accepted conventions and agreements.

Taking note of the importance of political factor, the importance of the economic factor should be mentioned too. Different living standards in the countries where the same ethnic group resides affect their migration flows. Moreover, when analyzing the force of gravity of this factor, ethnic migration mainly occurs and is directed to one side: from a country with a lower standard of living to a country with a higher one.

The opportunity to find a job, especially with higher wage, is an important factor in ethnic migration. Peculiarities of employment, requirements not only to the level of wages, but also to working conditions, the national specificity of the profession, and the specificity of applicant's education, also affect the migratory flows.

Specific requirements for living conditions, health care system, and education also add some force to the ethnic migration development.

In case of immediate receipt or availability of facilitated conditions for receipt of housing for former compatriots or ethnic migrants, as is the case in Israel and Germany, the migration process has quite lively character.

Despite the fact that housing is the most important component in the gravity model of ethnic migration, the role and importance of possibility to obtain an appropriate education, as well as access to the health care system are also of great importance. Without the possibility to receive appropriate treatment in the event of any disease, usually exceeding the previous system in quality and level of

services, the migrants either ethnic or not, do not have incentive to emigrate.

The same applies to the system of education. Without access to training, both for migrants and their children, the forces of gravity of ethnic migration significantly reduce.

Analyzing ethnic migration and its gravitational forces, the cultural aspect is especially worth of noting. Language, customs and traditions are an important, if not basic, characteristic of ethnic migration. If the previous factors (political, economic, social) are fundamentally important factors for all types of migration, the cultural ones are not only a distinctive, but the most important and the basic factor in the analyzing thereasons for ethnic migration.

### **Conclusions on the first chapter**

The gravity model of ethnic migration is determined by the influence of various factors. Moreover, they can be both natural and public.

Among the natural it is necessary to include the distance between the host country of the ethnic repatriates and the home country of the ethnic repatriates, in particular the country of origin of this ethnos. Among these, one must also include the number of population (diaspora) living in the host country and the number of population in the country of origin. An important factor is also the time or duration of residence of the repatriates in the host country where they come from.

Along with natural factors that define the force of gravity of ethnic migration, public factors have a strong effect too. These can be attributed by political, socio-economic, cultural, linguistic factors etc.

Among the above factors, the most powerful and decisive is the political one.

The policy of the country of exodus and country of origin can exert such a significant influence on the strength of ethnic migration that natural and other factors go to the background.

## CHAPTER 2. HISTORY OF ETHNIC MIGRATION IN KAZAKHSTAN

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### 2.1. Peculiarities of Ethnic Migration in Kazakhstan in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, Prior to Gaining Independence

Prior to gaining the independence, ethnic migration in Kazakhstan had specific stages of development.

In the past, Kazakhstan was a zone of interests of various countries. However, Russia and England had the strongest interest here. For example, the British Empire, above all, had economic interests here. Kazakhstan interested them, primarily, as an area with rich natural resources. They opened mines, developed them and used local labor as unskilled workers. In the contrary, Russia, geographically connected and located next to Kazakhstan, pursued its own special policy here. First of all, Russia considered this area as a zone for expansion of its political interests. This is evidenced by construction of Cossack settlements.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, along with the political aspect, Russia began to realize its economic interests in Kazakhstan. After the abolition of serfdom in 1861, many Cossack and Russian families immigrated to Kazakhstan. They found great opportunities here to improve their economic well-being by “developing” grazing lands that belonged to and “were not used” by the local nomadic people.

It should be noted that newcomers, in many cases, preferred to live together and many of them began living in urban settlements. Sometimes they organized new settlements or built them up over old fortifications. So, for example, in 1854, on the site of ancient Kazakh settlement “Almaly” they established and built the “Verny” (Faithful) town. In many cases, these new settlements were the outposts of the Russian Empire. So, at that period, the meaning of Verny was interpreted as “Reliable” in its imperial connotation.

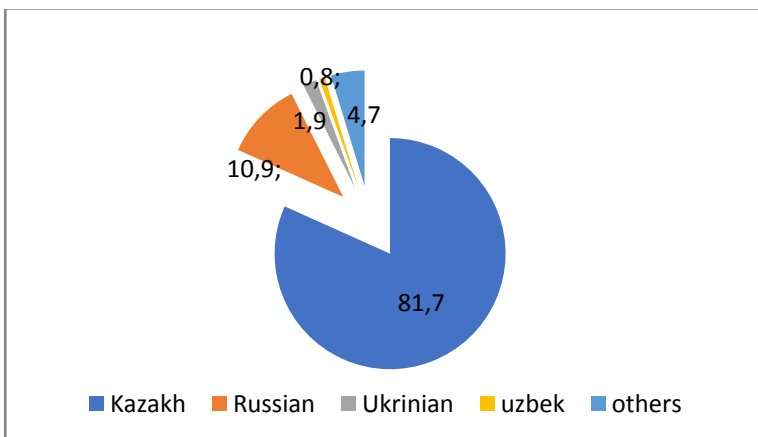
According to the first census conducted by the Russian Empire in 1897, 4 million 153 thousand people lived in Kazakhstan. Of them, 81.7% or 3 million 393 thousand people were Kazakhs<sup>4</sup>. (Figure 1)

As observed, especially strong mass immigration to Kazakhstan took place at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, during the Stolypin agrarian reform (1906-1912). At that time, thousands of Russian, Ukrainian, Cossack families immigrated to Kazakhstan within the framework of the ongoing reform.

In contrast to the immigration of Russians, Ukrainians and other ethnic groups to Kazakhstan, many Kazakh families began to emigrate from Kazakhstan. This was most clearly seen during the First World War, in 1916.

Picture 1

**National structure of Kazakhstan population, 1897, %**



*Source:* First general census of population of the Russian Empire, 1887. Edited by N.A. Troynitsky. St. Petersburg., Steam-driven typo-lithography of N.L. Nyrkin, 1905

Due to the seizure of grazing lands, the forced expropriation of livestock, wheat and other food products for the needs of the Russian

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<sup>4</sup>First general census of population of the Russian Empire, 1887. Edited by N.A. Troynitsky. St. Petersburg., Steam-driven typo-lithography of N.L. Nyrkin, 1905

army, as well as due to the punitive expeditions, many Kazakh families emigrated from Kazakhstan to China, Turkey and other countries.

In 1917, the October Revolution took place in Russia. The Bolshevik party came to power, later renamed itself to the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Kazakhstan became one of the USSR Republics. Until 1936, the Republic had an autonomous status and was called the Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic (Kazakh ASSR).

In 1926, a population census was conducted in the Kazakh ASSR within the USSR. According to this population census, 6 million 500 thousand people lived in Kazakhstan. Of these, 57.1% or 3 million 713 thousand people were Kazakhs<sup>5</sup> (Figure 2).

In general, in 30 years, the Kazakh population remained almost at the same level, while the number of other peoples has increased by more than 2 million.

It should be noted that by 1926, the most Russian population (58.2%) and only 14.4% of Kazakhs lived in cities. The most Kazakhs who resided in the auls (rural settlements) and/or villages lived depending on their households and breeding of livestock, built on the nomadic way of life.

The nomadic way of life of the Kazakhs was objectively justified. The climatic conditions of Kazakhstan, consisting of lack of heavy rains and the droughty summer period did not allow using the farming agriculture and, accordingly, the settled way of life as one of the main ways of living of the local population.

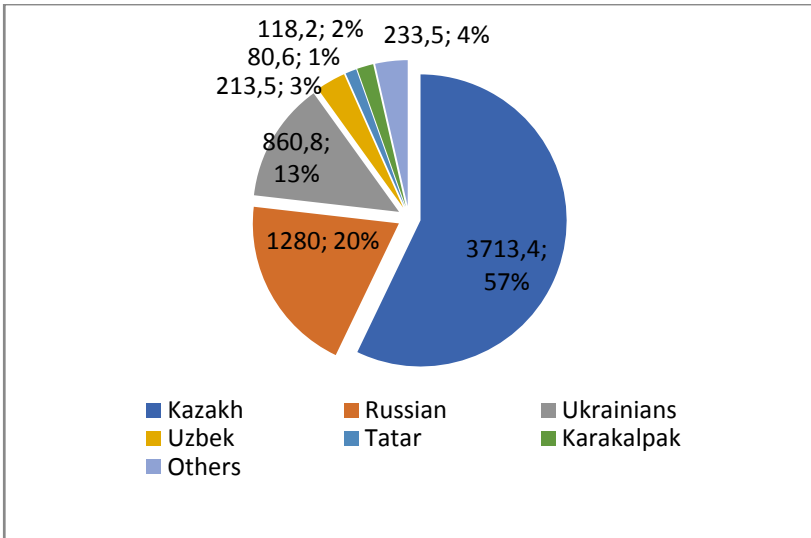
During the establishment of Soviet power, within the period of forced collectivization, which began in 1927, as a result of confiscation of livestock, many Kazakh families died of hunger and/or emigrated from Kazakhstan.

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<sup>5</sup>*All-Union Population Census of 1926. Volume VIII. Kazakh ASSR Kyrgyz ASSR. Publication of the Central Statistical Office of the USSR. Moscow, 1928*

Figure 2

**National structure of Kazakhstan population, 1926, thous. people, %**



Source: All-Union Population Census of 1926. Volume VIII. Kazakh ASSR Kyrgyz ASSR. Publication of the Central Statistical Office of the USSR. Moscow, 1928

For example, Deputy Chairman of the People's Commissars Council T. Ryskulov in his secret letter to I. Stalin on March 9, 1933 wrote that at that time, according to approximate data, 40 thousand people emigrated to Russia, 100 thousand people – to Kyrgyzstan, 50 thousand people – to Western Siberia, 20 thousand – to Karakalpakiaand 30 thousand people – to Central Asia. Besides, the emigration was observedto more far places.

In the same letter he writes the following: “In 1931, there were 5300 farms in Chubartau District, while as of January 1, 1933, only 1941 farms remained. In May 1932, 50,400 people were living in Karkaraly District, while by November, 15,900 people left and 15-20



people died daily in the district center ...”<sup>6</sup>

*Hunger in Kazakhstan in the beginning of 1930's*

As a result of emigration and high mortality rate, that lasted for more than 10 years, the number of Kazakhs has decreased by almost 1.4 million people.

During the same period, as a result of Stalinist repressions, as well as within the framework of so-called Soviet plans for building socialism, a large number of Poles, Jews, Germans, Koreans, Ukrainians and Russians moved or were forcibly deported to Kazakhstan from Ukraine, the Far East, and other regions of Russia. For example, in 1926, the number of Poles was 3.8 thousand people, while in 1939, there were 54.8 thousand people, that is, their number increased almost 14 times. The number of Jews increased 5.3 times. The number of Germans increased during this period from 51.1 thousand people to 92.6 thousand people.

According to the All-Union Population Census conducted on January 17, 1939, the number of Kazakhs, according to the declassified data, was 2 million 328 thousand people<sup>7</sup>, whereas in 1926, as noted above, it was 3 million 713.4 thousand people. As a result, the share of Kazakhs decreased and made up 38% of the total population as of January 17, 1939. (Figure 3)

Ethnic migration continued during the Second World War. During the Second World War, entire peoples and nations were deported to Kazakhstan. For example, Crimean Tatars, Chechens, Ingushes and other ethnic groups living in the Caucasus were forcibly deported to Kazakhstan from their native places.

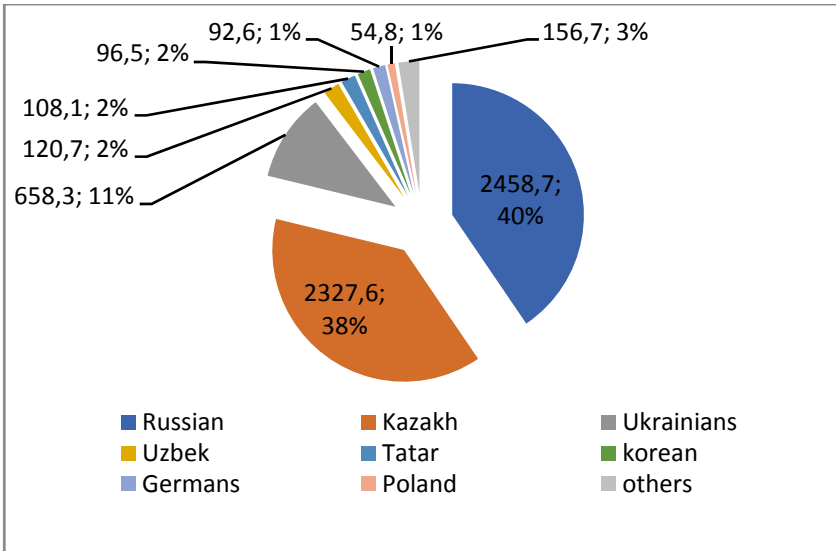
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<sup>6</sup> Hunger in the Kazakh steppe. Comp. By S. Abdirayymov, I.N. Bukhanova, E.M. Gribanova, N.R. Djagfarov, V.P. Osipov. Alma-Ata, Kazakh University, 1991, 208p. ISBN 5-7090-0078-7

<sup>7</sup> All-Union population census, 1939. Preliminary results. Edited by Yu.A. Polyakova. – Moscow: Nauka, 1992. – 256 p. ISBN 5-02-008625-8

Figure 3

National structure of Kazakhstan population, 1939, thsd. people, %



Source: Results of the All-Union Population Census of 1939. Preliminary results. Edited by Yu.A. Polyakova. – Moscow: Nauka, 1992. – 256 p. ISBN 5-02-008625-8

After the war, immigration to Kazakhstan continued. Many people from the former Soviet republics came to the North of the country within the framework of campaign for the development of virgin lands. Others arrived for the purpose of construction of giant Soviet plants, production amalgamations in Karaganda, Balkhash, Dzhezkazgan, etc.

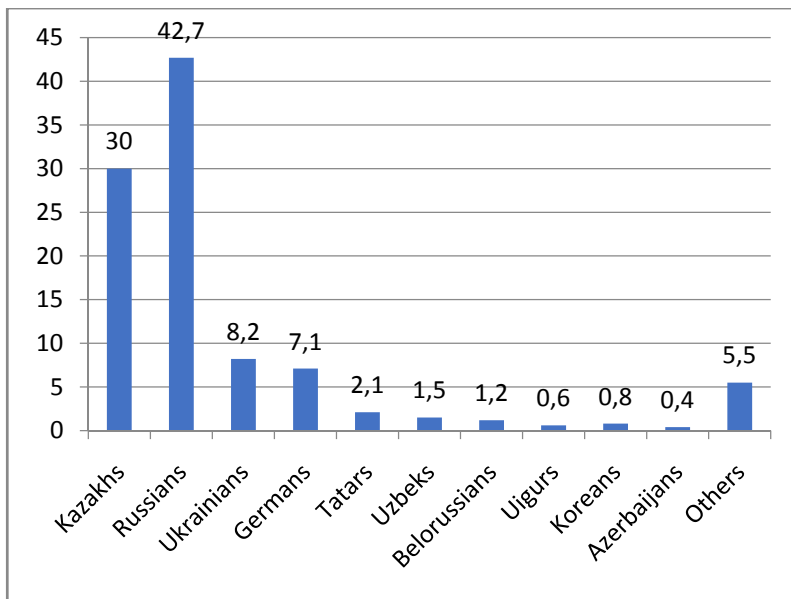


Arriving Ukrainians to Kazakhsatn for the development of virgin lands,

So, in 1959, the country's population was 9 million 295 thousand people. And, as a result of migration within the period from 1939 to 1959, Russians became the dominant nation in Kazakhstan. Figure 4 reflects the national structure of Kazakhstan in 1959.

Figure 4

**National structure of Kazakhstan population, 1959, %**



*Source:* Results of the All-Union Population Census of 1959, Kazakh SSR. Moscow: Central Statistical Office of the USSR, 1962

As can be seen from Figure 4, in 1959 the share of Russians was 42.7%, and of the Kazakhs – 30%.

It should be noted that many newly arrived migrants mainly lived in cities. It is commonly known that the Soviet economy was based on planning. Within the framework of these plans for the industrial development of the country, construction of various plants and factories, many Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians migrated to Kazakhstan and mostly – to the cities.

In the 60's, 70's and 80's, in the period of so-called communism construction, the people or labor force in the Soviet Union moved under the framework of implementation of 7- and 5-year plans. Drawing the balance of labor resources was an integral part of these plans and/or one of the components in the development and implementation of these plans.

Within the framework of these balances, soviet plans were made to move the labor force from one region to another and, accordingly, plans for the population migration. In reality, the movement of labor force or the migration of labor resources within USSR occurred in that period in three forms: distribution by state authorities; civil-market; incentive-mobilization<sup>8</sup>. Of the three forms, people to Kazakhstan came from other republics of the USSR mostly under the state-distributive and incentive-mobilization forms. Primarily, these were young specialists who have just graduated from higher education institutions and were sent to Kazakhstan for practical experience. In addition, highly skilled workers and specialists arrived in Kazakhstan under mobilization program for the construction of new industrial facilities.

Within the thirty-year period from 1959 to 1989, the population of the country increased from 9 million 295 thousand people to 16 million 465 thousand people<sup>9</sup>.

The population increased due to the continuing immigration of Soviet citizens from other republics.

In addition, the population increased due to the growth of the birth rate. The birth rate of the population during this period was the highest among the Kazakh population, who lived mostly in rural areas.

In general, due to the high birth rate, the share of Kazakhs in the country's population increased and amounted to 40% in 1989 (Figure 5).

Along with high birth rate, during this period, the high migration of Kazakhs from villages to cities was observed. Over 40 years, the share of urban population in Kazakhstan increased from 43.8% in 1950 to 57.1% in 1979. Moreover, the share of Kazakhs in urban areas increased to 27.1%.

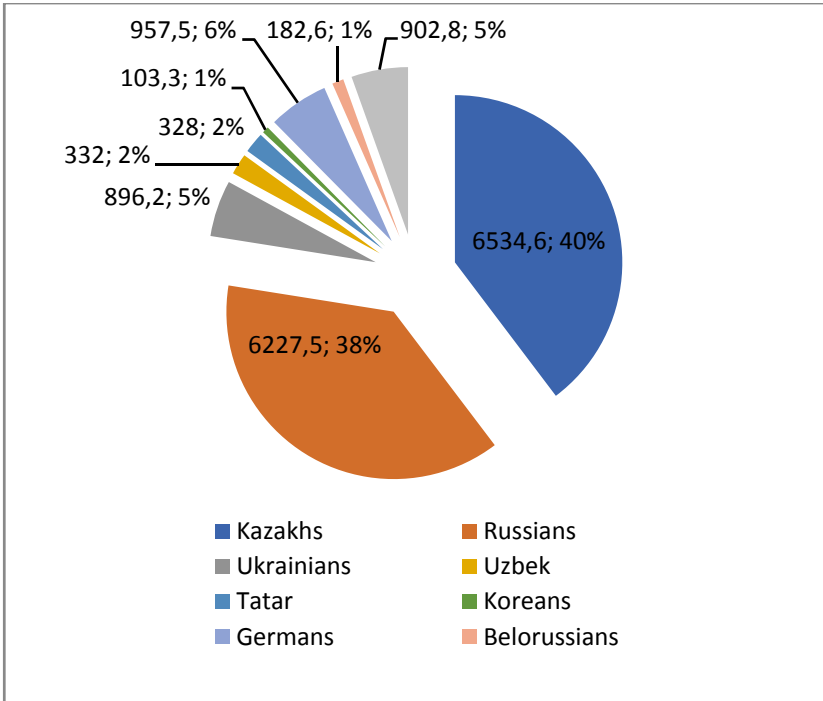
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<sup>8</sup>Sadaesi Otsu. Soviet labor market. Analysis of the Japanese specialist / Trans. from Japanese – M.: Mysl', 1992. -431 p. ISBN 5-244-00573-1

<sup>9</sup> Statistical Yearbook of Kazakhstan, 1991. According to the All-Union Population Census. State Committee of the Kazakh SSR for Statistics and Analysis. Kazinform. Alma-Ata, 1991

Figure 5

**National structure of Kazakhstan population, 1989, thous. people, %**



*Source:* Statistical Yearbook of Kazakhstan, 1991. According to the All-Union Population Census. State Committee of the Kazakh SSR for Statistics and Analysis. Kazinform. Alma-Ata, 1991.

It should be noted that Russian became the dominant language, and the Kazakh language began to lose its importance. This happened not only because of immigration of Russian population to Kazakhstan. This was one of the directions of the USSR state policy in the sphere of socio-cultural development: in the USSR Russian was used as a language of interethnic communication. Many people of different nationalities preferred to speak Russian in their national republics, and, in many cases, they did it because they did not know their native languages. As a result, the republics of the USSR, including Kazakhstan, began to lose their national identity.

In general, historical analysis of the migration processes development in the Republic of Kazakhstan shows that during the period of existence of the Russian Empire, migration processes occurred mainly under the influence of political rather than economic factors. In the XVIII-XIX centuries, the main goal of Russia was to expand the borders of its influence in Central Asia.

The proximity of Kazakhstan to Russia, in comparison with Great Britain, eventually led to Russia's domination in the region. In this case, we can observe the strongest manifestation of the law of gravity in the context of migration processes development, as mentioned above.

During the USSR period, migration processes were determined by the policy of the Communist Party and were implemented within the framework of various 5 and/or 7-year plans for economic development: plans for collectivization, industrialization, construction of giant Soviet construction projects, etc.

As a result, many families immigrated from Russia to Kazakhstan. Russian was the dominant language in all spheres of life. Absence of borders, absence of language problems, economic opportunities, warm climate and other characteristics were the main factors stimulating the immigration of Soviet peoples (mainly Russians) to Kazakhstan.

## **2.2. Migration Processes in Independent Kazakhstan**

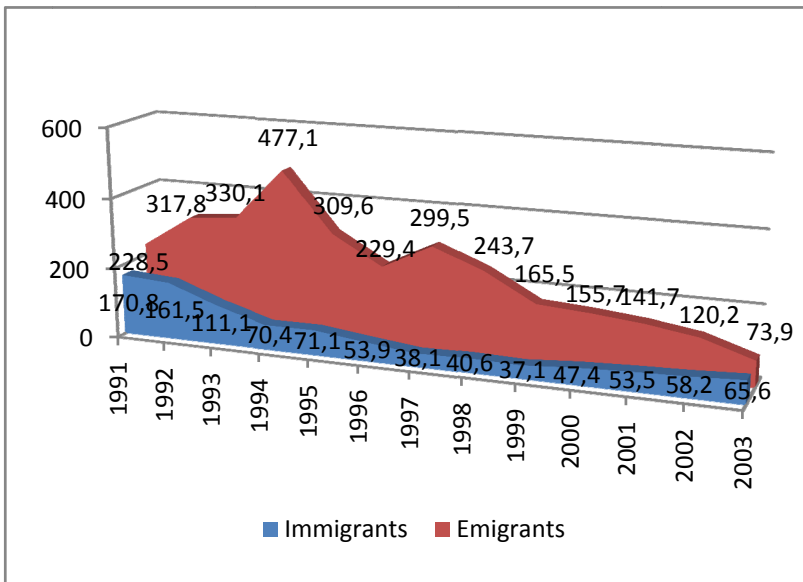
After Kazakhstan gained independence in 1991, ethical migration acquired strongly pronounced features opposite to those characteristic for migration processes before independence. Thus, a high and rapid outflow of Russians and other nationalities from the republic was observed, on the other hand, and the inflow or immigration of Kazakhs to Kazakhstan was observed from the other hand.

The outflow from Kazakhstan of people of non-indigenous nationality had specific characteristics in terms of its dynamism. Especially rapid outflow or emigration of people was observed during the transition period from the planned economy to the market

one (1991-2003). Within this period 2,125,900 people left the country.

The main reasons for the emigration of various ethnic groups from Kazakhstan during the transition period were political, socio-economic and ethno-cultural factors. The influence of these factors in relation to the waves of emigration can be provisionally divided into 4 stages: 1<sup>st</sup> stage – 1991-1994; 2<sup>nd</sup> stage – 1995-1996; 3<sup>rd</sup> stage – 1997-1998 and 4<sup>th</sup> stage 1999 – 2003 (Figure 6).

Figure 6  
**External migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan during the transition period (1991-2003), thsd. people**



Source: Kazakhstan, 1991-2002. Informational and Analytical Reference Book. Agency for Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Almaty, 2002; Statistical Yearbook of Kazakhstan, 2003. Agency for Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Almaty, 2003; K. Abdiyev. Demographic characteristics of population of the Republic of Kazakhstan: 5 years after the census of 1999. Agency for Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Press release. Almaty, February 25, 2004.

The beginning of the first stage of emigration (1991-1992) was primarily associated with the continuation of political reforms started back in the former Soviet Union period. When the collapse of

the Soviet Union began (the second half of the 1980's) and after gaining the independence many people who inhabited Kazakhstan, began returning to their historical homelands or emigrating to other countries. The M.S. Gorbachev's policy of opening the external borders of the USSR, the removal of the so-called "Soviet Iron Curtain" made it possible for the Germans, Jews, Greeks, etc. to return to their ancient historical homelands. In 1991, when the Republic of Kazakhstan acquired political independence, it continued the policy of "open doors" and many ethnic groups (except for Kazakh) continued to emigrate to foreign countries – to the USA, Germany, Israel, Canada, Greece and other countries. In 1991, the balance of migration to these countries and the other far abroad countries was negative and amounted to – 68,643 people, while migration to the countries of former Soviet Block (former Soviet Republics) was positive and amounted to +10,957 people.

In the second phase of the first stage of emigration (1992-1994), the emigration acquired, in addition to political, economic aspects too. As a result of the transition from the Soviet planned to the market economy, inflation in Kazakhstan reached 3,060% in 1992 and 2,265% in 1993. At that time, as a result of market reforms and, due to this, loss of economic ties, many former Soviet enterprises (especially those that belonged to the military-industrial complex) located in Kazakhstan came to bankruptcy. Their workers with families, mostly Russians, began to return to their former places of residence, where they lived before coming to Kazakhstan. At this stage, the negative balance of migration was the highest and reached 406,700 people in 1994. In the Soviet period, the proportion of population with regard to their nationalities living in the city and in the rural areas was heterogeneous. The Kazakhs and other deported peoples (Germans, Koreans, Poles, Kurds, etc.) mostly lived in villages, while other ethnic groups, mostly Russians and Ukrainians, lived in urban areas. Based on this, in these years, the largest outflow of migrants was manifested among the urban population.

At the second stage of emigration (1995-1996), the decrease was observed in emigration to 224,000 people and, in general, the migration balance decreased to -175,500 people, which was due to some macroeconomic stabilization that took place in Kazakhstan. As a result of effective actions of the National Bank of Kazakhstan, by

the end of 1995, inflation was 52%. During this period, major institutional reforms were implemented, many state enterprises were privatized, positive changes were observed in the country's foreign trade turnover, the budget deficit began to decline, etc.

In 1997, at the third stage of emigration, its another surge was observed in the country. At that time an Asian financial and economic crisis took place. Kazakhstan, as one of the young participants in the global financial market, felt this crisis too. The economic crisis led to another surge of emigration from Kazakhstan. However, it was not as significant as the one that occurred in 1994. In that year, the negative balance of migration reached 261,400 people, or 64.1% of that of 1994. In that period, the main flow of emigrants headed to the former Soviet republics and, first of all, to the Russian Federation. No strong flow was observed heading to the far abroad countries. On the contrary, the emigration of the Russian-speaking population to the republics of the former Soviet Union exceeded the emigration to the far abroad almost fourfold. For example, in 1997, 239,300 thousand people emigrated to the near abroad countries, while 60,100 thousand people to the far abroad countries.

The fourth stage of emigration, from 1998 to 2003, was characterized by a steady decline, which was associated to the stabilization of situation in Kazakhstan and the beginning of economic growth. During this period, the outflow of population from Kazakhstan decreased fourfold from 299,400 people to 73,800 people.

Against the background of high emigration rate during the transition period, the Republic experienced low rates of immigration. Within the period from 1991 to 2003, 979,200 people arrived in the Republic. However, the highest immigration rate was observed at the beginning of the reforms in 1991. In that year, 170,800 people arrived in the country. Then, the immigration rate began to decrease sharply and reached its lowest level in 1997 and 1999. Since 2000, immigration in the Republic began growing, although its rate still did not exceed emigration.

After gaining the independence, the specific state policy of repatriating former compatriots from abroad became a feature of regulating migration processes in the Republic of Kazakhstan. And

this was connected with the historical past of the country, namely, as it was discussed above in section 2.1 – with the massive outflow of the indigenous Kazakh population from the homeland due to the famine and political repressions of the 1930's.

As noted above, in the 1930'ss, during the period of forced collectivization of individual farms, the socialization of livestock and the resulting famine, people began to leave Kazakhstan for other republics of the USSR, however, the largest outflow of population was observed among the Kazakhs. "Over the period of 1926-1939, the number of Kazakh population in the neighboring Soviet republics increased 2.5 times and amounted to 794,000 people. About 200,000 Kazakhs went abroad from the USSR – to China, Mongolia, India, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey<sup>10</sup>."

As a result of the emigration of the Kazakh population abroad along with immigration of other peoples during the Soviet period, in the 1989, in Kazakh SSR there were 6,534,600 Kazakhs or 40.0%.

However, by the end of the 1980's, the most disturbing aspect was not the decrease in the number of Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, but the loss of the country's identity. For the years within the USSR, the use of the Kazakh language in the country has decreased significantly not only in the official sphere, but also at the domestic level. The "catastrophe" of the disappearance of the language itself became evident, and in this regard, the problem of preserving the original culture of the Kazakh people in Kazakhstan arose. These alarming symptoms of the loss of the Kazakh people's identity were important reasons for the emergence of such societies as Otan (Motherland) and the World Kurultai of the Kazakhs. These international non-governmental organizations have focused on the revival and the development of the Kazakh national identity within the framework of the international realities existing in Kazakhstan.

With the attainment of independence, Kazakhstan began to build its migration policy based on the return of ethnic Kazakhs to their historical homeland. Likewise in Germany and Israel, in Kazakhstan, the maximum return of Kazakhs (**oralmans**) along with the economic factor is perceived as a factor of internal stability and is aimed at preserving the Kazakh identity, the distinctive language,

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<sup>10</sup> (History of Kazakhstan: peoples and cultures: Study book / Masanov N.E. et alia – Almaty: Dyke-Press, 2001

culture of Kazakhs. At the present time, for the state, which is the cradle of the Kazakh culture in the world community, and is designated to preserve and develop it in the global context of preserving the common human civilization, the invitation of Kazakhs from other countries was and is an important direction of the migration policy.

After market reforms of the 1990's, at the beginning of the new millennium, in 2002, the United States and the European Union recognized Kazakhstan as a country with a market economy. The same recognition was reflected by the Moody International Rating Agency. Thus, Kazakhstan was the first among the CIS countries to form a market economy. In 2005, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development updated and reduced the Kazakhstan's export risk from group 5 to group 4.

In early 2000's, Kazakhstan experienced economic growth. In 2000, annual GDP growth was 9.6%, in 2001 – 13.2%, in 2002 – 9%, in 2003 – 9.1%, and in 2004 – 9.3% .

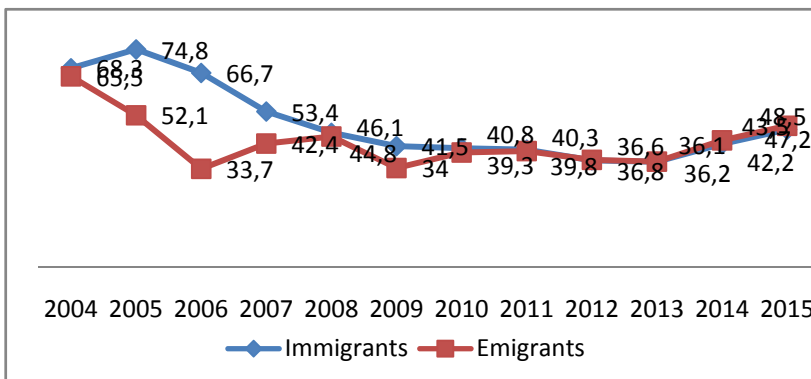
As a result, in 2005, the Economist Intelligent Unit has introduced Kazakhstan in the list of 10 most rapidly developing countries in the world.

The main factor of economic growth was the growth of foreign direct investments, the oil boom. In terms of oil reserves, Kazakhstan is among the global leaders of the industry.

At the same time, Kazakhstan's economic growth was based on a number of other reasons too. First of all, among these reasons, in our opinion, the transfer of the capital in 1997 from Almaty to Akmola should be noted. At that time, the transfer of the capital caused a lot of questions and criticism. During the ongoing economic crisis and the emergence of Kazakhstan as a new young independent state, this transfer did not look as sufficiently deliberate and logical. However, history showed the opposite. The transfer appeared to be not only politically, but also economically correct. The transfer of capital gave rise to a construction boom in Kazakhstan. With a view of its development the construction of new railways, new highways and production enterprises began in the country.

As a result, economic growth has become one of the important reasons for changing the negative balance of external migration to a positive one. (Figure 7).

Figure 7  
**External migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan within the period 2004-2015, thsd. People**



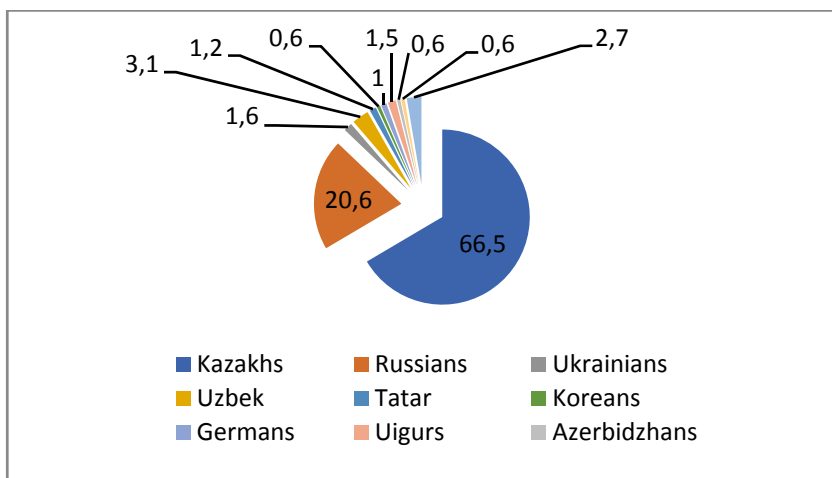
*Source:* Kazakhstan in independent years 1991-2010, Statistical Bulletin Agency for Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Editor-in-Chief Smailov Astana. 2011, 194 p. [www.stat.gov.kz](http://www.stat.gov.kz); Demographic Yearbook of Kazakhstan / Statistical Digest / in Kazakh and Russian languages / XXXp. Ministry of National Economy, the Republic of Kazakhstan. Committee for Statistics. Editor-in-Chief Aydkapelov N. Collection of documents, Astana. 2016. [www.stat.gov.kz](http://www.stat.gov.kz)

As can be seen from Figure 7, within the period from 2004 to 2011, the number of migrants arrived in the republic exceeded the number of those who left. The greatest gap between the number of migrants who arrived and left was observed in 2006. During this period, the positive balance of migration was associated not only with the economic factors reflected above, but also with the specific migration policy to be disclosed in the following section.

In the context of analysis of migration processes within the period from 2004 to 2016, we came to the conclusion that in many respects they were connected to economic processes. Thus, as can be seen from Figure 7, the decrease in emigration in Kazakhstan was observed during the period of economic growth and, conversely, its increase took place during the global crisis of 2007-2008. Then, after some decrease in 2009, its rates almost stabilized and, in the last period, the emigration of population from Kazakhstan began to

exceed immigration again. However, this exceeding was quite insignificant. Analysis of ethnic migration for the period from 2004 to 2016, shows that mainly the representatives of Russian, Ukrainian, and German nationalities left the country. At the same time, Kazakhs, then Uyghur, Uzbeks and other ethnic groups close to each other in their cultural, linguistic, and religious characteristics arrived in the country in this period. This can be most clearly seen from the national structure of the population that has changed over the 25 years (Figure 8).

Figure 8  
National structure of population as of the beginning of 2016, %



Demographic Yearbook of Kazakhstan / Statistical Digest / in Kazakh and Russian languages / XXXp. Ministry of National Economy, the Republic of Kazakhstan. Committee for Statistics. Editor-in-Chief Aydkapelov N. Collection of documents, Astana. 2016. [www.stat.gov.kz](http://www.stat.gov.kz)

As can be seen from Figure 8, the share of the Russians in total population decreased from 37.4% in 1989 to 20.6% by the beginning of 2016, and the number of Kazakhs increased from 40.1% to 66.5%, respectively. The share of Uzbeks in 1989 was 2%, then, in 2016, it was 3.1%. Within the same period, the share of Ukrainians decreased from 5.4% to 1.6%, respectively.

The most significant decline occurred among the Germans. During this period, their share decreased almost fivefold.

Analysis of the population over the 25-year period shows that it has increased by more than 1 million people. In 1989, in Kazakhstan there were 16,464,000 people, while at the beginning of 2016, there were 17,671,000 people.

Despite the huge outflow of population, the replenishment and even the growth of the population occurred mainly due to the Kazakh people. This circumstance happened not only due to the high birth rate, but also due to the specific state migration policy.

## **Conclusions on the second chapter.**

Ethnic migration in Kazakhstan in the context of the historical review had two distinct opposite directions.

Prior to the acquisition of independence, the policy of tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union had a strong influence on population migration in Kazakhstan. As a result of their actions, various ethnic groups moved to Kazakhstan. The most numerous among them were representatives of the Russian ethnos. In contrast to immigration in this period there was an emigration of Kazakhs. They emigrated both to neighboring states, and further abroad (Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, etc.)

With the acquisition of independence, various ethnic groups who arrived during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries emigrated from Kazakhstan. At the same time, representatives of Kazakh nationality began to immigrate into the country. And most of them began to come from the countries of the near abroad.

Immigration of the Kazakhs allowed, to reduce the tension and the problem of population decline, observed at the beginning of political, socio-economic reforms and in general to receive a positive balance of migration.

This was due to a specific state migration policy.

## **Chapter 3. POLITICAL ACTIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC MIGRATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN**

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### **3.1 Chronology of Political Actions for the Development of Ethnic Migration**

The first state decision regulating migration processes, in particular the development of Kazakh immigration to Kazakhstan, was adopted on November 18, 1991. A month before independence, in the republic, then a part of the USSR, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR adopted Decree No. 711 “On the procedure and conditions for the resettlement to the Kazakh SSR from other republics and foreign countries of the persons of indigenous nationality who expressed a desire to work in rural areas.” When analyzing this decision, it should be noted that its main goal was not only regulation of Kazakhs’ immigration to Kazakhstan, but the development on the basis of this process of the agro-industrial complex, which was sliding towards a deep crisis at that time. According to the Resolution, the Executive Committees of local Soviets of People's Deputies, enterprises and organizations of the agro-industrial complex began to buy out residential buildings or apartments released after the departure of some citizens from the Republic in order to provide living space for immigrants from other republics and foreign countries. In particular, from Mongolia.

Based on this Resolution, 13,188 families or 61,609 people arrived in Kazakhstan under the labor agreements in 1991-92.

The next step, also aimed at regulating the organized resettlement of Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, was the law “On Immigration,” adopted on June 26, 1992 by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan, which have already withdrawn from the USSR. It should be noted that according to Article 12, paragraph 1 of this Law, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Kazakhstan was

provided with the right to conclude agreements with government authorities, departments, enterprises, institutions, and organizations of other states on the issues and conditions for the voluntary resettlement to the Republic of Kazakhstan of families and persons of not only indigenous nationality, but also of other natives of Kazakhstan, regardless of their nationality, who have forcibly left the territory of the Republic in olden times.

According to this law, the maximum number (quota) of immigrants and the material and financial resources necessary for their reception, resettlement and adaptation, as well as the regions where to resettle them, the types of farms to employ them, and etc. began to be established in the Republic. According to this legislative act, a quota of 10,000 families was established for 1993. However, due to the economic crisis and a number of organizational and technical problems, this quota was not implemented and only 9,441 families or 45,632 people arrived in the country in that year. Further, with the growth of social and political reforms and due to the economic crisis, the authorities began to decline the quotas set. They have been declining until 2,000 (500 families), then, the recovery started again (2001 – 600, 2002 – 2,655, 2003 – 5,000, 2004 -10,000, etc.)

The problems of immigration and regulation of organized resettlement of Kazakh people were associated with economic, as well as with legal issues. The lack of coordination between the Immigration Law adopted by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan on June 26, 1992 and the Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan with regard to granting citizenship to persons arrived, created a number of problems of adaptation. Not being, for a certain time, citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan, newly arrived migrants were prevented from execution of a number of civil rights granted to the citizens. Therefore, even being persons of indigenous nationality, the persons arrived under this Law, felt their isolation in some cases.

Analyzing the policy pursued by the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan after the independence, it should be noted that it was implemented simultaneously with significant economic reforms and transformation of the planned economy into a market one.

The transformation of administrative and command economy of the Soviet Union into a market economy provided for a large-scale reform of state property, transformation of the “closed planned socialist economy” into an “open competitive market economy,” transition from the policy of “closed doors” to “open ones”. The provision regarding freedom of movement of citizens, preserved in the country's Constitution, was implemented by the Immigration Act of June 26, 1992. According to article 1 of this law, citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan had the right to change their place of residence within the Republic, to resettle in another country and return back.

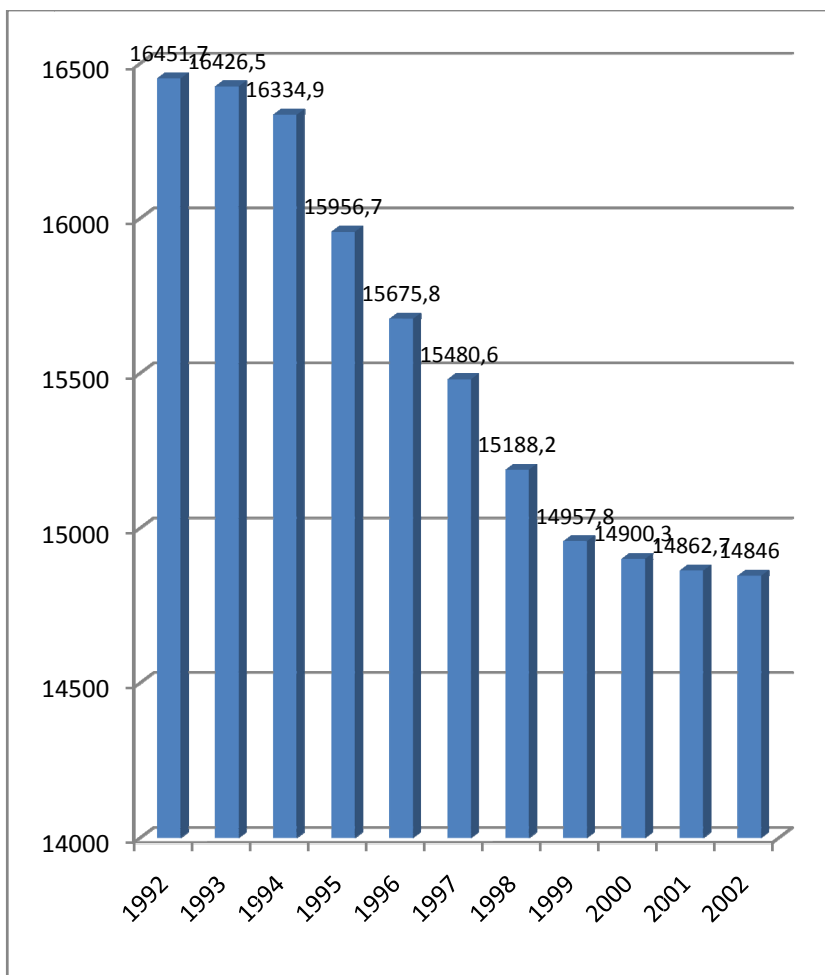
It should be noted that in the early and mid-1990s the economic recession in the country was most obvious. This period was associated with a general decline in GDP. In 1995, the physical volume of GDP fell to the lowest point, and amounted 61.4% of that available in 1990.

The fundamental transformation of the economy, collapse of the integrated economic complex of the former USSR, bankruptcy of enterprises, growth of unemployment, etc. were important reasons for the high emigration from Kazakhstan. The high emigration, along with a decrease in the birth rate and an increase in mortality, led to a significant decrease in the population of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Figure 9).

As can be seen from Figure 9, by the beginning of 1997, the population in the Republic of Kazakhstan amounted to 15.481 million and decreased compared to 1992 by almost 1 million people or 5.9%.

On that year, the President of the country has especially emphasized the issues of population in his message to the people of Kazakhstan, named: “Kazakhstan – 2030. Prosperity, security and improvement of well-being of all Kazakhstanis.” In the message, a strong demographic and migration policy was specified as one of the key priorities of the country's national security.

Figure 9  
Population of the Republic of Kazakhstan from 1992 to 2002, thsd. persons



Source: Kazakhstan, 1991-2002. Informational and Analytical Reference Book. Agency for Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan. – Almaty.- 2002; Statistical Yearbook of Kazakhstan 2003. Agency for Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan. – Almaty. – 2003

In 1997, when the Republic experienced another surge in emigration, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan has issued the Decree “On the establishment of the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan.” This state body, in accordance with the decree, was not a part of the Government and its main task was to manage migration processes and ensure policies to increase the population of the country.

Problems that arose in the field of migration brought to the approval of a new law in the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 13, 1997 “On migration of people”.

Unlike the previous law “On Immigration” dated 1992, the new legislative act covered a wider range of specific migration issues in the Republic of Kazakhstan and better complied with international legal acts in this area. It regulated the issues of both *immigration* and *emigration*.

As for stimulating the return of the Kazakhs to their historical homeland, this law has not a provision on repression so that to include all ethnic Kazakhs was living outside of Kazakhstan at the time of gaining independence and who wish to return to their homeland for permanent residence. Thus, the circle of applicants was expanded significantly, encompassing theoretically all Kazakhs living abroad.

Amendments to the law, as well as economic transformations, have caused the oralmans to come to Kazakhstan, both under the quota, with the government support within governmental programs, and beyond the quota, independently.

As can be seen from Table 1, prior to 1995, the number of oralmans arrived in the Republic was less than the quota, then, since 1996 the number of oralmans arrived exceeded the quota set by the state. And the most strongly these phenomena began to be observed after 1998, with realization of the new law “On migration of people”. In 1999, the number of kazakhfamilies immigrated to Kazakhstan independently (beyond the quota) exceeded the immigration quota 5.3 times, while in 2000, almost 11 times and in 2001 – 15.1 times. Of course, this situation was associated with a significant reduction in the quota for that years, but, at the same time, the fact that since 1999, significant economic growth began in the country should not be detracted. For example, in 1998, the index of actual volume of

GDP as compared to the previous year was 98.1%, in 1999 – 102.7%, in 2000 – 109.8%, and in 2001 – 113.5%. Economic growth and, as a result, higher living standards of the population became an important factor for the increase in number of oralmans who arrived beyond the quota.

Table 1

**Information on the number of Kazakhs who arrived from foreign countries under the quota and beyond the quota, independently**

Years	Quota (number of families)	Actually arrived (number of)		Note	Percent of families arrived as compared to the quota
		Families	People		
1993	10,000	9,441	45,632	According to the Migration Dept., Ministry of Labor	94.4
1994	7,000	4,472	19,216	According to the Migration Dept., Ministry of Labor	63.9
1995	5,000	3,631	14,462	According to the Migration Dept., Ministry of Labor	72.6
1996	4,000	4,636	17,025	According to the Migration Dept., Ministry of Labor	115.9
1997	2,180	2,528	9,026	According to the Migration Dept., Ministry of Labor	116.0
1998	3,000	3,776	12,978	According to the Migration Dept., Ministry of Labor	125.9
1999	500	2,668	9,732	According to the Provinces statistics	533.6
2000	500	5,490	12,686	According to the Provinces statistics	1098.0
2001	600	9,105	28,726	According to the Provinces statistics	1517.5
2002	2,655	10,337	34,625	According to the Provinces statistics	389.3
2003	5,000	16,026	42,327	According to the Provinces statistics	320.5
<b>TOT</b>	<b>40,435</b>	<b>72,110</b>	<b>246,435</b>		<b>178.3</b>

AL:				
Arrived under the labor agreements in 1991-92	13,188	61,609	According to the Migration Dept., Ministry of Labor	
TOTAL actually arrived for 13 years	85,298	308,044	Incl. oralmsans 79,285 families (307,410 people)	
including those arrived under the quota and under the employment agreements for 13 years	40,093	177,504	40,093 families(177,504 people)	
Arrived beyond the quota, independently	45,205	130,540	39,192 families (130,540 people)	

Source: According to the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

That period was characterized with the fact that the Kazakhstan has basically created a market infrastructure for the development of economy and the world community began to consider the country as country with market economy. Many citizens of the country, who, during the Soviet period, hoped and relied only on the state assistance, began to establish their lives and achieve certain success due to their endeavor and enterprise. This factor is especially noteworthy in the research of position of the oralmsans in Kazakhstan, since some of them came from countries where the market bases of economy were not sufficiently developed yet. Many of them, especially those who arrived from neighboring former soviet countries, used an economic behavior characteristic for the former Soviet Union, that is, they associated their activities with the hope on the state structures only.

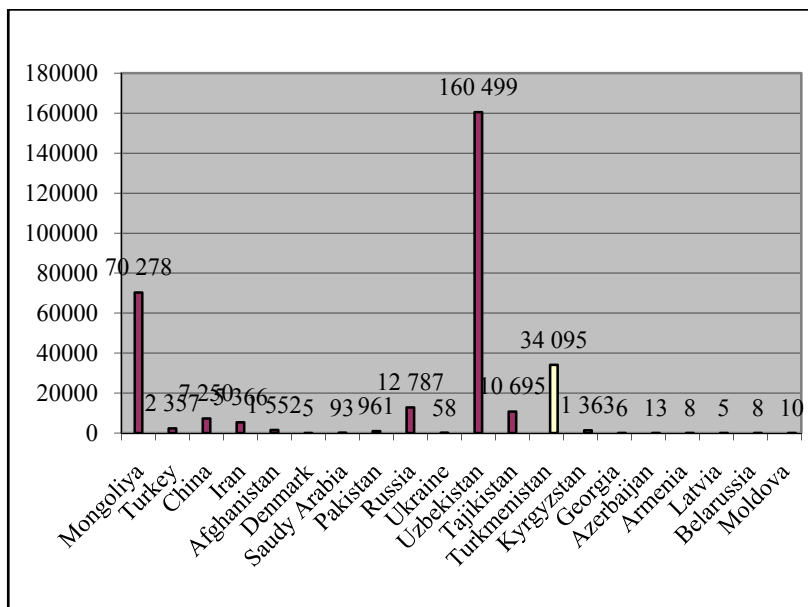
With realization of migration policy, basically, the activities of the Government on resettlement of oralmsans to Kazakhstan have concentrated on such countries as Mongolia, China, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, since these were countries where families mostly left from the territory of Kazakhstan during the period of repression, forced collectivization and mass famine. *(In fact, this decision was unconsciously built on the gravity law of ethnic migration, which was explained in the first part of this work.*

Numerous diasporas and a short distance allowed reducing the costs, and thereby strengthening the influence and manifestation of the gravity law in relation to the ethnic migration from nearby countries to Kazakhstan).

In general, for the period from 1991 to 2003, 307,400 oralmans returned to Kazakhstan. (Figure 10)

Figure 10

**Number of oralmans who arrived from various countries for the period 1991-2003, people**



Source: According to the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

As can be seen from Figure 10, for thirteen years after gaining independence, the largest number of oralmans returned from Uzbekistan (160,499 people), Mongolia (70,278 people), Turkmenistan (34095 people), Russia (12,787 people), Tajikistan (10,695 people), China 7250 people), Iran (5366 people) Turkey (2357 people), Kyrgyzstan (1363 people) Afghanistan (1552 people), and Pakistan (961 people). Regarding the remaining countries, the

number of arriving oralmans was less noticeable and did not exceed a thousand in total.

When analyzing the migration policy of Kazakhstan, it is necessary to note the “Sectoral program of the migration policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the period of 2001-2010.” This program, developed by the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the assistance of the Representative Office of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in the Republic of Kazakhstan, was approved by the Resolution of the Government on October 29, 2001 under the # 1033<sup>11</sup>. An important feature of this program was that among the main tasks, Kazakhstan set the facilitating the return of all former compatriots to their homeland, regardless of nationality. This program differed from the previous ones in that the Government’s immigration policy was oriented not only on ethnic, but also on civil basis.

With the economic recovery in the 2000’s, for 10 years, the migration policy in the Republic of Kazakhstan has not changed significantly as regards to the ethnic migration. However, the changed situation in the field of migration, in particular, the positive migration balance, as well as a new political and economic situation, served as a basis for the development of new law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Migration of People” # 477-IV on June 22, 2011.

In the new law, ethnic migration was separated to the chapter 3: Immigration with a view of returning to the historical homeland.

One of the distinguishing features of this law, and in particular of the provisions concerning the ethnic migration, was that the new law assigned the responsibility for acceptance and settlement of oralmans to the regional (Provincial authorities.) Along with this, the new law has raised the role and importance of highly qualified specialists among the re-emigrants. This was confirmed by the fact that Article 20 legitimized the following provision:

“Priority for inclusion oralmans(kazakh repatriates) in the regional quota for acceptance:

1) those who have the appropriate education, qualifications and work experience in a particular specialty;

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<sup>11</sup>One of the author of this book has directly participated in the development of the program,

- 2) Large families;
- 3) Adult youth who have an opportunity to study in the higher educational institutions.

Inclusion to the new law of the provisions on the priority attraction of highly qualified specialists was based on the fact that Kazakhstan, during the twenty-year period of independent development, had resolved the task of increase in population, which reflected in the form of positive balance of migration. According to the strategic guidelines of the country's socio-economic development, Kazakhstan, which previously had a pronounced raw-material orientation of development, began to build a new policy of industrial-innovative development, and therefore, the country's ethnic immigration policy based on this law gave priority to the qualitative aspect.

In general, as of January 1, 2017, for the entire period of the migration policy aimed at the return of ethnic Kazakhs within the framework of the three above-mentioned laws, 284,361 families or 1,006,500 people returned to the Republic of Kazakhstan. The largest part of them returned after the transition period to the market, that is, after 2003.

For comparison, during the transition period from 1991 to 2003, as noted above, 307,400 people arrived, and for the period from 2004 to 2016, 697,500 people arrived or the number of immigrants increased more than twice.

### **3.2 State Mechanism of Invitation of Former Kazakh Compatriots (Oralmans) into Kazakhstan**

In accordance with Article 23 of the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Migration of People,” a range of measures of the state support are available for oralmans and their families to provide adaptation and integration services in the adaptation and integration centers for oralmans; medical care; education within the quota for admission to after-secondary and higher education institutions of technical and vocational profile; social protection; provision with seats at schools and pre-school organizations; assistance in

employment in accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In addition, according to the Laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Targeted Social Assistance,” “On Special State Allowance in the Republic of Kazakhstan,” “On State Benefits for Families with Children,” oralmen having an average per capita income not exceeding the poverty line are entitled to obtain the targeted social assistance, the state benefits for children and the special state allowances within the framework of the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Housing Relations,” to receive housing from the municipal property fund belonging to the local executive authorities, as well as to obtain the land plot under the right of temporary non-reimbursable land use to maintain the personal subsidiary farming, gardening, or construction of a summer house.

In 2016, additional incentives were introduced to promote the return of ethnic Kazakhs, providing for:

- 1) accelerated provision of citizenship within one year (previously citizenship was provided 4 years after receiving a residence permit);

- 2) simplified provision of oralman’s status regardless of the region of settlement;

- 3) obtaining a permit to reside permanently in the Republic of Kazakhstan under the simplified procedure, without confirmation of their solvency and regardless of the type of visa, including students from among the ethnic Kazakhs;

- 4) temporary registration in the adaptation and integration centers for oralmen and in the temporary accommodation centers in the case of lack of an employer-rented or own housing for a period not exceeding one year;

5) provision of social assistance to oralmans and members of their families which arrived under the regional quota for oralmans settled in the regions defined by the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Akmola, East Kazakhstan, Qostanai, Pavlodar and North Kazakhstan oblasts), subsidies for relocation and subsidies for reimbursement of expenses on lease (rent) housing and payment for communal utilities, every month for twelve month.



*Meteeng with oralmans in Agency for Migration and Demography in Astana*

In accordance with the current legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan, oralmans have the following benefits:

- Exemption, when entering the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan, from payment of customs payments for property designated for personal use, including vehicles (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Migration of People,” Article 23);

- Obtaining a permit to reside permanently in the Republic of Kazakhstan under the simplified procedure, without confirmation of their solvency and regardless of the type of visa, including students from among the ethnic Kazakhs (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Migration of People”, Articles 23, 33);

- Provision of free adaptation and integration services in the Adaptation and Integration Centers for oralmans (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Migration of People,” Article 23);

- Temporary registration in the adaptation and integration centers for oralmans and temporary accommodation centers in case of lack of an employer-rented or own housing for a period not exceeding one year (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Migration of People,” Article 26);

- Provision of measures to promote employment on an equal basis with citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated 6 April 2016 “On Employment of the Population,” Article 5);

- Provision with medical care on an equal basis with citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On the Health of Nation and the Health System,” Article 34);

- Provision with seats at schools and preschool organizations on an equal basis with citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Migration of the Population,” Article 23);

- Obtaining education within the quotas for admission to after-secondary and higher education institutions of technical and vocational profile (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Education,” Article 26);

- Obtaining targeted social assistance, state benefits for children and special state benefits on an equal basis with the citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated July 17, 2001 “On Targeted Social Assistance,” Article 2, Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated June 28, 2005 “State benefits for families with children,” Article 2, Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated April 5, 1999 “On special state benefits in the Republic of Kazakhstan,” Article 3);

- Provision of pensions on an equal basis with the citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated June 21, 2013 “On Pensions in the Republic of Kazakhstan”, Article 2);

- Obtaining land plot under the right of temporary non-reimbursable land use to maintain their personal subsidiary farming, gardening, construction of summer house, as well as to maintain farm or dehkhan farm and commodity farming (Land Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated June 20, 2003, Article 46);

- Obtaining housing from the municipal property fund belonging to the local executive authorities (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Housing Relations,” Article 68).

- Obtaining citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan under the simplified (registration) procedure, including students from among the ethnic Kazakhs (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 20, 1991 “On Citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan”, Article 16-1).

It should be noted that in the beginning of implementation of state mechanism the arrival of oralmans to Kazakhstan was associated with a number of positive stimulating factors, some of which are reflected in the table 2 below.

**Table 2. Benefits, compensations and other types of targeted assistance, provided to oralmans\***

	Arrived under the quota	Arrived beyond the quota
Moving across the border without levying customs duties and taxes	+	
Free travel to the permanent place of residence and transportation of property (including livestock). The standard weight of property carried by an oralman family is set not exceeding 1,000 kilograms. When an under quota oralman moves independently, compensation for transportation costs shall not exceed the amount of the tenfold monthly calculated index per oralman and for the transportation of personal property of the oralmans' family shall not exceed fifty times the monthly calculated index for the whole family	+	
Allotment of funds for the acquisition of housing at the place of arrival (from February 2004, based on 100 monthly calculated indices per family member)	+	
Payment of the lump-sum benefits in accordance with the procedure established by the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan. (Lump-sum benefits are allotted to the head of the family – in the amount of a fifteen-fold monthly calculation index and to each other member of the family – in the amount of a ten-	+	

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\*Oralmans, who did not use the above benefits, fully retain their right to use them after acquiring the citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

fold monthly calculation index).		
Provision of oralman with food and medicines during their travel to the place of residence (at the rate of not exceeding fifty percent of the amount of the calculated indicator per oralman);	+	
Assistance in employment, professional development and training for a new profession;	+	+
Creation of conditions for studying the Kazakh and Russian languages;	+	+
Exemption from service in the Armed Forces in accordance with the procedure established by the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan;	+	+
Allocation of quota for admission to the secondary professional and higher professional education institutions in an amount determined by the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan;	+	+
Provision of seats at schools, preschool organizations, as well as at social protection institutions for needy people;	+	+
Payment of pensions and benefits in accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan or international agreements, ratified by the Republic of Kazakhstan	+	+
Exercising the rights by those restored in citizenship for compensation established by the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On the rehabilitation of victims of mass political repressions”	+	+
Exemption from consular fees for issuing entry visas to the Republic of Kazakhstan	+	+
Receiving free of charge the guaranteed medical assistance in accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan;	+	+
Provision of state targeted assistance as stipulated for citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan.	+	+

Source: According to the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

The arrival of oralman to Kazakhstan both under quota and beyond the quota, independently, was caused not only by the incentives presented in Table 2, but also by the fact that the repatriates mostly arrived and still arrive from less developed countries in terms of their socio-economic level. With some exceptions.

In addition, the important stimulating factors are historical connecting roots – culture, language, and the availability of relatives.

## **Conclusions on the chapter**

When analyzing the migration policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, it should be noted, first of all, that it was and is built with the purpose of ensuring the national security of the country, the same as in Israel.

With the acquisition of independence, Kazakhstan faced the problem of sharp decrease in the population. In particular, it was noted in the strategic message of the President of the country to the people of Kazakhstan “Kazakhstan – 2030. Prosperity, security and improvement of well-being of all Kazakhstani”: “A strong demographic and migration policy should be put to the range of the leading national security priorities. If our state authorities continue to be indifferent to this, then we will enter the threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> century with the situation of the “demographic cross”, when the population decreases not only because of the external migration processes, but also in a natural way. This trend should be suspended immediately.” The state found the solution to this problem in stimulating immigration.

With the gaining independence, in the conditions of high emigration and the return of Germans, Poles, Jews and many other peoples who inhabited Kazakhstan during the Soviet period to their historical homelands, Kazakhstan chose (like Germany and Israel) the policy of priority attracting and resettling of the Kazakhs residing in the other states. This policy was conditioned and justified not only by the deep economic crisis, political and social transformations, and high emigration of other peoples, but by the fact that it would be absurd and impossible to pursue a policy of attracting other ethnic groups to Kazakhstan. Besides, this was due to the reasons of observing the universal morality and ethics.

Proceeding from this, the fundamental feature of the migration policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan is that the country builds its migration policy with an emphasis on attracting Kazakhs from other states. Likewise Israel, when returning the Kazakhs (oralmans), the

Kazakhstan aims at preserving the national identity of the country which is manifested in preserving the Kazakh culture, revival and functioning of the Kazakh language. However, unlike Germany and Israel, where immigrants study German or study Hebrew, Kazakh immigrants do not study the Kazakh language when arriving to Kazakhstan, but instead, they introduce new forces into its functioning and provide an important basis for its further development. In addition, in order to more successfully adapt, they begin to learn Russian.

In general, summing up, it should be noted that Kazakhstan is one of few and even unique examples in the field of implementing migration policy. First of all, it is connected with involving ethnic Kazakhs on their historical homeland. Based on the analysis of the country's cultural and economic development, it can be divided into two stages:

The first stage, the early 1990's was associated with the policy of justice for the country's historical past. This stage can be compared to the example of Germany, which stimulated the immigration of Germans within the framework of restoring justice for the historical past.

The second stage, the late 1990's, and the adoption of the law "On Migration of People" was more closely associated with ethnic issues. This stage, to a certain extent corresponding to the immigration policy of Israel, enabled all Kazakhs to return to their historical homeland.

Following the logic of building an economically developed state, Kazakhstan, along with the implementation of the strategy of transition from the raw material producing country to an industrialized country, is implementing the next, third step – developing an ethnic migration policy with the priority of attracting highly qualified specialists.

# Chapter 4. GRAVITY FORCES OF THE SETTLEMENTS OF ORALMANS

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## 4.1. Settlement of Oralman within the Period of Formation of Market Economy in 1991-2003

Territory of Kazakhstan is very huge (2.7 mln. sq. km) and includes 14 administrative provinces (oblast). Each of these oblast has own administrative center (oblast's center) which in some cases has same name as oblast. (Picture 11)

Picture 11

Map of Kazakhstan



The new capital of Kazakhstan is Astana but unofficially this capital is named as North capital and Almaty as South capital of Kazakhstan. Thus oralman have a lot of opportunities where to live and how to live

Many factors contributed and still contribute to the settlement of oralman in Kazakhstan. They can be attributed as natural and climatic, cultural and household, economic, regional factors.

At the same time, it should be noted that according to the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On Immigration" dated June 26, 1992 #

1437 and the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Migration of People” dated December 13, 1997 # 204-I, during the period of market economy formation, the local authorities settled oralmans in specifically designated settlements, according to programs approved by the Government. However, practice has shown that oralmans, who were initially settled in some regions, moved to other regions. In particular, in the village of Pokrovka of Almaty oblast, oralmans lived that were originally settled in the other regions, in particular in the Kyzylorda oblast, in the Karaghandu and Shymkent cities.

According to the sociological survey conducted by UNDP in 2004, oralmans who arrived under state programs (state quota) and settled in rural areas according to these state programs most often changed their initial residence. In the Karaganda oblast, almost four out of five oralmans who arrived under the quota and were settled in rural areas, changed their place of residence. A high percentage of displaced oralmans lived in rural areas of Almaty oblast. According to the survey, every third oralman, who arrived under the quota, changed his/her place of residence. Quite a low percentage of change of residence was observed among oralmans who arrived under the quota and lived in the rural areas of Manghystau and South Kazakhstan oblasts.

Thus, for oralmans living in rural areas a high degree of internal migration was characteristic, while the percentage of those who left their place of residence in urban areas was minor. For example, almost all oralmans living in urban areas of Pavlodar oblast did not change their place of residence. In other surveyed areas, the proportion of oralmans who moved from or left to another place of residence fluctuated, at the time of the survey, from 14.7% (South Kazakhstan oblast) to 30% (Almaty oblast).

In general, comparing the frequency of change in the place of residence by oralmans who arrived under the quota and beyond the quota, that is, arrived independently, the sociological survey showed that the oralmans who arrived under the state quota to the countryside did this most often. Taking into account the low prices of housing in rural areas and intention of government to provide the maximum number of oralmans with housing within the allocated budget, in most cases, oralmans received housing from the government in rural areas. However, after some time, they changed

their place of residence. Quite costly travels from the village to the places where they resolved their accommodation issues (usually in regional centers) compiled with their low incomes were one of the reasons for their change of residence. That is why, as workers of migration services noted, it was necessary to assign many powers regarding the settlement of oralmans from the high republican to the lower – regional level.

Underdevelopment of the agrarian sector of the Kazakhstan economy, unemployment in the countryside, and lack of various household amenities, in many cases, forced the oralmans to move from villages to cities.

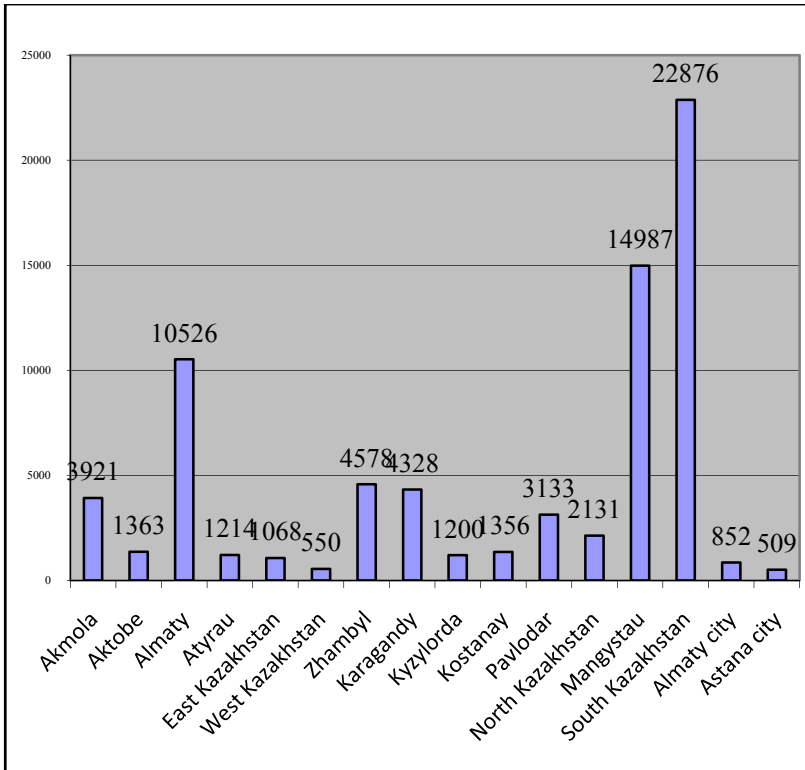
Change of place of residence raised a number of questions for the oralmans. For example, oralmans who moved from one province to another, faced with the lack of social benefits that they received in the old place of residence.

As showed the analysis of data regarding the settlement of oralmans in the Republic of Kazakhstan, presented in 2004 by the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan, by the beginning of 2004, the largest number of oralmans was concentrated in the Southern Provinces of the country namely in South Kazakhstan, Almaty and Zhambyloblasts. (Figure 12)

Those who arrived under the quota to one province should not be accepted to another province. For example, in 1999, 32 oralmans came from Turkey to Astana. They were met there festively. The authorities have bought them housing, but they did not want to live there. At the ceremony of handing over the keys of their new houses, they said that it was cold and they did not like living here. They all came here, to the Almaty Province. Therefore, we have to explain them everything that they lose, and the problems that arise if they change everything themselves as they want. *(From an interview with the specialist of the Kaskelen District Akimat, April 28, 2004)*

Figure 12.

**Number of oralmans' families in Kazakhstan as of January 1, 2004**



Source: According to the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

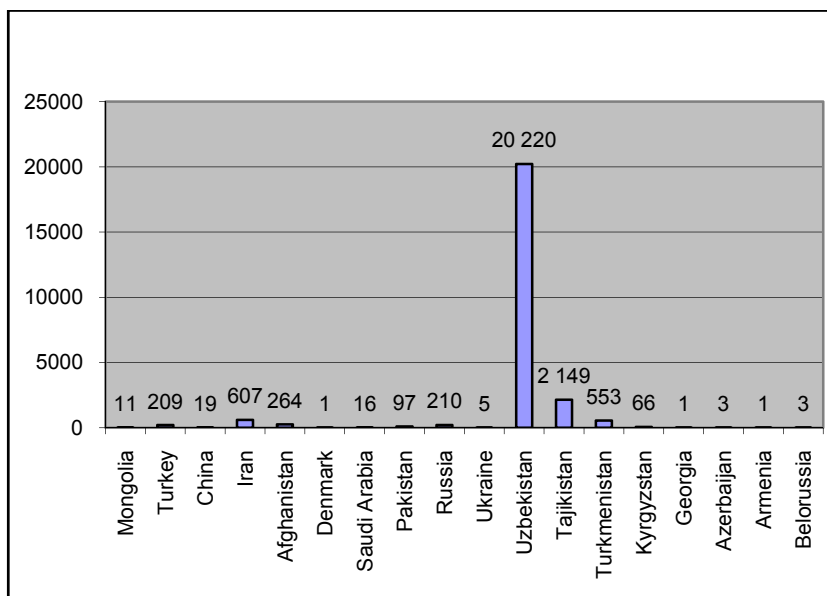
As of January 1, 2004, 40,397 oralman households or 50.1% of all arrived families lived in these three oblasts. Also, a large proportion of oralmans lived in the western region of Kazakhstan. In particular, in Mangistauoblast, representing the western region of Kazakhstan, there were 14,987 families or 18.9% of all those who arrived to Kazakhstan at that time. This area was the second after the South-Kazakhstan oblast, where the most oralman families lived. Much less oralman families lived in Central Kazakhstan. In the Karaganda oblast, representing Central Kazakhstan, there were 4,328 households at the beginning of 2004. Less oralmans lived in the

North and East of Kazakhstan. In particular, in Pavlodar, North-Kazakhstan, East Kazakhstan and Kostanayoblasts all together, there were 14,292 families or almost as many as in oneMangistauoblast.

The uneven distribution of oralmans throughout Kazakhstan was due to various circumstances. First of all, their settlement was conditioned by ethnic, natural-climatic and regional factors.

For example, many oralmans came from Uzbekistan, bordering with the South-Kazakhstan oblast. (Figure 13.)

Figure 13  
**Number of oralman families living in South-Kazakhstan oblast with breakdown on their countries of exodus**



Source: the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

As can be seen from figure 12, the number of oralman families living in the South Kazakhstan oblast as of the beginning of 2004, was significantly higher than the number of oralman families who came from other countries all together. At that time, the share of oralman families who came from Uzbekistan was 82.8% of the total number of them.

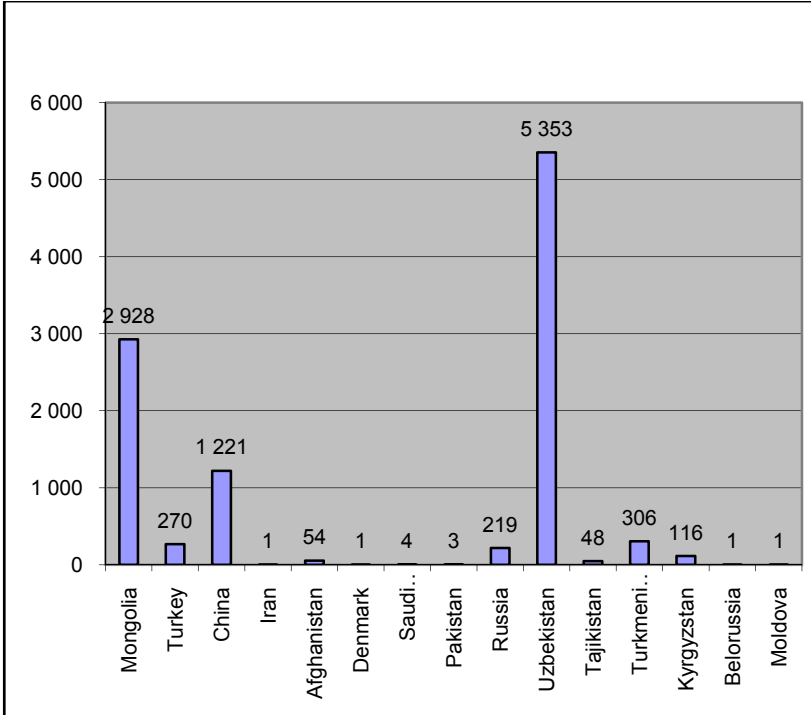
It should be noted that many of oralman families arrived from Uzbekistan independently, beyond the quota. In this regard, it is rather interesting to cite the research of S. Aidosov, conducted at that time on the problems of illegal migration in Southern Kazakhstan. The author of the research notes: “... we can separate a group of labor migrants who fill “niches” in the education system. These are ethnic Kazakhs who came to the South-Kazakhstan Province for work, with the subsequent registration of citizenship and “settling down” in the Province. The main centers of attraction for this group of labor migrants are urban settlements, where there are public and private higher educational institutions. First of all, it is Shymkent city, where there are about 25 public and private higher educational institutions, Turkestan (mainly the International Kazakh-Turkish University), Dzhetyysay (Syrdarya University) and Saryagash, where several higher educational institutions are also located. Their socio-demographic profile is as follows: Kazakh nationality, married (first they come without a family, but after some adaptation bring their families), having higher education (graduated from higher educational institutions in Tashkent), some of them have a scientific degree, age of 30-60. Such a group of migrants can be characterized as follows: irrevocable legal. The peculiarity of this migration flow is that it entails a “chain” of relatives”\*

Along with oralmans from Uzbekistan, those from Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Iran, and Afghanistan lived in Southern Kazakhstan. However, their number was much lower and in general, was 17.2%.

In the Almaty oblast, located in the South-East of the country, the structure of oralmans differed depending on the previous country of residence. In particular, as can be seen from Figure 14, in 2004, oralmans arrived from Mongolia and China could be observed among those living in the Almaty oblast.

Figure 14

**Number of oralman families living in Almaty oblast  
with breakdown on their countries of exodus**



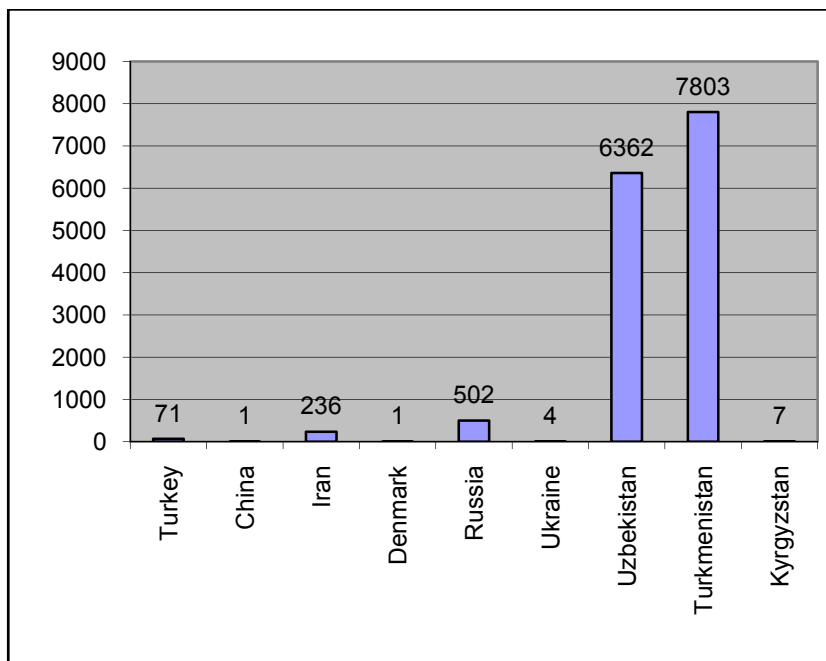
Source: the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

As seen from figure 13, in Almaty oblast the number of families who arrived from Mongolia, within the period from 1991 to 2003, was 2,928 families or 27.8% of all residents, then, from China – 1,221 families or 11.6%. At the beginning of 2004, Kazakh immigrants from Turkey, Turkmenistan, Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Afghanistan also resided in the Almaty oblast. However, their number was much less, not comparable to the number of Kazakh repatriates arrived from Mongolia and China.

At the beginning of 2004, the second area in Kazakhstan, where the most oralmans live, was the Mangistau oblast, located in the South-West of the country. Analysis of the structure of arriving oralmans showed that their main contingent comprised of those who arrived primarily from Turkmenistan and then, Uzbekistan (Figure 15.)

Figure 15

**Number of oralman families living in Mangistau oblast with breakdown on their countries of exodus**



Source: the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

In addition to them, oralmans who came from Russia, Iran, Turkey, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, China, and Denmark lived here. However, their total share compared to the number of families who arrived from Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan was not significant. The proportion of repatriates who arrived from Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan was 94.5% of the total number of oralmans living in

Mangistauoblast. The same as in the South Kazakhstan oblast, this circumstance was largely conditioned by the strongest manifestation of the force of gravity, that is, a shorter distance in comparison with other areas and/or even absence of such distance, as well as the preserved close cultural roots.

Besides, an important economic incentive for migration of oralmans to the Mangistau Province was a fairly high level of salaries in this region. In 2002, the average monthly nominal salary of worker in the Mangistauoblast exceeded the average republican level by 91.1% or almost twice and occupied the second place after the Atyrauoblast (Table 3.)

Table 3

**Average monthly nominal salary of worker,  
% to the average republican level**

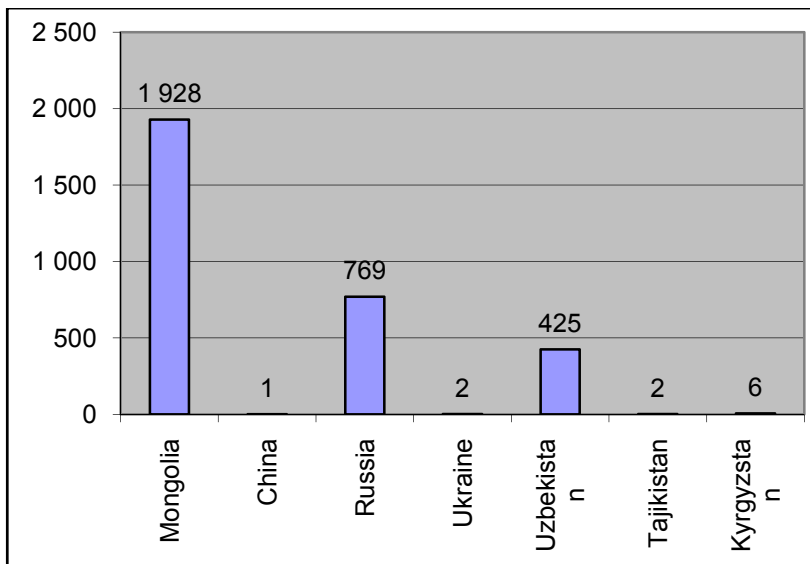
Years	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Republic of Kazakhstan	100	100	100	100	100
Oblasts:					
Akmola	66.0	64.1	59.7	58.8	60.7
Aktyubinsk	109.7	112.1	105.6	104.8	103.7
Almaty	62.4	64.3	64.6	67.5	70.3
Atyrau	147.8	186.4	207.6	205.1	204.5
East-Kazakhstan	112.2	110.2	106.5	97.3	92.6
Zhambyl	71.5	67.4	59.6	62.1	66.1
West- Kazakhstan	86.1	93.7	97.4	116.3	133.5
Karaganda	105.5	102.7	103.2	93.8	88.7
Kostanay	87.1	82.2	78.4	73.6	69.8
Kyzylorda	100.7	85.2	82.0	81.8	83.9
Mangistau	178.2	173.9	202.4	209.9	191.1
Pavlodar	111.8	109.9	106.0	101.9	96.9
North-Kazakhstan	76.4	71.6	69.0	68.3	67.5
South- Kazakhstan	63.6	64.0	64.1	66.7	67.1
Astana	133.1	139.4	135.8	131.3	136.1
Almaty	133.5	132.6	129.0	135.2	139.7

Source: Remuneration of labor in the Republic of Kazakhstan. 1993-2002. Statistical Digest/ Agency for Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Almaty, 2004.

Among the northern oblasts, in that period, the largest number of oralmans lived in the Pavlodar oblast (Figure 16.)

Figure 16.

**Number of oralman families living in Pavlodar oblast  
with breakdown on their countries of exodus**



Source: the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

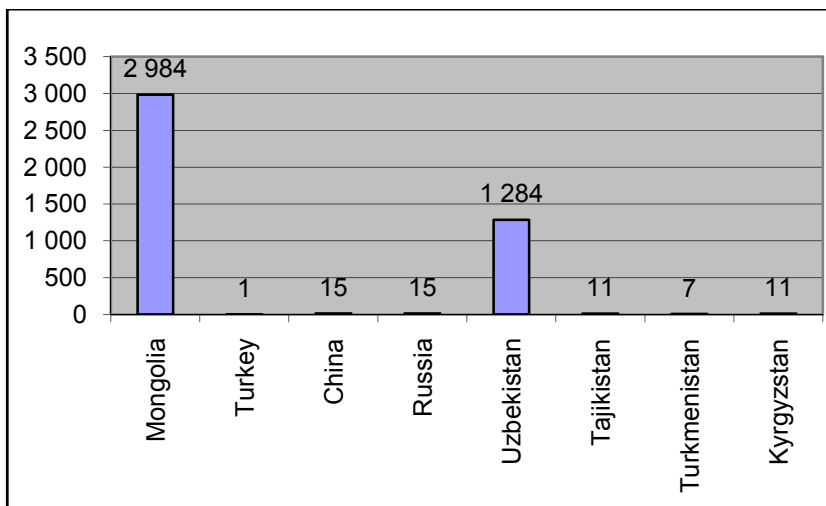
As can be seen from Figure 16, unlike South Kazakhstan, Almaty and Mangistauoblasts, where to most oralmans came from Uzbekistan, oralmans from Mongolia resided in the Pavlodar oblast. Their share was 61.5% of the total number of oralmans who arrived to this province. After oralmans from Mongolia, a large number of families arrived at that time from Russia and Uzbekistan.

It should be noted that mostly the Russian-speaking population lived previously in Pavlodar oblast. And this should make a some factor deterring migration from Uzbekistan. However, in view of the fact that the Russian language was used in all the former republics of the USSR as a language of interethnic communication, this was not a significant obstacle for the migration of oralmans from Uzbekistan to this province, since many of them spoke Russian fluently.

The Karaganda oblast, representing Central Kazakhstan, became the land where oralmans from Mongolia, Uzbekistan, China, Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Turkey lived. (Figure 17).

Figure 17.

**Number of oralman families living in Karaganda oblast with breakdown on their countries of exodus**



Source: the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

However, as can be seen in Figure 17, oralmans from Mongolia were the most representative group among all other repatriates. The second group, at that time, was the group of oralman families who arrived from Uzbekistan.

As the sociological survey showed, oralmans from Mongolia lived in Karaganda oblast mostly in rural areas, and those from Uzbekistan – in urban area, regardless of whether they arrived under the quota or beyond the quota.

This circumstance was conditioned primarily by the fact that the Kazakh language was and is mainly used in rural areas, and for oralmans who did not know Russian, in many cases it was more convenient to live there than in urban areas. Before moving, Kazakhs from Mongolia mostly lived in rural areas and many of them did not

know Russian, while Kazakhs from Uzbekistan, who knew Russian as noted above, preferred and chose mainly living in urban areas.

Analyzing the distribution of oralmans in Kazakhstan and the impact of various factors on it, a significant impact of the natural and climatic factor should be noted. In particular, this manifests in the fact that oralmans arriving from the Southern countries – Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey prefer to live in Southern oblasts, where climatic conditions are warmer. Important role in the settlement of oralmans in Kazakhstan belonged and still belong to their interpersonal connections.

<p>Here, it should be noted that the migration of oralmans across Kazakhstan clearly illustrates the theory of migration networks. The author of this theory Massey defines the migration network as a composition of interpersonal relations, in which migrants interact with their families, relatives, friends, and compatriots. Such communications include the exchange of information, financial assistance, assistance in finding a job and other forms of support. The interaction facilitates migration, reducing its disadvantages and risks associated. The migration network establishes certain channels, providing a significant effect of migration on participating persons.</p>	<p>They are very sociable. Closely communicate with each other. Allow to live in their homes. Allow registering at their address, may help providing with money, clothes and others. Even with the wedding, matchmaking. They want to open schools on their own expenses specifically to teach children from Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan. <i>(From the interview with the specialist of the Kaskelen District Akimat.)</i></p> <p>They help to those only who came from their country. They help to start doing business, trade. If they make business on furniture supply – they give jobs to those only who are related to them. <i>(From the interview with the specialist of the Kaskelen District Akimat)</i></p>
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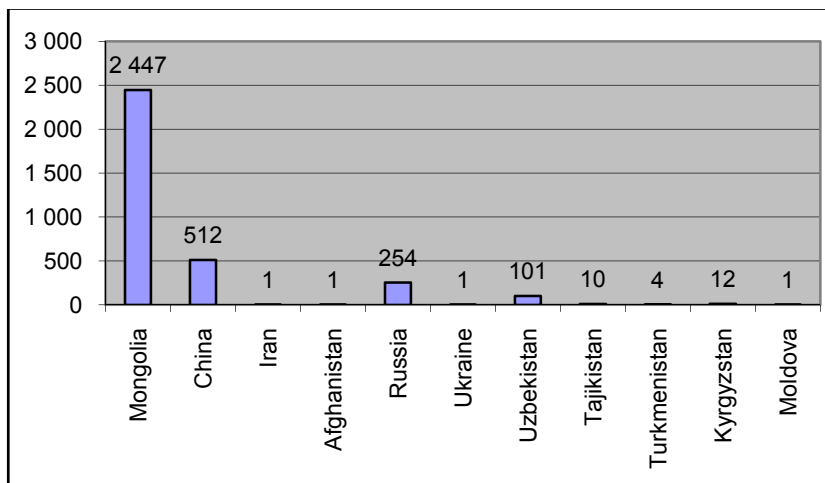
Taking into account that migration, according to its nature grows constantly, then, the migration network is becoming increasingly dense and ramified, thus providing migrants with a wider choice of migration destinations and opportunities. Some networks may help

migrants in paying for their travels, assist in finding a job and even a place of residence<sup>1</sup>.

Along with natural and climatic and ethno-cultural factors, the distance between the place of previous residence and a new place has an important role in the settlement of oralmans. This is most clearly manifested in the case of the East Kazakhstan oblast. (Figure 18).

As can be seen from Figure 17, in the East Kazakhstan oblast, the proportion of oralmans who arrived from the bordering countries – Mongolia, China and Russia – is the most significant. At the beginning of 2004, the proportion of oralmans arriving from these three bordering countries to the East Kazakhstan oblast was 96.1% of the total oralman population.

Figure 18  
**Number of oralman families living in East-Kazakhstan Province  
with breakdown on their countries of origin**



Source: the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

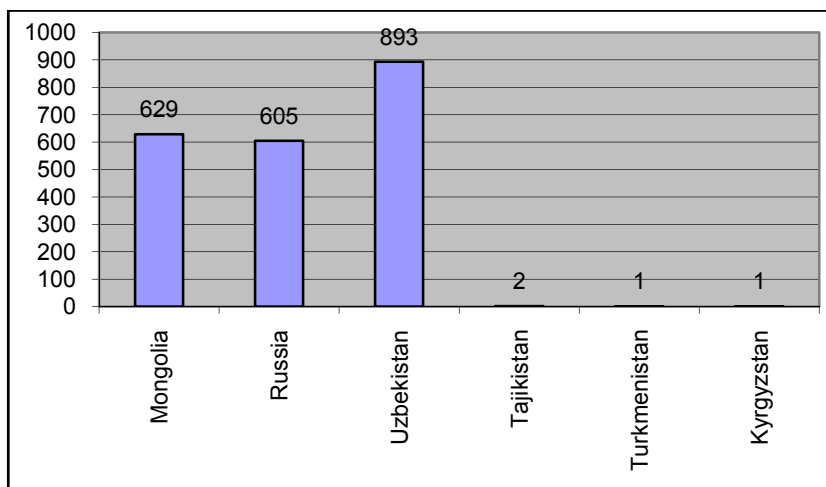
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<sup>1</sup> World Migration 2003. Managing Migration. Challenges and Responses for People on the Move. Volume 2 – IOM World Migration Report Series./ IOM International Organization for Migration 17, route des Morillons 1211 Geneva 19, 2003. Switzerland

A fairly important conclusion regarding to the distribution of oralmans across the Republic of Kazakhstan is the fact of settlement of oralmans from Uzbekistan. Oralmans from this country make some exception from the above rule. Their share is high not only in the Southern regions of the country, but also in some Northern regions. In particular, in the North Kazakhstan oblast, their number was the largest and exceeded the number of oralman families who came from Russia bordering to this region (Figure 19).

Figure 19.

**Number of oralman families living in North-Kazakhstan oblast with breakdown on their countries of exodus**



Source: the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

This is with the Kazakh and Russian languages, and being residents of the former USSR, they did not circumstance was conditioned by the fact that immigrants from Uzbekistan did not have any problem have any problems with adaptation, compared with oralmans from far abroad, primarily from Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, China, Mongolia.

The study of arrival of oralmans during the period of formation of the market economy in 1991-2003, revealed such features as the settlement of oralmans mainly in rural areas in the early 90's. As

noted above, because of the limited budget funds, the oralman were settled and/or provided with the housing mainly in rural areas. This trend was pronounced in Central and Northern Kazakhstan, in particular in the Pavlodar and Karaganda oblasts. In 1991-1992, in these oblasts, almost all oralman arrived were settled in rural areas. In the beginning of 2000, they began to settle oralman in the urban areas too.

Again, this was most noticeable in the above-mentioned oblasts – Pavlodar and Karaganda. A feature of settlement in the South Kazakhstan oblast was that the significant inflow of oralman (29.3% in the city, 24.6% in the village) was observed in 1993. Then the recession followed, and only since 1998, the process of increase began again. In contrast, in the Mangistau oblast, a significant arrival of oralman was observed in the early 2000's.

As noted above, the settled oralman did not always live in the same place of residence. As the sociological survey showed, almost every fourth oralman (23.7%) changed his/her place of residence after his/her arrival. (Table 4.)

Table 4.

**Reasons for change of place of residence among oralman, %**

Climate is not good	18.3
No job	26.2
No housing	14.6
Bad relations with local people	2.4
Moved closer to relatives	26.2
Other	12.2

As can be seen from the table, the main reason for the change of place of residence in more than a quarter of all cases (26.2%) was lack of job or moving closer to relatives. Almost one of five (18.3%) moved because the climate was not good for him/her. For 14.6% of oralman who changed their place of residence, the main reason was the lack of housing. A very small proportion of oralman changed their place of residence due to the fact that they did not establish good relations with local residents (2.4%).

<p>After the move, quite a large proportion of oralman who changed their place of residence lived among urban oralman of Mangistauoblast (31.3%) and the smallest – among urban oralman of Pavlodar oblast. As for the rural areas, the largest proportion of those who changed their place of residence lived in the Karaganda oblast (81.8%) and the smallest – in Mangistau (3.1%). That is, although the urban oralman of the Mangistauoblast differed from those living in other cities by a high proportion of families who changed their place of residence, then, rural oralman of this oblast are distinguished by the highest stability of residence.</p>	<p>“Oralman choose their place of residence in the district on their own, as a rule, they choose closer to the city, and the houses there are expensive. Last year 70 families arrived, and we had only 15 apartments allocated. The state allocates unreal amounts for the purchase of housing.”<i>(From the interview with the specialist of the District Akimat)</i></p> <p>“Many oralman are striving to Karaganda, they want to live closer to an industrial city, a regional trade center between the North and the South of the country. There are many higher educational institutions and cultural centers here. If one has a housing here, it's much easier to live” <i>(From the interview with the specialist of the District Akimat)</i></p>
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In general, the analysis of the distribution of oralman across Kazakhstan shows that the largest share of those who changed their place of residence was observed among the villagers, rather than among the city residents, that is, the villagers were more prone to move than urban oralman.

**4.2 Migration and settlement of oralman during the period of economic growth and moderate development (2004- 2016)**

In the 2000’s, the oralman was settled in the same way as it was after independence in two formats: under the state quota and beyond the quota. Those who arrived within the limits of the state quota were settled in provinces and districts designated by the Government. Those who came independently, beyond the quota, settled according to their preferences. In particular, those repatriates who arrived beyond the quota settles in many cases according to the action of

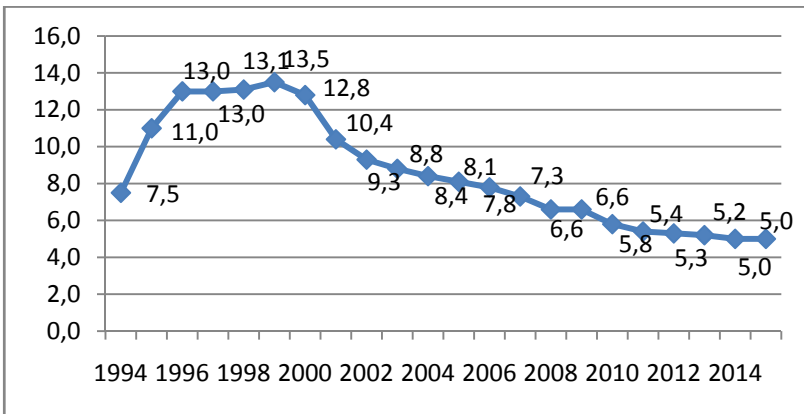
gravity forces: taking into account the distance, availability of migration networks, economic factors, and etc.

The beginning of 2000's was marked for Kazakhstan by rapid economic growth. This growth was resultant not only from rising in oil prices, as Kazakhstan is one of the richest countries with regard to oil reserves, but also from a number of other factors.

First of all, the market economy was established in the country, people became more free in developing their entrepreneurial potential. Small and medium businesses began to develop in Kazakhstan, and unemployment decreased. (Figure20.)

Figure20.

### Unemployment in Kazakhstan, %



Source: According to the Committee for Statistics of the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan

As can be seen in Figure 19, in 2000, the unemployment rate was one of the highest, then, since 2001, it has started to decline significantly.

Particularly noteworthy is the impact of construction of the Kazakhstan new capital, Astana, on the economic growth of the country. The construction caused a construction boom not only in the new capital itself, but also became a lever for the development of other economic sectors – road construction, production of building materials, transport industry, etc



*Baiterek – symbol of New Capital  
Astana*

The fact that Kazakhstan began to pursue an intensive policy to attract foreign direct investment was an important transformation. Availability of rich natural resources, as well as favorable economic environment, has promoted Kazakhstan as a leader among CIS countries in attracting foreign direct investment. Foreign direct investment also had a positive impact on employment growth.

All of the above, as well as a number of other factors constituted one of the important reasons for the growth of immigration of oralmans to Kazakhstan in the 2000's. During the period of economic growth and even afterwards, the trend of the ethnic Kazakhs migration flow from Uzbekistan to the regions of Kazakhstan located nearby this state, has not changed. The migration of Kazakhs from Uzbekistan to the South Kazakhstan and nearby oblasts (Zhambyl, Almaty, Mangistau) as one of the manifestations of the law of gravity, was especially strong during this period. (Figure 20.)

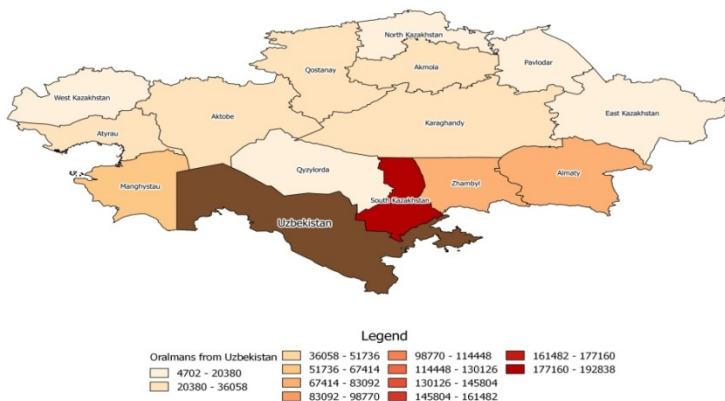
Comparing migration flows from Uzbekistan to Kazakhstan for the period 1991-2003 (43,091 families or 160,499 people) and 2004-2016 (133,249 families or 459,505 people), it should be noted that the number of repatriates in the second period exceeded the number of repatriates of the first period 2.9 times or almost threefold.

An important factor of the significant migration flow from Uzbekistan, is the large number of Kazakhs residing in this state (P). As of the year 1989, 808,200 Kazakhs lived in Uzbekistan.

As can be seen from Figure 21, the South Kazakhstan, Jambyl, Almaty and Mangistaublasts are located nearby or even border Uzbekistan. The denominator or distance (D) in the gravity model of ethnic migration ( $F_{em}$ ) presented in Section 1.1 is not large enough if compared with the distance to other oblasts.

Figure 21.

**Distribution of Kazakh repatriates from Uzbekistan**



Source: Calculated by the authors

Moreover, many of them migrated to this country not only in the 20-30's, during the Soviet collectivization and the resulting famine or Stalinist repression, but also later, that in context of time (t) played a minor role in the transformation of their cultural component. Taking into consideration the fact that Uzbekistan, the same as Kazakhstan, was part of the USSR, in many aspects (knowledge of Russian, common roots of Soviet education, religious, etc.), Kazakhs from Uzbekistan did not and do not have any significant difficulties in adapting, as it was and is observed in the Kazakhs from distant foreign countries and those who migrated in earlier periods. The large diaspora (P), the proximity of residence (D) and the shorter period of residence (t) outside of Kazakhstan were the main spatio-temporal factors for the stronger manifestation of the

law of gravity with regard to migration of Kazakhs from Uzbekistan to the South Kazakhstan, Jambyl, Almaty and Mangistauoblasts.

In contrast to the four above-mentioned provinces, in the Kyzylorda oblast, which also borders Uzbekistan, the number of oralmans is much lower, due to the bad climate, relatively low salaries, compared to the Mangistauoblast, and the lack of developed migration networks, as observed in the South Kazakhstan, Jambyl and Almaty oblasts.

An important factor in settling oralmans in the Republic of Kazakhstan is the province's level of economic development. As noted in the neoclassical theory of the migration<sup>1</sup> (G. Ranis, Fei and Todaro) at the macro level, migration is the result of imbalance in the geographical distribution of labor and capital. Migrants move to the places where work, salaries and other economic factors are more attractive. Migrants choose those places of migration, where the network of benefits is expected to be maximal.

This theoretical provision is most vividly confirmed in the case of the construction of the new capital Astana in the Akmola Province.

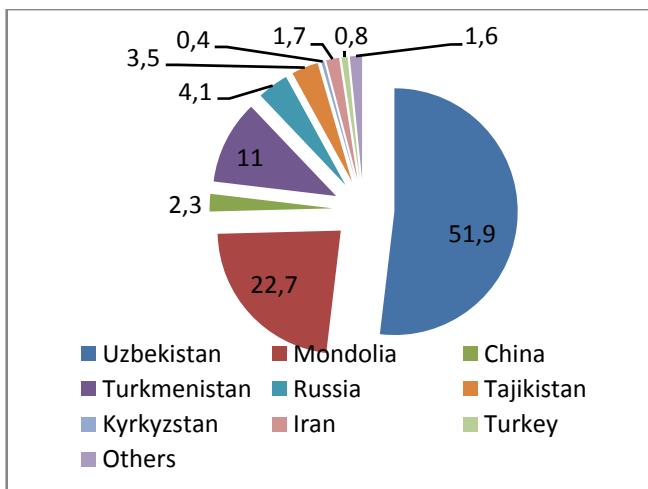
In 2004, one of the the authors, within the framework of the IOM Project, conducted a study on the situation and adaptation of migrants in the new capital of Kazakhstan. Along with internal migrants who arrived from other provinces, and foreigners, oralmans were also subjected to a sociological survey.

Analyzing the oralmans' immigration with the breakdown on their countries of origin for 12 years, that is, from 2004 to 2016, some features should be noted

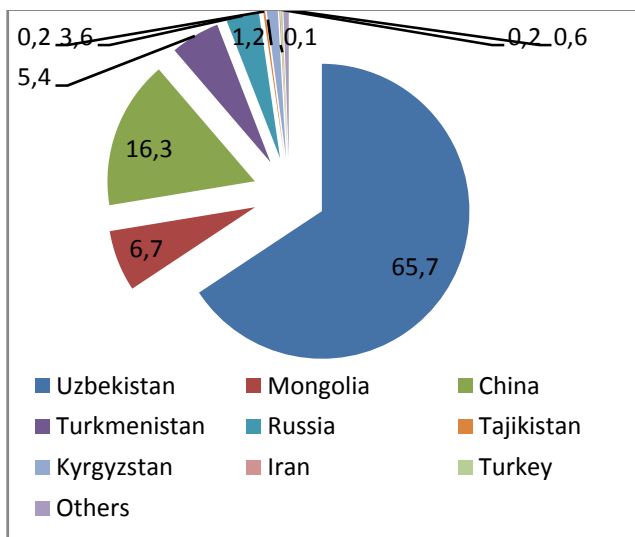
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<sup>1</sup> World Migration 2003. Managing Migration. Challenges and Responses for People on the Move. Volume 2 – IOM World Migration Report Series./ IOM International Organization for Migration 17. route des Morillons 1211 Geneva 19. 2003. Switzerland

Figure 22



Share of immigrants with breakdown on their countries of exodus for the period 1991-2003, %



Share of immigrants with breakdown on their countries of exodus for the period 2004-2016, %

Source: Calculated by the authors

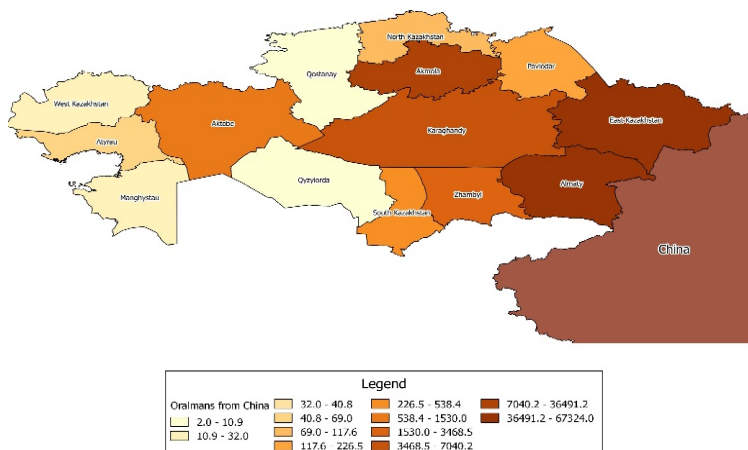
As can be seen from figure 22, for instance, within the period 1991-2003, the proportion of oralmans arriving from China to the total number of all those who arrived, was minor compared to Mongolia, Turkmenistan, Russia, Tajikistan, while in the period between 2004 and 2016, the proportion of those arriving from China exceeded all of the above-mentioned countries. So, during the period of economic growth and moderate development (2004-2016), almost every sixth repatriate came from China.

Comparing the migration flows from China to Kazakhstan for the period of 1991-2003 (2,200 families or 7,250 people) and 2004-2016 (40952 families or 114,147people) we should note that the number of repatriates in the second period exceeded the number of repatriates of the first period in 15.7 times!

In general, at the beginning of 2017, the number of immigrants arriving from China, occupied the second place and lived in the bordering areas, which correlates with the gravity model of ethnic migration in its spatial expression or where the greatest economic activity was observed. Figure 23.

Figure 23.

### Distribution of Kazakh repatriates from China



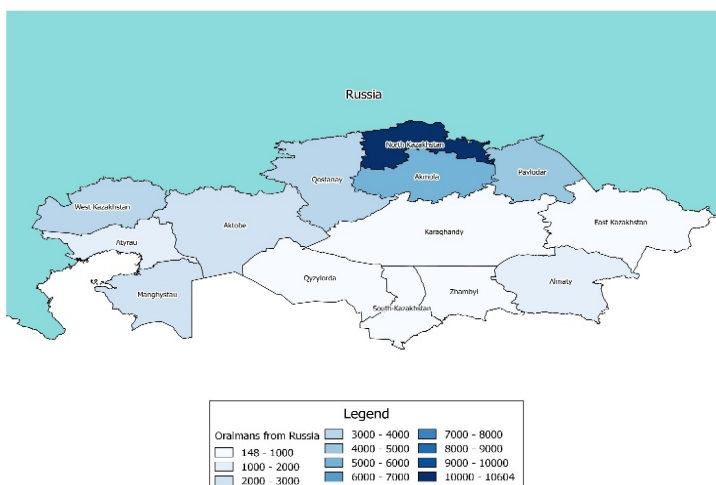
Source: Calculated by the authors

As can be seen from Figure 23, the Almaty and East Kazakhstan oblasts bordering to China are the areas most populated with the oralmans from this country. This is related not only to the close distance, but also, to a certain extent, to the preserved ethnocultural ties. Despite the unity of language, Kazakhs living in different regions of Kazakhstan differ somehow in their traditions and culture. This is especially evident when a wedding celebration is conducted or other national traditions executed. Therefore, Kazakhs who arrived from China, mostly chose to settle in places where their ancestors lived before emigrating to China.

In this context it is rather interesting to observe a similar pattern when analyzing the immigration of oralmans from Russia. During the period of economic growth and moderate development twice more Kazakh repatriates arrived from Russia compared to the initial period. For this category of repatriates, immigration is also characteristic to the regions close to Russia, as well as to the regions of economic growth (Figure 24.)

Figure 24.

**Distribution of Kazakh repatriates from Russian Federation**



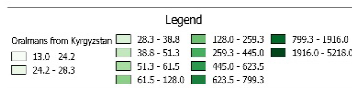
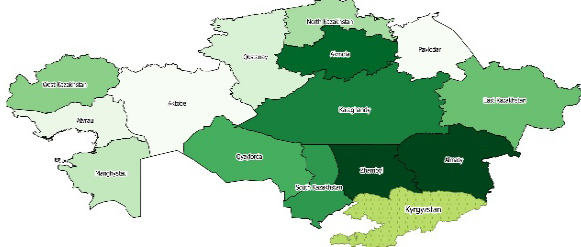
Source: Calculated by the authors

As can be seen from Figure 24, Kazakh immigrants from Russia mainly immigrated to the North-Kazakhstan and its bordering oblasts, as well as to Akmola, Almaty (Almaty city) and Mangistau Provinces, which are economically more attractive.

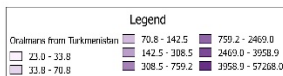
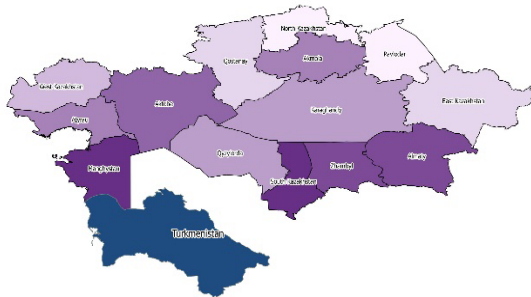
Gravity model of ethnic migration and its manifestation can be observed in Kazakhstan in the case of repatriates from Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan (Figure 25) too.

Figure 25.

**Distribution of Kazakh repatriates from Kyrgyzstan, people**



**Distribution of Kazakh repatriates from Turkmenistan, people**



Source: Calculated by the authors

As can be seen from figure 25, repatriates from Kyrgyzstan settled mainly in the regions bordering with this country, as well as in the provinces with the largest economic growth – Akmola and Karaganda. Of the total mass of oralmans who came from Kyrgyzstan, many began to live in areas bordering to this state: Almaty and Zhambyl Provinces.

In case of Turkmenistan, oralmans from this country settled mainly in Mangistau Provinces which borders with this country. Many of them decided to live in South Kazakhstan, Zhambul and Almaty areas because of chain migration.

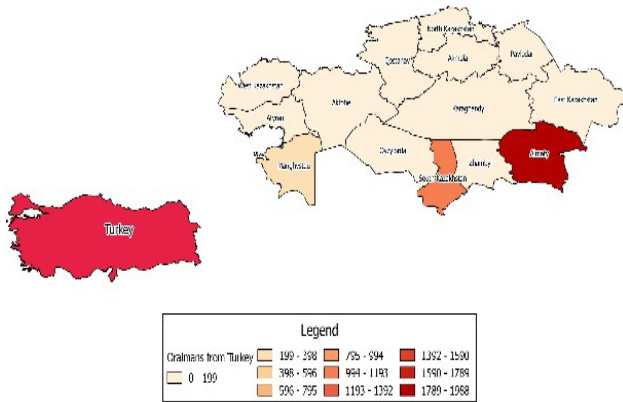
Analysis of settlement of ethnic repatriates from states not bordering on Kazakhstan, revealed their preferences for living in the regions with a warmer climate, that is, in the South, rather than in the North of the country. Availability of a warmer climate, as well as a more benevolent ethno-cultural environment, have become important reasons for the residing of Kazakh repatriates from Turkey and Iran. As can be seen in Figure 26, the most repatriates from these countries resides in Almaty, South Kazakhstan and Mangystauoblasts.

It should be specially noted that their living in these areas is associated with historically important and sacred places for them. For example, in Turkestan, the South-Kazakhstan oblast there is the mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yassaviy. The mausoleum, which is included in the UNESCO World Heritage List, is a sacred place for many Turkic-speaking people. Moreover, many citizens of modern Turkey consider Turkestan and, accordingly, Kazakhstan, their historical homeland – Anadolu. One of the largest universities in the country – the Kazakh-Turkish State University is located in Turkestan.

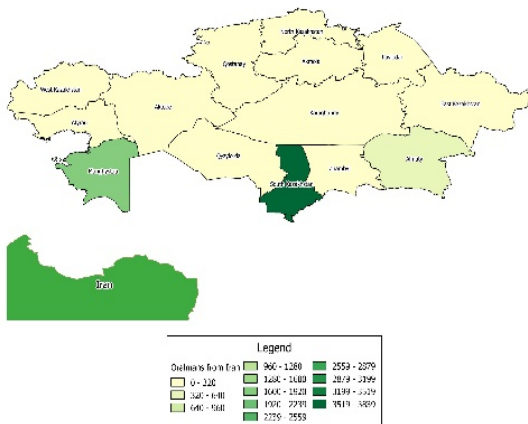
As can be seen from Figure 26, the Almaty oblast and especially Almaty city, as the southern capital of the country, is an attractive place for residence of a large number of Kazakh repatriates from Turkey. One of the main reasons is the economy. A large number of Turkish business centers, restaurants, educational institutions, etc. are open in Almaty.

Figure 26

**Distribution of Kazakh repatriates from Turkey, people**



**Distribution of Kazakh repatriates from Iran, people**



Source: Calculated by the authors

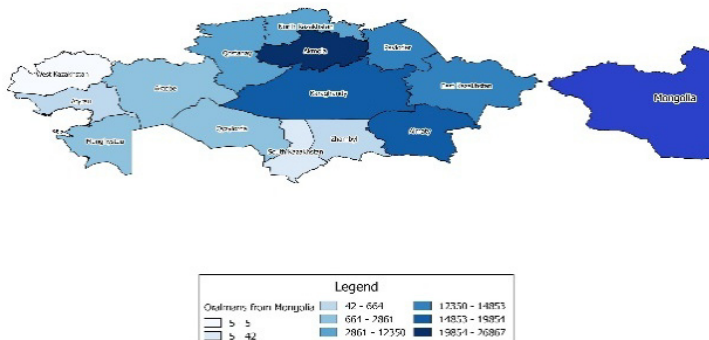
Unlike the Kazakh repatriates from Turkey, immigrants from Iran mostly live in the South-Kazakhstan oblast. This circumstance is largely related not only to the natural and climatic factor, but also to ethno-cultural reasons. An important role in this belongs to the theory of migration networks. It should be noted that ethnic repatriates from Iran were cut off from ties with Kazakhstan, they

were not only geographically further, but also in the context of time. Many of them and/or their ancestors emigrated from Kazakhstan at the end and/or the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A long distance (D) and a many-year residence period or a more significant time indicator (T) in the above migration model ( $F_{em}$ ) in its spatial and temporal dimensions impacted the fact that their number is lower compared to the number of other oralmans. Thus, at the beginning of 2017, 6,329 people from Iran and 3,585 from Turkey lived in Kazakhstan, or 0.6% and 0.4% respectively. A long period of residence, as well as remote distance reflected on their cultural and even linguistic characteristics. Almost all of them do not know Russian. They adhere to Kazakh traditions in the greatest degree and many of them are religious. In this regard, their residence is more concentrated in the south, where the Kazakh language is the dominant one and where many traditions are preserved. All these factors, as well as the migration network, help them to adapt more effectively in the southern regions of Kazakhstan.

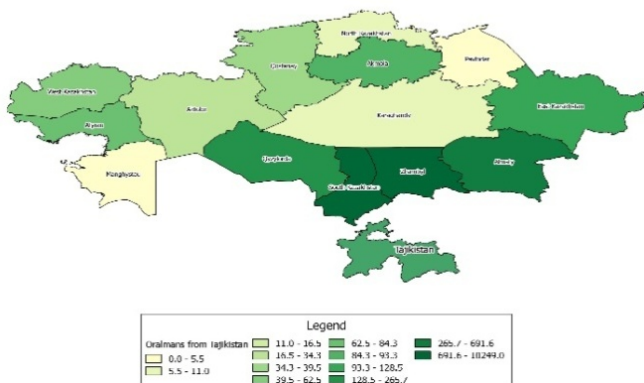
Mongolia and Tajikistan also do not have common borders with Kazakhstan. At the same time, the settlement of repatriates from these countries has a certain specificity. (Figure 27)

As can be seen from Figure 27, oralmans from Mongolia settled more in regions of so-called economic growth. Most of them live in economically prosperous regions: Akmola oblast or the new capital Astana, then, in Almaty and Karaganda oblasts. This circumstance is connected to the fact that immigrants from Mongolia began to arrive to Kazakhstan from the very beginning of the migration policy implementation, since the beginning of the 90's. Having studied quickly the realities of Kazakhstan, especially since it was relatively easier for them compared to immigrants from Iran, they began to settle not on the basis of their migration networks only, but also taking into consideration the economic reasons. Mongolia, like Kazakhstan, has common roots in many of its historical foundations. Both countries used and still use Cyrillic, both were parts of the socialist block, both states have pursued a common communist ideology, and so on.

Figure 27  
**Distribution of Kazakh repatriates from Mongolia, people**



**Distribution of Kazakh repatriates from Tajikistan, people**



Source: Calculated by the authors

As can be seen in Figure 27, oralmans from Tajikistan in most cases live in the southern regions of Kazakhstan, which is due primarily to natural and climatic factors, as well as relative proximity to their country of origin – Tajikistan. It should be noted that many repatriates from Tajikistan, along with Kazakh, know Russian too. This circumstance caused some of them to live in the East and West of Kazakhstan, as well as in Akmola oblast and, in particular, in Astana.

## Conclusions on the chapter.

In general, summarizing the analysis of distribution of oralmans through the Kazakhstan, it should be noted that the settlement of oralmans during the period of transition to the market (1991-2003) and during the period of economic growth and moderate development (2004-2016) took place under the influence of gravity model in its spatial and time-related context, as well as of natural, climatic, political, economic and ethno-cultural factors.

The initial period of formation of Kazakhstan as an independent state was characterized by the fact that a large number of Kazakh repatriates from the countries of the former USSR, as well as from Mongolia, which also experienced in the past the socialist path of development, arrived in the country. Oralmans who arrived under quota, taking into account the budget deficit, were settled in many cases in villages and partly in cities. However, after time elapsed, some of them began moving to cities (Astana, Almaty) and/or regions with better economic potential or with a warmer climate (Almaty, Dzhambul, South-Kazakhstan oblasts).

It is important to note that along with the ethnic repatriates (oralmans) who arrived within the quota, there were a number of oralmans who arrive in the Republic beyond the quota, independently.

At the stage of economic growth and further, the number of oralmans began to exceed and even in several times, the number of those who arrived at the initial stage. Particularly noteworthy is the immigration of oralmans from China. Their number exceeded the number of oralmans who came in the initial period almost 16 times!

In general, over the 25 years of Kazakhstan's existence as an independent state, since the beginning of implementation of the ethnic immigration policy, the largest number of repatriates have come from Uzbekistan, China, Mongolia, the bordering states, as well as from Iran and Turkey. Oralmans also arrived from other countries (Afghanistan, Pakistan, Denmark, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, etc.), but their numbers were not significant compared to the above.

When settling oralmans, both at the initial stage – the stage of the market economy creation, the formation of independence in its political, cultural, social, and other contexts (1991-2004), and at the second stage – the stage of economic growth and moderate development (2004-2016), the main gravitational forces of immigration and settlement were the number of people in diasporas in foreign countries (P2), spatial (D) and time-related (t) components, as well as political, economic, cultural and ethnic peculiarities.

## Chapter 5. ADAPTATION OF ORALMANS IN 2004

Adaptation of oralmans in Kazakhstan had its own characteristics. Among the various indicators characterizing the adaptation of ethnic immigrants, the economic, social, cultural adaptation must be emphasized. Of course, these areas of integration can not reflect all the depth, breadth and completeness of whole diversity and specificity of adaptation of newly arrived migrants. However, in our opinion, they figure out the most important picture of peculiarities of their adaptation. As noted above, in Section 1, the economic, social, cultural factors of migration of ethnic repatriates belong to the intangible gravity forces that accelerate and/or slow down both the migration process itself and the adaptation process.

The economic, social, and cultural adaptation of oralmans in Kazakhstan flew quite unusually for 25 years. It is difficult to make an unambiguous assessment to completely characterize the adaptation of oralmans for the entire 25-year period. During this period, the economic adaptation of oralmans had its own peculiarities and differences every year. This was related not only to economic crises, but also to the stages of growth.

The initial stage – the stage of transition from the planned economy to the market one (1991-2003) was accompanied not only by the processes of denationalization and privatization, as well as formation of a new financial system, but also by breaking of consciousness not only of oralmans, but of local residents too.

The second stage – the stage of economic growth and moderate development (2004-2016) also had its own specifics. On the one hand, the period was associated with improving the well-being and living standards of people, while on the other hand, this period was associated with the global economic crisis and the subsequent numerous devaluations of tenge, which also had an ambiguous impact on the peculiarities of the oralmans' adaptation.

With a view of deeper and more objective understanding of the problems of adaptation, the opinions of Kazakh repatriates on their adaptation in 2004 are provided in the following sections. In that year, a sociological study was conducted by UNDP and a review was

made of the adaptation of oralmanans in Kazakhstan on the topic: "Oralmans in Kazakhstan: problems and ways of integration." Taking into account the briefness of the final version of the report, it did not represent many interesting results of this sociological study. However, in this work, the authors<sup>12</sup>, reveals its results more completely and in a qualitatively new perspective: through the prism of analysis of the manifestation of the gravity model, the theory of migration networks and/or migration chains.

In fact, the availability of this valuable, historical material has served as one of the additional foundations for publication of this work.

For the purpose of reality, originality and/or freshness, the following analytical material on the economic, social, and cultural adaptation of oralmanans, in particular, the respondents' opinions are represented in the style and context of the period when the study was conducted, that is, without changes. For example, the opinions of respondents are provided from the first person perspective, without editing.

At the same time, the text contains the authors's additions and comments made at present period, after 12 years. Such an approach, in the authors's opinion, allowed, on the one hand, to maintain the realism of material provided and, on the other hand, to present it in unusual manner in the form that allows the reader to take a look at oralmanans' adaptation in its historical context.

Economic adaptation of oralmanans revealed from the positions of analysis of their employment, sources of income, their professional education, and development of entrepreneurship among them. Social adaptation is revealed in terms of housing conditions, access to the systems of education and health care. Cultural adaptation due to its importance and specificity is highlighted in a separate section and reflects the problems of language integration of Kazakh repatriates and the adaptation of their culture to local Kazakhstani conditions in the context of compliance with some rituals and traditions.

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<sup>12</sup> It is need to note that one of the authors of this book was the scientific supervisor of that study

## 5.1 Economic integration

### 5.1.1 Employment

Kazakh repatriates – oralmans who arrived in Kazakhstan made and are still making a significant contribution to the development of the country's economy. They are active in various branches of economy. Among them, there are specialists of various qualifications and professions. They work in the field of science, education, culture, industry, agriculture, etc. However, as the study showed, not all of them have always been in demand and were employed. According to the data provided by the Agency for Migration and Demography as of January 1, 2004, out of 154,000 Kazakh working-age immigrants, only 91,300 or 59.2% had a job, while 61,400 thousand or 40.8% did not have it. This was a fairly high figure compared to the average republican level. In general, the unemployment rate in the republic in 2003 was 8.8%.

The Republic of Kazakhstan, after gaining the independence, began to reform its economic system. By 2004, the market economy functioned in the country and the market laws of supply and demand applied in the employment system. Many oralmans who came from other former Soviet Republics had difficulties in adapting to them. Many of them, due to the lack of demand for their professions, found jobs, where they could, in various ways and in different places.

“Having come from another country, they go to the bazaar or are engaged in cattle breeding, as they have no other qualification .... Many of them want to get a job in their profession, but this is not always possible. Low qualification, no knowledge of computer literacy, poor knowledge of Russian are important reasons for unemployment among oralmans.” *From the interview with employee of the public employment service*

“They basically work in public works. We try to help oralmans first. There are free retraining courses – not all of them go there. They want to work in the bazaar.” *From the interview of employee of the Provincial department for migration and demography.*

Especial difficulties arose in the process of employment of Kazakh repatriates with higher education. This was the case of engineers, technologists, doctors, economists, etc.

Local regional government authorities tried to resolve the problems of employment of Kazakh repatriates in the authorized employment bodies. In the employment centers various seminars and training courses to develop new specialties were held for them, if necessary. It should be noted that those who came under the quota did not experience any serious economic problems. Upon arrival, they received an oralman's certificate, registered at the employment centers and received the appropriate benefits they were entitled to by the laws. But those who arrived independently, beyond the quota faced many problems and, above all, problems of housing and employment. The repatriants who arrived on their own, beyond the quota, during the first period of stay, have no both formally legalized work and housing, and in addition, the state mechanism of rendering assistance for them was not developed yet. This was due to the fact that Provincial regional budgets did not provide for assistance to Kazakh repatriates arrived beyond the quota<sup>1</sup>.

One of the main problems for many repatriates in finding a job was the obligation and necessity to have a residence registration or an officially registered address of their place of permanent residence. Without a registration, they could not officially find a job. Employers took them to work informally. In this case, they were socially unprotected, as they worked in the shadow economy. For instance, for an oralman who arrived under the quota and who has an official oralman status, this

“Not all can receive the residence registration (registration at a particular place of residence – B. Tatibekov, R Hanks). Without documents, they cannot find a job or buy a house. Unfortunately, there are cases when police officers catch them, take away their passports (which they received in the former host country), then, frighten with deportation back and force them to buy back the documents or send them to “black”, low-paid jobs.

<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that in some provinces they tried to resolve this problem. For example, in South Kazakhstan Province, the Province Akim issued a decision “About work with oralmans who are arrive beyond the quota,” which contained an item regarding consideration of assistance to oralmans from the local budget. This assistance included the allocation of land for construction or assistance in the construction of a house, etc.

issue (the issue of residence registration) was automatically resolved after a while, and the issue of employment was appropriately resolved for them, they received Targeted Social Assistance (TSA) and other social benefits, in the contrary, for the oralman who arrived independently, beyond the quota and in addition having no registered place of residence, all these were impossible.

...Recently, oralmans from China came, they arrived independently. Nobody wants to register them for residence. Because it is necessary to pay for every registered person in the house. For example, for water – 100 tenge per person, garbage disposal – 100 tenge per house. If there was a Center for temporary residence.”

*From an interview with employee of the Almaty Department for Migration and Demography.*

Along with residence registration, an acute problem for employment was the availability of citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan. There were no regulatory acts in the Republic that officially allowed oralmans working without the Kazakhstani citizenship. Oralmans were not officially employed because of lack of passport of a citizen of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Therefore, many Kazakh repatriates had a great desire to quickly obtain citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Obtaining citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan, gave them a chance to officially find a job. Some of them received it only after 8 months.

Employers could officially employ them on the basis of document “Residence Permit.” However, oralmans could not use this provision because of the issuance of this type of documents was not provided for them.

It is interesting to note that despite the fact that the main goal of the majority of Kazakh repatriates was acquisition of citizenship, not all of them were interested in getting it quickly!!!.

Pensioner oralmans, who came from Russia and China, do not want to receive Kazakh citizenship, because their pensions were higher than the Kazakh ones. The others, all without exception, want to obtain the citizenship of Kazakhstan. Acquiring citizenship gives oralmans equal rights with the other citizens of the Republic ... Many of former PRC citizens received a residence permit; they did not take citizenship, because

they received a pension of USD200.

*(From the interview with employee of the Al Province Department for Migration and Demography)*

...Some people do not apply for citizenship only in order to be included in the quota. Obtaining citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan gives a chance of employment. However, in this case, the oralman loses the right to receive special privileges under the quota (housing, lump-sum benefit, funds due for transportation of household utensils).

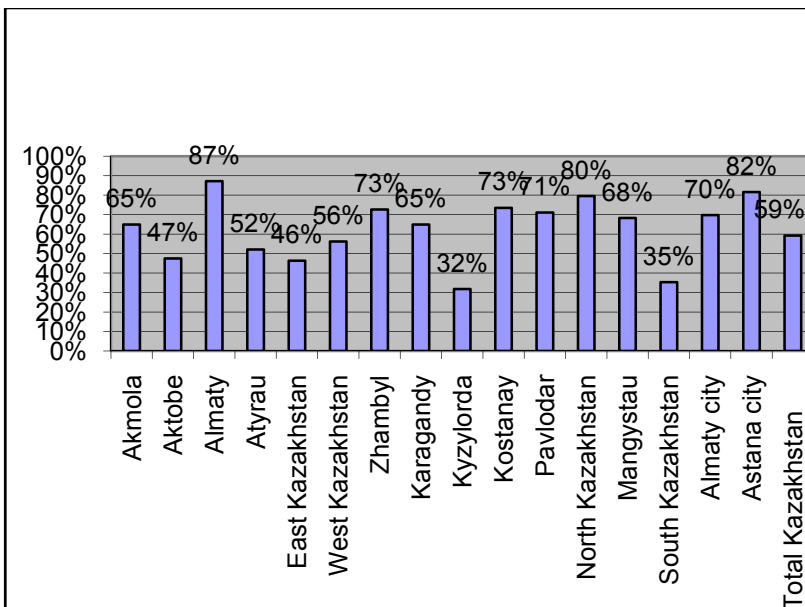
*(From the interview with employee of the Provincial department for migration and demography)*

As the sociological survey conducted at that period, show the economic integration of Kazakh repatriates in Kazakhstan was uneven. If we consider the degree of economic integration through the prism of employment, the best conditions or the highest employment rate among them was observed in the Almaty Province, in Astana, North Kazakhstan, Zhambyl, Kostanay Provinces, Almaty, Mangistau and Karaganda Provinces. In these provinces, employment among them exceeded the average republican level (Figure 28).

As can be seen from Figure 28, as of January 1, 2004, the employment was quite high among the Kazakh repatriates in Astana and Almaty.

Figure 28

**Employment rate among the Kazakh repatriates as of January 1, 2004**



Source: Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

For instance, 59% of Kazakh repatriates were employed on average in the Republic, while in Almaty Province, 87% were employed at that time, and in Astana – 82%. The lowest employment rate was among those who lived in the Kyzylorda Province. This was and is one of the main reasons for the lower number of Kazakh repatriates residing in this province. Low employment rate was observed at that time in the South Kazakhstan oblast. However, the gravity forces of migration networks in the form of presence of relatives and friends were the main reasons for the fact that the South Kazakhstan oblast attracts the greatest number of repatriates from Uzbekistan was and is observed at the present time.

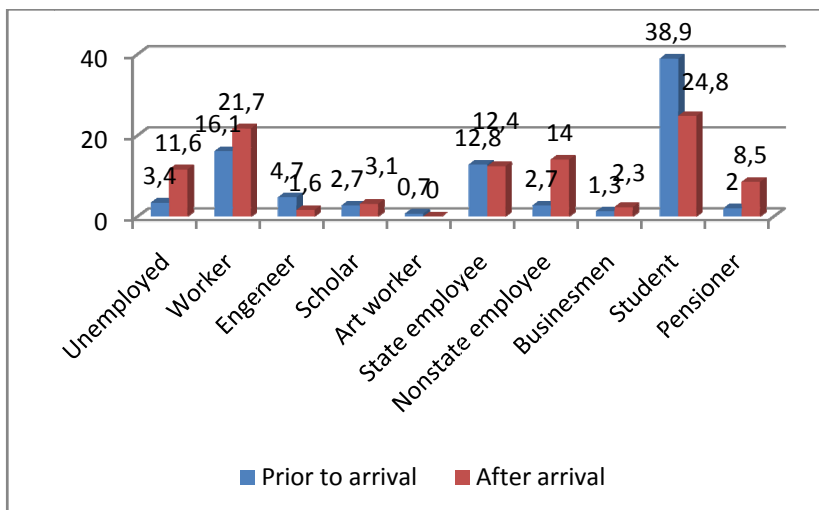
Analyzing the employment of oralmans by the spheres of activity, the survey should be noted carried out at that period by International Organization for Migration (IOM). According to the survey conducted by the IOM Representative Office in Kazakhstan within the framework of project: “Migrants in the new capital of Kazakhstan,” the oralmans were engaged in various spheres of activities in the new capital, Astana.”



*Oralman produces national music instruments*

A certain part of them worked as employees in state or non-state system. If we compare the employment rates of Kazakh repatriates by various types of activity prior to their arrival in Astana and after that, as can be seen from figure 29, some changes took place.

Figure 29.  
Spheres of activities of oralmans prior and after coming to Astana, %



Source: according to the IOM survey on the topic: “Migrants in the new capital of Kazakhstan”

Upon arrival in Astana, many young Kazakh repatriates quit studying, did not continue to be students and/or apprentices, a greater number of Kazakh repatriates became workers, a larger number of unemployed and/or housewives and pensioners were among them.

At the same time, the average monthly salary of some oralmans in Astana was about USD200 at that time, and this exceeded the level of salaries that even the high-skilled oralmans had prior to their arrival to Astana.

### **5.1.2 Income**

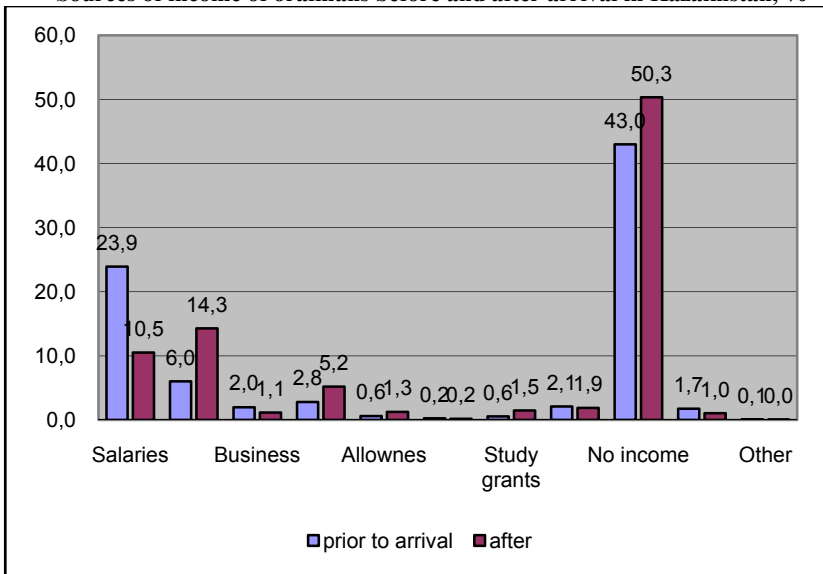
When conducting the sociological survey, the indicators such as level of income before and after arrival in Kazakhstan were used to assess the economic factor of living arrangement of Kazakh repatriates.

As a result of the study, it was found that, for instance, only 43.0% of the oralmans surveyed had no permanent income before their arrival, while after arrival, their number increased to 50.3%. Only one in tenth of them had a regular income, while before arrival, almost every fourth (23.9%) had it. For many of the Kazakh repatriates surveyed, casual earnings served as their main source of income and their number increased more than twice as compared to the situation before their arrival. Among them, the number of those for whom the state allowances were one of the sources of their income, has almost doubled. For instance, according to the sociological survey, 2.8% of the oralmans surveyed have been receiving the state old age retirement pension before the arrival, then after arrival, 5.2% of the respondents started receiving it. If before the arrival, 0.6% of the respondents have been receiving the state allowances (of the country of origin) or material assistance, then, after arrival, 1.3% of respondents began receiving it.

Despite the fact that young oralman students of who lived in Astana, dropped out from school, their number increased throughout the country. The share of students receiving income in the form of student's grants increased from 0.6% before arrival to 1.5% after arrival (Figure 30.)

Figure 30.

**Sources of income of oralmans before and after arrival in Kazakhstan, %**



*Source:* Compiled by the authors based on data of the sociological survey

As noted above in Chapter 3, “Political Actions for the Development of Ethnic Migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan” the Government of the country has allocated a special allowance for them to stimulate the oralmans’ inflow to Kazakhstan. This allowance has been legally established not only within the framework of the Law “On Migration of People,” but also by the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated July 17, 2001, No. 246-II “On State Targeted Social Assistance,” and the corresponding Resolution of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan.\* As we mentioned above, in 2004, according to the Regulations for targeted use of funds allocated from the republican budget for Kazakh repatriates, the funds were directed to:

- 1) payment of lump sum allowances to oralmans and members of their families;
- 2) organized resettlement of oralmans’ families and transportation of their property;

3) reimbursement of transport expenses (travel and transportation of property) to oralmans' families who migrated to the Republic of Kazakhstan beyond the organized resettlement in accordance with the quota established by the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan;

4) provision of oralmans with food and medicines during their travel to the place of residence;

5) allocation of funds for purchase of housing for oralmans' families;

6) payment for execution of documents for oralmans.

Under these Regulations, lump-sum allowances should have been appointed to:

Head of the family – in the amount of fifteen-fold monthly calculation index;

Each member of the family – in the amount of ten-fold monthly calculated index.

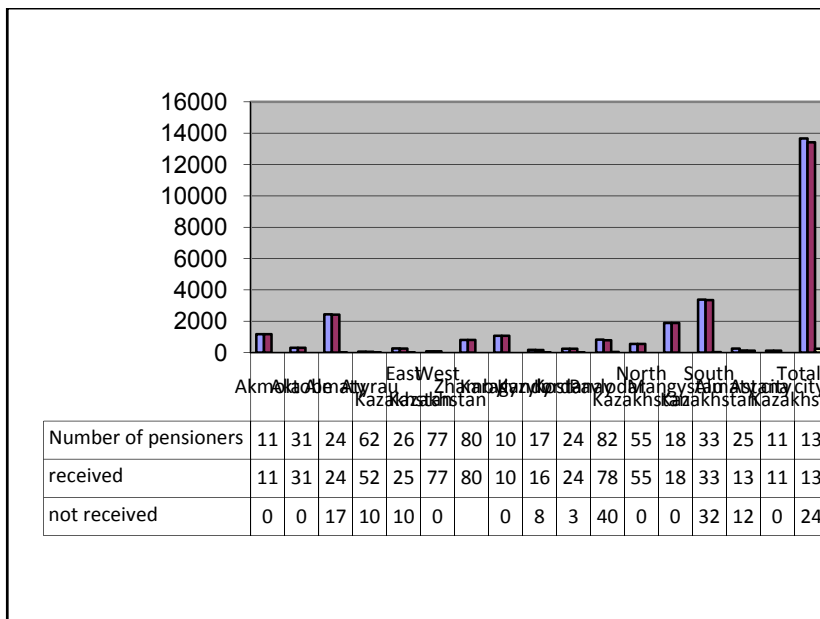
Payment of lump-sum allowances to oralmans was provided in cash in the national currency of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

At the request of Kazakh repatriates, the lump-sum allowance could be issued in a non-cash form.

This social assistance to oralmans was not the only one. As it was noted above, the state provided the oralmans with the old age retirement pension. Figure 30 shows the number of pensioners receiving the old age retirement pension with breakdown by oblasts as of January 1, 2004. As can be seen from the figure, not all oralmans of the retirement age received the pension. One of the main reasons for this was that the pensioners did not have the official status of oralman and that means that they arrived in Kazakhstan independently, beyond the quota.

As can be seen from Figure 31, as of January 1, 2004, the most significant part of oralman pensioners lived in the South Kazakhstan Oblast, then in Almaty, Mangistau, Akmola, Karaganda, Zhambyl oblasts. Essentially, in all these oblasts oralmans received pensions.

Figure 31.  
**Oralmans of retirement age who did and did not receive various types of pensions as of January 1, 2004**



Compiled by the authors based on data provided by the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Despite the fact that many oralmans did not have permanent earnings (many of them worked in temporary jobs, illegally) their living standards increased after arrival in Kazakhstan. Comparing the total monetary income of the family, received by oralmans before and after arrival, its increase should be noted (Figure 32.)

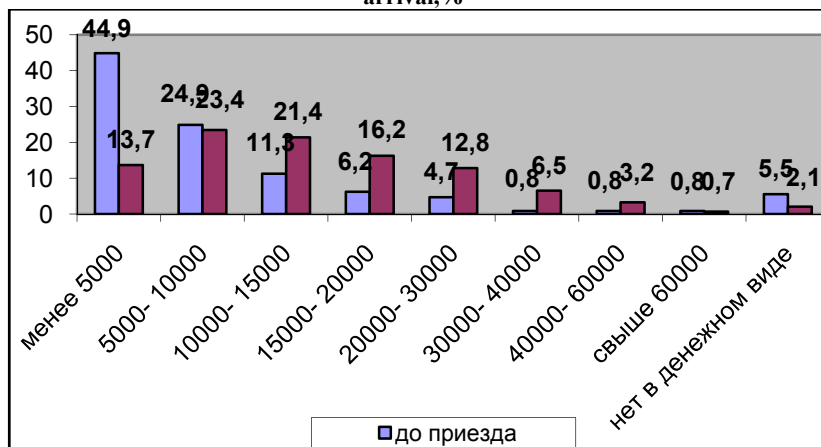
As can be seen from figure 32, the number of Kazakh repatriates who had previously low income, has decreased. For example, before the arrival in Kazakhstan 44.9% of the oralman families interviewed had monthly income less than KZT 5,000<sup>13</sup> or USD 34.9, after their arrival, the share of such low income families decreased more than

<sup>13</sup>In 2004, the Exchange Rate of the US dollar to the Kazakhstani tenge was 143.33 tenge.

threefold to make only 13.78% of the oralman families interviewed. In addition, the proportion of oralman who had income from KZT 5,000 to KZT 10,000 decreased from 24.9% to 23.4%, respectively.

Figure 32

Percentage of repatriated families having income before and after arrival, %



Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of sociological survey

At the same time, the share of oralman who had a monthly income amounting from KZT 10,000 to KZT 15,000 increased almost twice (from 11.3% to 21.4%). The proportion of oralman families interviewed monthly incomes of which amounted to KZT 15,000 – 20,000 increased manyfold (from 6.2% to 16.2%). For example, prior to arrival, only 4.7% of oralman had a family income of KZT 20,000 to 30,000, while after the arrival, 12.8% of oralman interviewed had such an income.

In general, the level of income of all the oralman interviewed increased by 1.7 times after their arrival to Kazakhstan.

The increase in income of oralman families after their arrival, of course, was due to the higher economic potential of Kazakhstan compared with that of the countries where they came from. Hence the conclusion follows that among the main reasons for the immigration of oralman, who arrived independently, did and do lie not only ethno-cultural, but also economic factors.

Comparing the oralman's standard of living with that of the average republican population's standard of living, it should be noted that the oralman's one was somewhat lower (Table 5). For example, in 2004, the average monthly income of oralman was KZT 14,297.6, while the average monthly salary through the Republic was KZT 28,329. Of course, their incomes were slightly higher than the average annual minimum salary (KZT 6,600) and / or the subsistence level (KZT 5,427), but such incomes were not enough for a normal full-fledged living.

Table 5.

**Living standards of the Kazakhstan population in 2000-2004**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Average annual minimum salary, KZT	2,680	3,484	4,181	5,000	6,600
Average monthly nominal salary, KZT	14,374	17,303	20,323	23,128	28,329
Minimum subsistence amount (average per capita), KZT	4,707	4,596	4,761	5,128	5,427
Cost of food basket, KZT	2,805	3,217	3,333	3,590	3,799

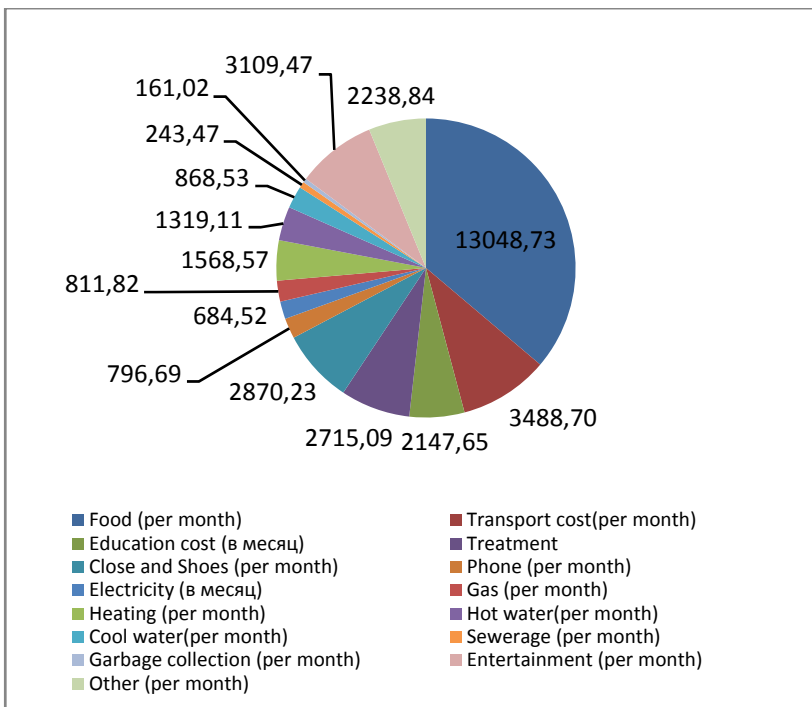
*Source:* Standard of living of the population of Kazakhstan. Statistical compilation. Edited by Yu.K. Shokomanov – Almaty, 2005 – 284 pages

This is confirmed by the comparative analysis of incomes and expenditures of oralman's families. When comparing the incomes and expenses of the oralman's families, their extreme imbalance should be noted. For example, at the time of survey, the revenue part of oralman's monthly budget was KZT 14,297.6, and the expenditures made KZT 36,072.4 (Figure 33.)

As can be seen from the figure, that out of KZT 36,072, which is the total average monthly expenses of the oralman's family, the amount of KZT 13,048 or 36.2% were spent for food. The second significant item of oralman's expenses was transportation costs. Every month, oralman's spent almost 10.0% for the transportation services. 8.0% were spent for purchase and repair of clothes, for health and treatment – 7.5%, education – 6.0%, reception of guests, entertainment for children, and rest -8.6%.

Figure 33.

**Total average monthly expenses of the oralmans' family**



Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of sociological survey

The lack of balance between official incomes received in the form of allowances, pensions, salaries in the official sector of the economy and expenditures, indicated that many of them were in need and worked informally in various spheres of activity.

Despite the fact that many oralmans had difficulties in economic adaptation, some of them are not only well economically adapted, but also became rich people.

Mostly, oralmans from Uzbekistan live poorly. Iranian oralmans live better. The poverty of the oralman family from Uzbekistan and the poverty of families from Iran differ...

Some oralmans like AzhyOnalbaiBodubayuly, Hussein Onalbayuly are billionaires. Millionaires: Iran Kozha, YahyaDosybayuly, MarapatTungyshbayuly, Saki AktiDysybayuly, AbduhairZeymitidinuly, AbdrazolAbdimalikuly, AbibullahAzhybayuly, AbulkhairIshol (from Afghanistan), BolatAbibullah, SaryGaskar (Turkey) are engaged in processing and sale of leather and ferrous metals. Muhammad TabynKurban is a farmer, he has 40 cows and 2,000 sheeps. Akzhol Firm (40 oralmansare employed, specialized in leather processing). In Dastan village there are 60 Mercedes cars, many have two-storied houses. Oralmans from the near abroad are engaged in peasant farming, AbdilashitNabiuly from Afghanistan is engaged in the cultivation.

*(From interview of an employee of the Oblast Department for Migration and Demography.)*

### 5.1.3 Vocational education

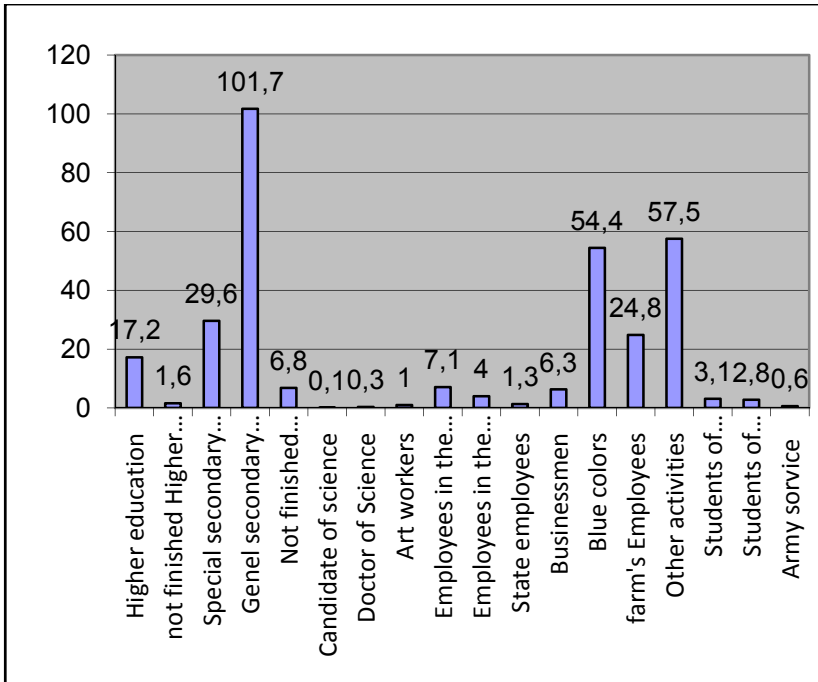
Among the arrived oralmans there were employees of science, culture, education, etc., some of them had even academic ranks and various degrees.

As the study showed, a significant proportion of arrived oralmans of working age had a general secondary education (Figure 34). Out of the 158,100 oralmans of working age, 101.700 people had general secondary education. Among them only 17,200 people had higher education and 29,600 people had secondary vocational education. A significant proportion of oralmans had blue-collar professions (54,400 people) and 24,800 people were agricultural workers.

Among the oralmans living in Almaty, there are scientists and scholars who are recognized internationally. In addition, there are many artists and employees of culture among them. For example: the soloist of the Opera and Ballet Theater TleubekKozanuly (PRC), the soloist of the Opera and Ballet Theater – GulziraBokeykhankyzy (PRC), the Honored Worker of Culture, muralist Bukharbayev from Uzbekistan, the Honored Artist of Mongolia OmirzakRystanuly and others. *From the report of the Municipal Department for Migration and Demography of Almaty*

Figure 34.

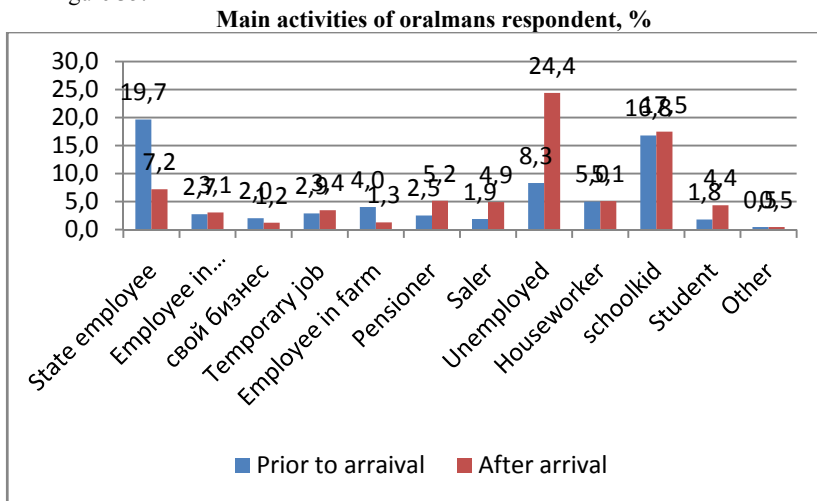
Level of education and professional activities at 01.01.2004, thsd. Persons



Compiled by the author based on data provided by the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Many arrived oralmans, possessing, for a certain extend, good educational and professional potential, unfortunately, could not realize it in Kazakhstan. First of all, this was due to the difference in educational systems in Kazakhstan and in the countries from which they came. For example, as can be seen from Figure 35, before arrival, 19.7% of the oralmans surveyed worked in the public system (education, health care, science, etc.), where usually high-skilled workers are employed, while after arrival, only 7, 2% or 2.7 times less could find a job in this system.

Figure 35.



Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of sociological survey

After arrival in Kazakhstan, many of them began to work as ordinary workers

(1.9% – before arrival and 4.9% – after arrival), the number of those who began living for the pension of retirement benefits more than doubled (2.5% – before arrival and 5.2% – after arrival.)

We need retraining courses for doctors and teachers. The level of teachers arriving from other countries is low.

*(From interview of an employee of the Oblast Department for Migration and Demography)*

At the same time, the most disappointing fact was that the number of unemployed among them increased. For example, as can be seen from figure 34, before the arrival, 8.3% of oralmans were unemployed, while after arrival, their share increased to 24.4% or almost threefold.

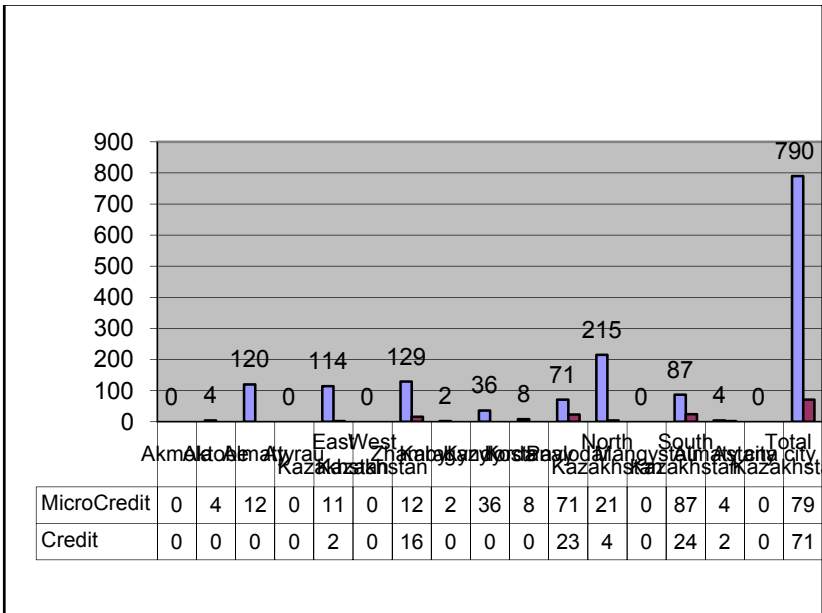
The main problem, that lead them to being unemployed, especially for those who arrived from the far abroad, was, on the one hand, the weak functioning and use of the Kazakh language in the Republic by the local population and, on the other hand, ignorance of the Russian language by Kazakh repatriates. Many oralmans from

the former Soviet republics, who knew the Russian language, quickly adapted and found work, however, the other part of them became unemployed.

### 5.1.4 Entrepreneurship

With the formation of market economy, in order to solve the problems of employment and to reduce unemployment in the country, measures were and are being implemented to develop entrepreneurship not only among the Kazakhstan residents, but also among orlman. To this end, preferential conditions were created for them. In particular, as the study showed, they were granted various loans in some Oblasts (Figure 36.)

Figure 36.  
**Number of orlman who got credit or microcredit by 01.01.2004, persons**



Compiled by the authors based on data provided by the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

As can be seen from Figure 36, the most active in the use of credit funds were Kazakh repatriates living in North Kazakhstan, Zhambyl, Almaty, East Kazakhstan and South Kazakhstan Oblasts.

The sociological survey showed that over 30 small enterprises and firms producing goods and providing services to the people were opened by the repatriates in Almaty. Oralman from China established a firm for sewing national and modern clothes “Erke-Nur”. Having bought a building of former kindergarten in Auezov District of Almaty, they created about a hundred new jobs. Oralman established the Manshuk Company producing military uniforms (Director TursynkhankyzySaulet, 60 jobs), a factory producing Scotch tape (Director KhammetDauren, 40 jobs), an enterprise producing orthopedic mattresses (Head NurzhanKaliolla) and many other enterprises.

Oralman are more capable in business and commerce. They work 20 hours a day. The city budget is replenished due to oralman...

Businessman Oralman Gupallbrazekuly is working with companies from Germany and Turkey, he is engaged in international cargo transportation. He entered the international market. During his stay, he learned Russian. He speaks English. *From interview with an employee of the Municipal Department for Migration and Demography)*

In 1999, we helped to receive small loans for the development of small business in the amount of USD 400. At that time, the loan was issued under the guarantee of the akimat of the rural district. 21 oralman have received it. Of all the borrowers, only one does not return it. For the borrowed funds, they open shops and trade in the bazaar. There is one oralman (although they are no longer oralman, but after the acquisition of citizenship, they are citizens of Kazakhstan), who is actively engaged in vegetable growing. First, he bought a tractor, then, a car, and so on, and the things got rolling. The other became a major businessman. He makes slag blocks, melts plastic, bottles and sells them in China. In general, assessing oralman from different countries in terms of business activity compared to the local population, there are no any special distinctive features. They are everywhere, here and there. *From interview with an employee of the Almaty Department for Migration and Demography)*

Oralman were capable enough to organize their own business and for this, they needed more attention and help in preparing

documents and preparing business plans. They had and have good ideas, business development capabilities, but they could not always represent it, legally correctly formalize them. The problems of adaptation were mainly in not knowing the laws and the Russian language. In this regard, more educational information work regarding the laws and credit conditions were necessary for them.

There are some people in the District who opened the sewing workshop, the workshop for the restoration of upholstered furniture. Those who do business are quite successful. Of the 233 families living in the District, 20 percent are engaged in business. Much depends on the personal qualities, on how active is a person. If a person does nothing, sits at home and waits for help, no credit will be useful. Some would like to, but they don't know how, don't know an information – where to go, whom to apply to, which documents and how to prepare. *From interview of an employee of the Oblast Department for Migration and Demography)*

It should be noted that, in addition to the lack of appropriate legal, formal, economic, etc. knowledge, one of the main problems for doing business by oralmans was the need to have collateral for obtaining loan funds. Almost all credit institutions, with some exceptions, did not give money without collateral and therefore, oralmans who did not have such a property or any guarantees from outside could not receive a credit.

## **5.2. Social arrangement**

### **5.2.1 Housing conditions**

After arrival in Kazakhstan, first of all, oralmans faced the issues of housing and temporary accommodation. Here, there were many problems. Many newcomers wanted to buy a house or apartment or some kind of housing according to their own interests and needs. However, not everyone could do this, as they had limited financial resources allocated by the state. So, for example, there was a case when oralmans, who arrived officially under the quota, were

allocated USD 2,500-3,000<sup>14</sup>, however, due to the increase in house prices the actual price of housing in the district where they arrived and where they had to buy a house, increased sharply. The oralmans had to pay the missing amount by themselves.

According to the Resolution of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated February 25, 2004, the funds for the purchase of housing for oralmans' families who arrived under the quota were allocated by the local territorial bodies at their arrival and taking into account the prevailing situation at site. At the same time, the calculation was made and was limited by KZT 90,000 per member of the family.

The territorial body for migration issues, based on the statement of the head of oralmans' family and notarized copies of documents (certificates of oralmans, obligations to use funds allocated for acquisition of housing for the target, etc.) had transferred money to their personal bank accounts.

In this case, the negative difference between the amount of allocated funds transferred to the oralmans' personal account and the real purchase price of the purchased housing was paid at the expense of the oralmans independently, while the positive difference remained with the oralmans.



*Getting the house certificate and keys from Chairman of Agency for Migration and Demography byan oralman*

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<sup>1414</sup> According to the allowances, compensations and other types of targeted assistance provided to oralmans (see Table 2 page \_\_\_), from February 2004, funds to purchase housing were allocated locally at arrival at the rate of 100 monthly calculated indicators per family member or 90,000 tenge (USD 627,9). If a family consisted of 4 people, this amount was USD 2,511.6. The average cost of housing in Kazakhstan varied considerably depending on its location and the facilities available. It was possible to buy uncomfortable dilapidated housing for USD 1,500 somewhere in the village and well-organized house with modern amenities somewhere in the city for tens of thousands USD.

Arriving oralmans, for the time of registration, live with their relatives and acquaintances. None of them come to an empty place. Since 2004, the state allocates funds to them for the purchase of housing. They buy housing independently and do not apply us for help.

*(From interview with an employee of the Department for Migration and Demography)*

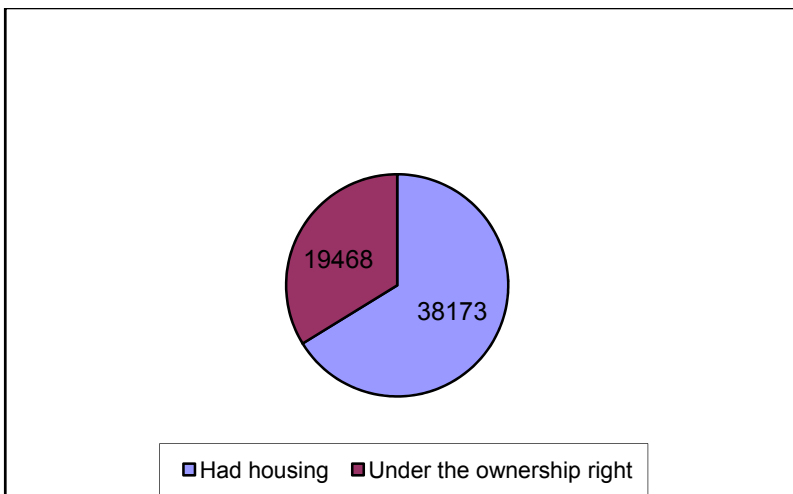
For arriving oralmans who did not have relatives and/or acquaintances in the country, Adaptation Centers were organized. In these centers, they lived temporarily, and many consultations were provided to them on various issues.

It should be noted that for oralmans who arrived under the quota, the problem of obtaining housing, just like getting a job, was closely related to the acquisition of citizenship. They all wanted to obtain citizenship quickly, because it was connected with the possibility of finding job in the official sector of the economy, obtaining a loan, obtaining land, that is, they could be equal to other citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan. However, there were cases when the oralmans, after receiving citizenship, were deleted from the oralmans' preferential queue for housing, since officially they were already citizens of Kazakhstan. In this case, they had to lose all benefits and allowances that they could receive, being oralmans, not citizens. That is, for that period, there was a contradiction and a disconnect between obtaining citizenship and receiving social assistance in the status of oralman. Taking this into consideration, some arriving oralmans did not try to obtain citizenship quickly, they eked out existence, but relied on social benefits and allowances and hoped to purchase the housing due to oralmans.

As of the beginning of 2004, more than two thirds (67.6%) of the oralmans arrived had different types of housing. As can be seen from figure 37, as of January 1, 2004, out of all 85,298 families that have arrived, 38,173 oralmans' families had housing. And 19,488 families had housing under the ownership right.

Figure 37.

**Number of oralman's families which had housing in 2004**



Compiled by the author based on data provided by the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

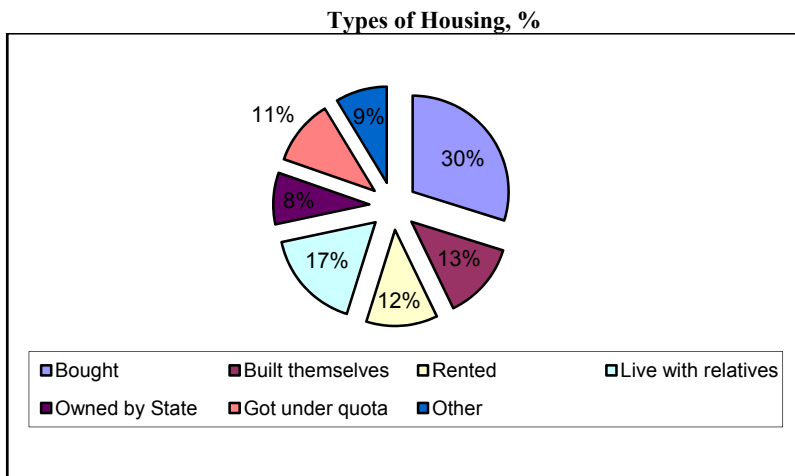
As can be seen from figure 38, based on the results of the sociological survey, 30% of oralman bought housing, 13% built their homes on their own, and 12% rented it. 17% of oralman surveyed noted that they lived with relatives, and 9% noted that they lived in houses and/or apartments owned by the state. 11% got housing under the quota. At the same time, 3.2% of the oralman surveyed lived in the Adaptation Center and 1.7% lived in hostels.

Various NGOs played a great role in solving housing problems. For instance, one of them in the South Kazakhstan Province helped the oralman to build houses on their own. In particular, this NGO helped oralman to purchase land for housing construction. Within the framework of this NGO, according to the decision of the Akim of the District, 200 ha of unwatered and 100 ha of irrigated land were allocated for oralman.

At the time of the survey, this NGO was preparing technical documentation for the construction and repair of road in the oralman's residence area. In general, this approach has allowed solving not only the problems of housing, but also employment. Mostly, oralman themselves were involved in the construction of houses. According to the members of the NGOs, the oralman themselves and especially those who arrived independently, beyond

the quota, the construction of houses for them was more convenient and effective than buying the ready-made buildings. When constructing themselves, the oralmans much better compared their possibilities with their needs. The main problem faced by such NGOs and oralmans was the lack of allocated land.

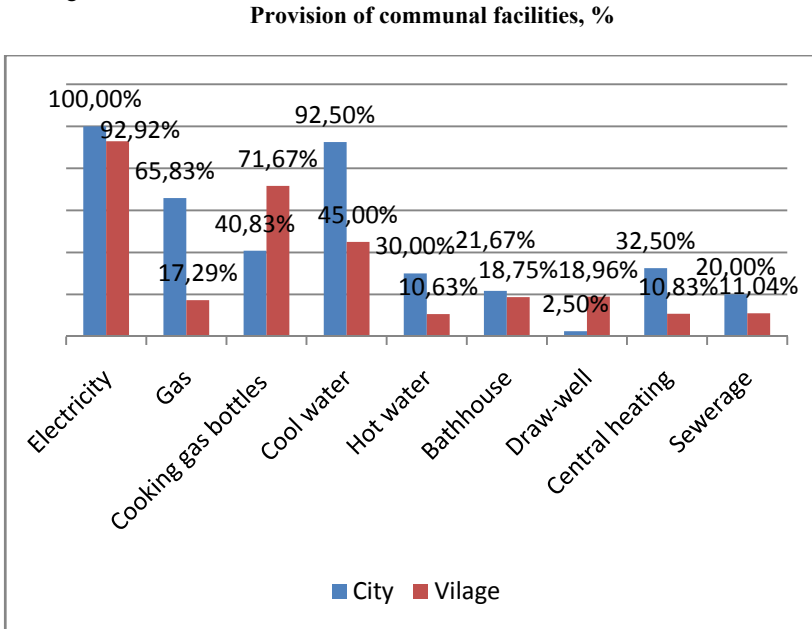
Figure 38.



Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of sociological survey

In terms of the provision of communal facilities, oralmans living in urban areas were in a better position than those living in rural areas. All 100 percent of them were provided with electricity, the most houses (92.5%) had cold water, more than half (65.8%) were provided with the natural gas, almost every third house had heating and hot water, one in every five houses had bath and sewerage system (Figure 39.)

Figure 39.



Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of sociological survey

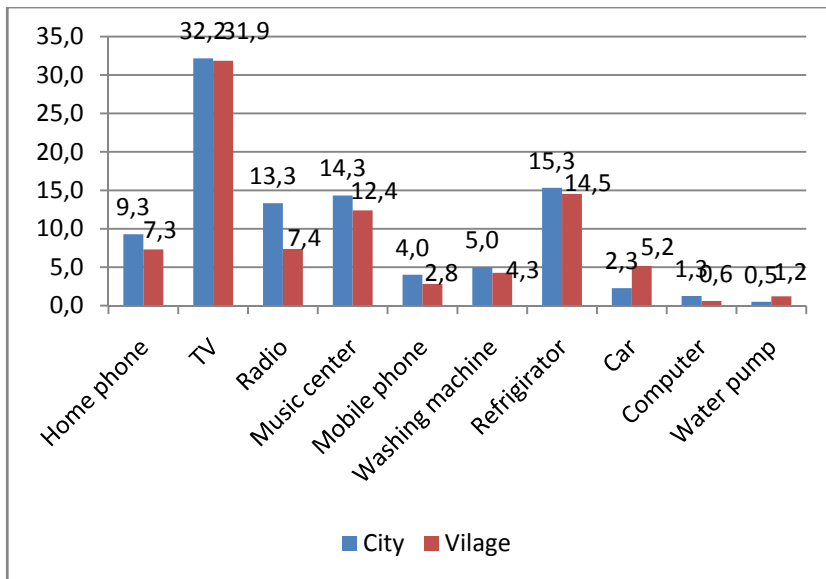
At the same time, oralmen living in rural areas were less provided with these amenities: only 92.9% of the interviewed oralmen living in the country-side had electricity; the mainly used cooking gas bottles 71.7%; less than half of them (45.0%) had cold water in the house, and only one tenth (10.6%) of them had hot water.

The oralmen who lived in the city and in the country-side had available almost the same amount of household durables, such as TV, music center, and refrigerator (Figure 40.)

Almost every third oralman or every family had the TV set. However, not everyone did have the refrigerator. Only 15.3% of surveyed oralmen in the city and 14.5% in the village answered that they had them. More oralmen in the city had the music center than in the village (14.3% and 12.4%, respectively). The same ratio was observed with regard to the radio (13.3% and 7.4%, respectively).

Figure 40.

Provisions by houseware, %

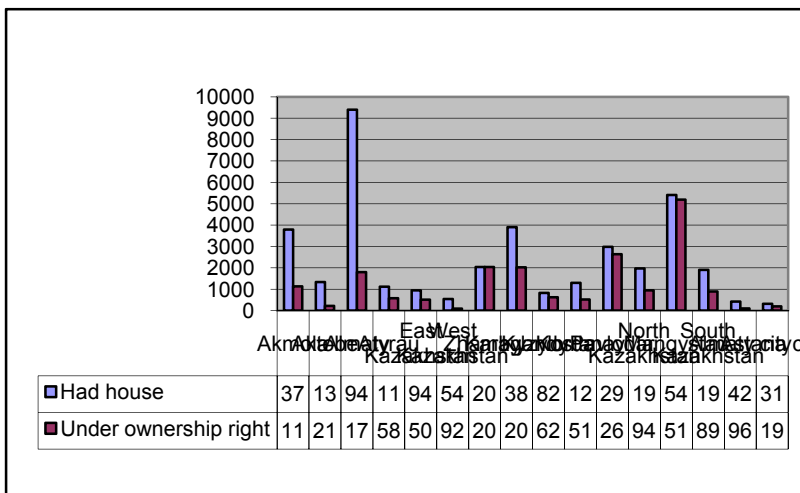


Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of sociological survey

In general, the analysis of the provision of oralman with housing in Kazakhstan showed that oralman living in Almaty, Mangistau, Karaganda, and Pavlodar oblasts were better provided with housing (Figure 41.)

Besides, in these oblasts, especially in Almaty Oblast, the provision of communal services was better. As can be seen from figure 42, in the Almaty Oblast oralman were better provided with gas and cold water.

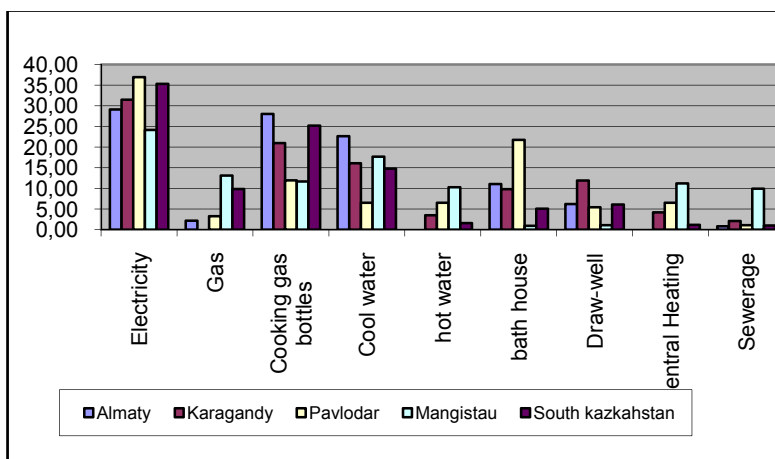
Figure 41  
**Number of oralman's families which had housing in the regions of Kazakhstan in 2004**



Source: Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Figure 42.

**Provision of communal facilities by regions %**



Source: Compiled by the authorson the basis of sociological survey

At the same time, as can be seen from the figure, not all oralmanwere provided with the whole complex of communal services.

### **5.2.2 Access to health care system**

In accordance with the law “On Migration of People” dated July 13, 1997, oralmans had access to the medical care on an equal basis with citizens of Kazakhstan. As noted in Article 29 of this Law, the state provided the oralmans with a free of charge guaranteed amount of medical assistance in accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

They are very much served in our Medical center, we have 2 rooms allocated for this, where 2 doctors accept new arrivals. They pass a free complete survey: from fluorography to the blood test. They undergo all doctors’ survey, and then, they are distributed by district therapists and they receive complete medical care for free as they apply to the Medical center.

*From interview of a medical officer of the district Medical center in Almaty*

However, some oralmans preferred to be treated at home. Moreover, in a greater extend, the oralmans living in the city did it, rather than those who lived in the village. So, almost every fifth oralman who arrived under the quota and lived in urban areas of Almaty and Karaganda Provinces preferred a home-based method of treatment. This was due to the more expensive treatment in the city than in the village.

They do not apply to the doctors in time, we are chasing them, they have no hygienic skills, they do not undergo the medical survey regularly. 50% of oralmans arrived from Turkmenistan and 100% of those who came from Uzbekistan are treated at home.

*From interview of a medical officer of the District Medical center in Almaty*

In the case of seeking medical help, many of them paid for the doctors’ services. The most expensive medical services were for oralmans, who arrived independently, beyond the quota and lived in

rural areas of the Karaganda Province. Here, they had to pay KZT 4000, 5000 and even 20,000. The cheapest medical services were for oralmen, who arrived under the quota and lived in rural areas of Mangistau Oblast. For these services they paid KZT 350 – 400, but no more.

The difference in payment for medical services was due to the fact that in the Mangistau Province lived most oralmen who came from Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, where the cost of various services, including medical one, was significantly lower. In case of illness or need to consult a doctor, oralmen had the opportunity to solve this problem in the countries of origin. Moreover, it was easy for them because Mangistau Province borders on these states.

In the case of the Karaganda Province, located in the center of Kazakhstan, they were impossible to do this.

Along with seeking medical help in official Medical Centers (polyclinics, hospitals, paramedical and obstetric centers, etc.), oralmen also sought medical help from folk healers. So, at the time of the survey, 5.8% of oralmen surveyed sought treatment from folk healer. Moreover, in the country-side they applied to the traditional healer more often than the urban residents. In the country-side the traditional healer's services, as well as those of a familiar doctor, in many cases were free of charge.

60.0% of urban oralmen paid for services to a traditional healer, and only 31% of oralmen living in the village did this.

To a greater extent, oralmen who came independently, beyond the quota applied to the traditional healer's services in the South Kazakhstan Province.

One of the reasons why some oralmen did not try to visit official medical centers was that they did not understand what doctors and/or medical professionals advised them. According to the survey, 6.1% of oralmen who lived in the city, and almost one fifth of them living in the village (21.6%) did not understand everything contained in the doctor's recipe.

In many cases, this was due to the fact that the oralmen who lived in the city, in most cases, already were adapted and came from the urban area of the other countries and knew the Russian well. In the contrary, the village people – oralmen lived previously mainly

in the villages in the other countries, and many of them did not know the Russian.

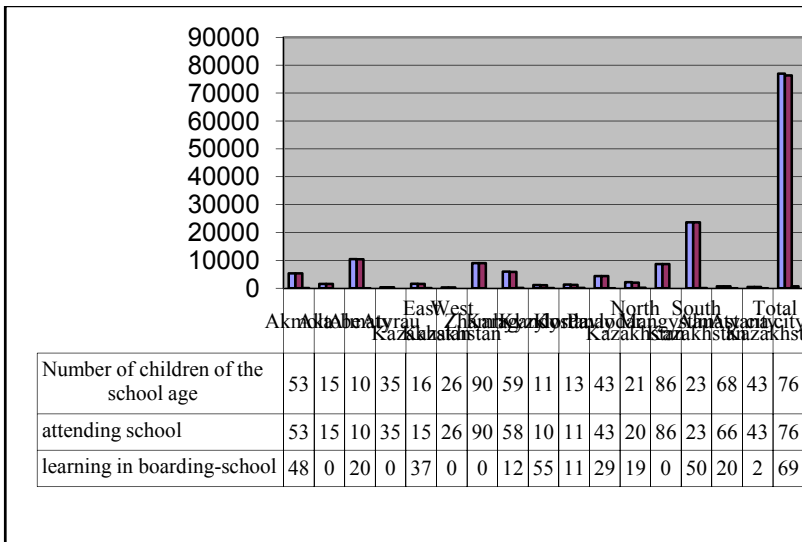
### 5.2.3 Access to education

Along with the guaranteed volume of free medical care in the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Government has allocated quotas for oralmans for free education in secondary vocational and higher professional education institutions. In addition, oralmans have been and are provided with seats in secondary schools and pre-school organizations.

The study showed that the largest number of oralmans who attended school and boarding schools were in South Kazakhstan, Almaty, Zhambyl, Mangistau, Karaganda, Akmola, and Pavlodar Provinces (Figure 43.)

Figure 43.

**Number of children who attend secondary school and boarding-school in regions, persons**



Compiled by the authors based on data provided by the Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Oralman children are quite capable and well-trainable at school. However, some of them had problems.

Especially acute problems were felt by children of oralmen who came from far abroad or countries where Latin, Arabic script or hieroglyphs are used. They did not only know the Russian, but they were not familiar with writing Kazakh sentences in Cyrillic. Children of oralmen from China, Turkey, Iran, and Uzbekistan felt this.

Along with the problem of mastering literacy in Cyrillic, the children from oralman families felt problems of everyday character that were reflected on their studies. Some of them lived in remote villages or summer cottages, transport communication with which was not good enough. Because of this, some of them could not attend additional lessons like amateur performances or elective classes.

Teachers try to give individual lessons to these children. They blend into the class team very good. It would be nice if they could attend classes and elective courses available at school. But they are not able, because there is a free bus to take them to their homes at a certain time, and if they stay, they would have to get by themselves, and this is related to expenses.

*From an interview of an employee of the Oblast Department of Public Education of Mangistau Oblast*

Despite all the difficulties, children for the oralmen's families and their parents did and do try to actively integrate into the educational process.

They are very serious about learning. Parents always attend meetings. They want their children to succeed and be able to enter the university. Children themselves are very trying. They are interested in everything. Parents want their children to be educated to become mature citizens.

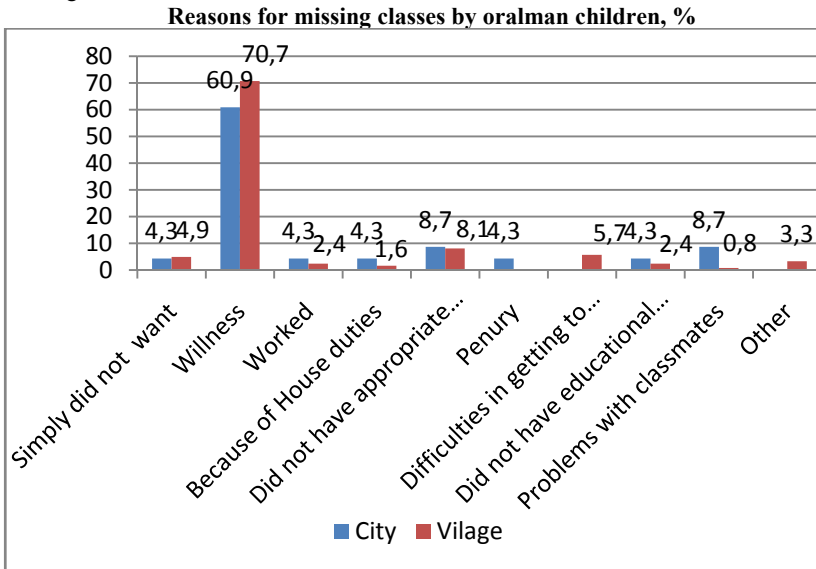
For them, the school is something sublime, because they live in poor conditions. They always happily go to school. They are interested, but they miss classes due to financial difficulties.

*From an interview of an employee of the Oblast Department of Public Education of Mangistau Oblast*

According to the sociological survey, almost a quarter (23%) of oralman children who attended the school did not attend some

classes. The main cause was illness (Figure 43). At the same time, among the important reasons for children to miss the classes was a lack of appropriate clothing. Because of this, they missed 16.8% classes at school. In addition, particular attention should be paid to the fact that among the important reasons for missing classes by oralman children living in urban areas, were problems with classmates.

Figure 44.



Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of sociological survey

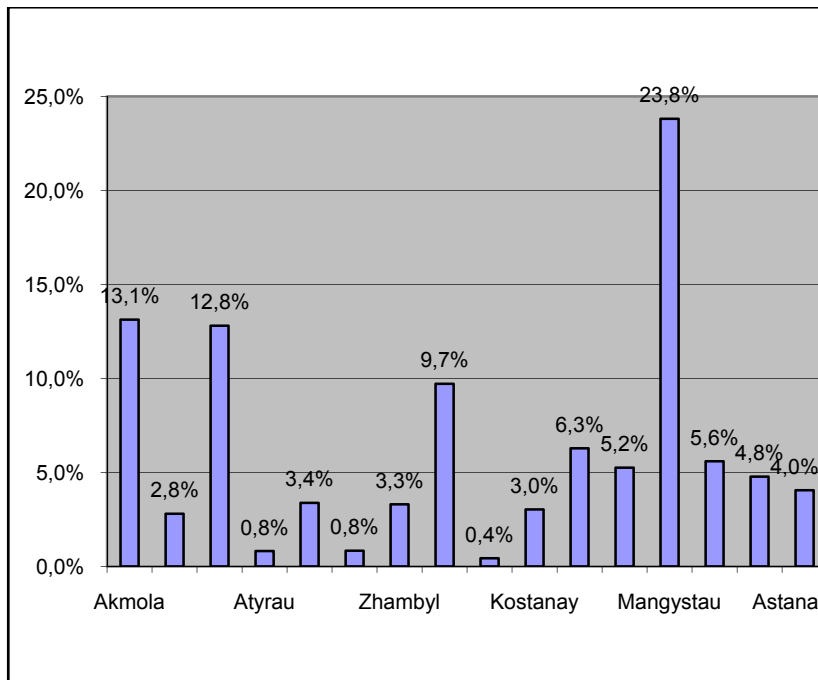
As can be seen from Figure 46, in urban areas, 8.7% of schoolchildren missed classes because of problems with their classmates. 5.7% of schoolchildren living in the country-side missed classes due to the difficulties in getting to school. Lack of money was the reason for missing classes for 4.3% of schoolchildren who lived in urban areas.

Regional distribution of oralman attending the universities and secondary vocational education institutions shows that the largest proportion of oralman visiting the universities and secondary

vocational education institutions lived in Mangistau Province (23.8%). (Figure 45.)

Figure 45.

**Share of student' oralmans of Universities and Secondary vocational education institutions in 2003**



Source: Agency for Migration and Demography of the Republic of Kazakhstan

As can be seen from the diagram, a significant number of oralmans who attended the universities and secondary vocational education institutions lived in Akmola, Almaty, and Karaganda Oblasts.

## Conclusions on the Chapter

In general, the analysis of oralmans' adaptation after their arrival in Kazakhstan showed that this process was not always smooth for the newly arrived immigrants. Due to the discrepancy of vocational education received in the country of origin, as well as due to the limited demand in the labor market, many of them became unemployed after arrival. In many cases, part of their income consisted of allowances and other social benefits and assistance provided by the state under the laws "On Migration of People", Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated July 17, 2001 No. 246-II "On State Targeted Social Assistance" and the corresponding Government Resolutions of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In order to maintain balance between their expenses and incomes, many oralmans had to work in the informal sector of economy, and were employed informally. Moreover, in most cases, the oralmans did this who came from near abroad, arrived independently beyond the quota and knew the Russian language.

Despite the difficulties in economic adaptation, Kazakhstan was more attractive country for them because it provided a higher standard of living than the countries of their origin. The available market infrastructure, provision of microcredits and credits allowed them not only improving their standard of living, but also for some of them becoming well-off and even rich people.

In the context of social arrangement, it should be noted that despite the significant assistance on the part of the state, the oralmans adapted with some difficulties and problems, which is quite understandable due to the impact of significant subjective factors inherent in this process. So, for example, the money provided by the Government to purchase housing allowed the oralmans purchasing housing. However, they did not fully satisfy their personal interests. Some of oralmans had to pay extra money because of the high prices for housing in places where they wanted to settle down.

In general, with regard to the provision of communal services, housing of oralmans living in the country-side were less comfortable than that of oralmans who lived in the city. On the other hand, a similar picture was observed among the local population.

The most acute problems in adaptation of oralmans were in the field of medical care. However, this was largely due to the problems of ignorance by them of language, traditions, and culture. Although legally, oralmans had the right to use all medical services in the same way as the local population.

In accordance with the law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On Education”, children of oralmans, after arrival in Kazakhstan, were obliged to attend school. For them, the quota for admission to higher educational institutions – universities and institutes was specially allocated. However, financial and housing problems prevented some of them from attending classes daily, although all of them and their parents connect their future in Kazakhstan with the need to graduate from school and/or university and become mature educated citizen of the country.

## **Chapter 6. LANGUAGES AND CULTURAL ADAPTATION OF ORALMANS IN KAZAKHSTAN**

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This chapter is also based, like the previous one, on the data received as a result of UNDP sociological survey conducted in 2004. We have highlighted the problems of language and cultural adaptation in a special separate chapter, due to the fact that the adaptation of repatriates largely depends on where they come from, what country they lived in, and how long they lived there, that is, on the space and time components. In particular, this is manifested in the fact that the language and cultural adaptation of ethnic migrants is less painful or more rapid, intensive, effective, in the cases where the distance (D) separating the country from which the repatriates came and the host country or, in our case, the ethnic homeland, is shorter. In this connection, the force of gravity of repatriates (Fem) manifests itself more strongly. Taking into account the proximity of the distance, the time factor (t) has less influence on the language adaptation than the political one. As noted in Section 1.2., if one and the same ethnos lives under the different political systems, this fact may separate it. And the longer this factor exists and separates the same ethnos, the more difficult is the cultural and language adaptation of the repatriates. As an example, we can take the migration of Kazakh repatriates from the countries of near abroad (former Soviet Union republics) and far abroad (countries not included in the former USSR).

### **6.1 Language Problems**

Language problems in Kazakhstan are exceptionally specific. In fact, the Kazakh language would have served as a system-forming and cementing factor of the state structure. However, so far, this is not the fact yet. Many citizens living in the country, and even a part of the local Kazakh population do not master it in full. Indeed, the identity of the language, both for repatriates and for the local

population, would have been one of the strongest gravitational forces that facilitate and compel ethnic Kazakhs to migrate to Kazakhstan from other states. However, the experience of the resettlement of Kazakhs in the 1990s, at the very beginning of implementation of the ethnic migration policy, revealed a lot of problems. These problems arose based on the fact that, during the existence of the USSR, the Kazakh language began to lose its main functions not only in the public sphere, but also simply in family interpersonal communication. Moreover, the Kazakhs themselves began using it in a lesser amount. This was especially evident among the Kazakhs residing in the cities. The Russian was the main, dominant language in Kazakhstan. The Russian was the language of interethnic communication in all the former soviet republics, including Kazakhstan. In this regard, for oralmen who knew the Kazakh language perfectly, it became not the main centripetal and cementing force, but, on the contrary, in some cases, one of the reasons for their alienation from the local population. On returning to Kazakhstan, Kazakh repatriates faced the problem of communication with the local population.

This problem was especially acute for the Kazakh repatriates returning from Mongolia and China in the early 1990s. Their knowledge of the Russian was necessary especially in the central and north-eastern regions where they immigrated at that period (See Section 4.1 – Settlement of oralmen in the period of formation of market economy, in 1991-2003).

Knowledge of the Russian was necessary for them, both to communicate with the resident Russian population, and with Kazakhs, who had little or no knowledge of Kazakh language. Moreover, the knowledge of the Russian was necessary not only to communicate, but also to understand business documentation, since the process of introduction of Kazakh into the office work have only begun. After gaining the independence only, they began to establish and develop in Kazakhstan classes, schools, higher education institutions with the Kazakh language of instruction in large scale. So, in the present period, after two decades, gradually, evolutionarily, the Kazakh language is becoming the language of office work everywhere.

The first wave oralmans faced the problem of lack or underdevelopment of the cultural and educational sphere in the native Kazakh language.

It should be noted that these problems still are acute now, and especially, for oralmans from China, Turkey, Iran and other countries of the far abroad. This is due to the fact that current Kazakh language in Kazakhstan still widely uses Cyrillic script. Kazakhs from China and Iran use the Arabic script, and those from Turkey and Uzbekistan – the Latin one.

In the process of oralmans adaptation in the 1990s, it became evident that the factor of the so-called “language” distance started developing into one of the separation forces or centrifugal forces between them and the local Kazakh population, not to mention representatives of the Slavic peoples, that forced the oralmans to leave Kazakhstan. However, material costs hampered this process.

In general, the knowledge by immigrants of the Russian on the one hand, and the knowledge by the local population of the Kazakh on the other hand was one of the acute problems of integration. The language adaptation of repatriates flew significantly easier in the villages of the southern and south-eastern regions, where the local population largely preserved their national traditions, including the language.

In the process of adaptation, oralmans had to learn the Russian and Cyrillic script of the Kazakh language.

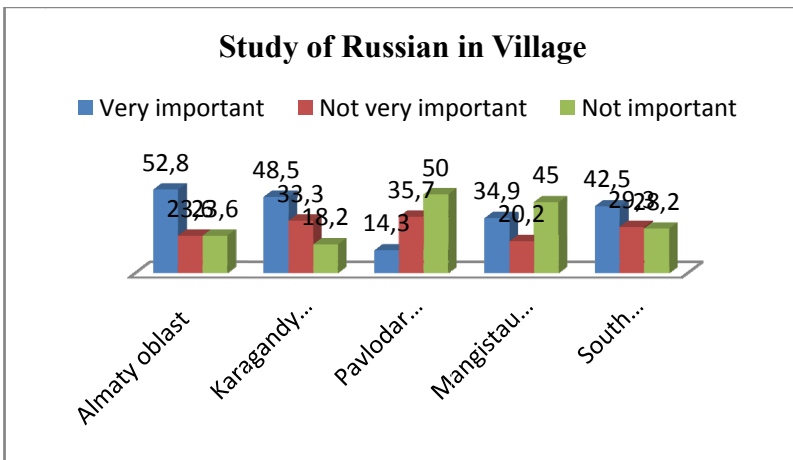
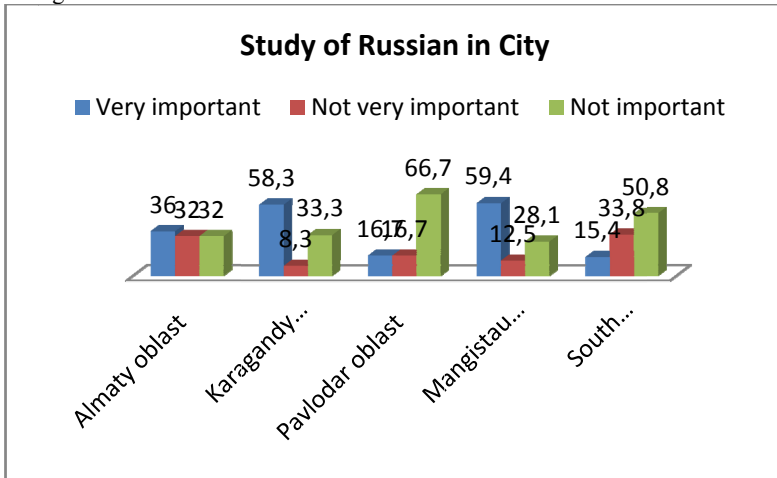
Thus, 68.7% of the oralmans surveyed in 2004, noted the importance of learning Kazakh script (based on Cyrillic alphabet) and 39.2% – of Russian.

At the same time, a high percentage of demand for studying Russian was noted among oralmans who settled in urban areas of Karaganda and Mangistau oblasts (58.3% and 59.4%, respectively) Figure .

According to the oralmans, who settled in Almaty (52.8%), Karaganda (48.5%) and South Kazakhstan (42.5%) oblasts, knowledge and, correspondingly, study of Russian was also very important and necessary. The low demand for assistance in mastering Russian language among oralmans in the Pavlodar Province (16.7% – among the urban population, 14.3% – among the villagers) was

related, in our opinion, to the length of their residence in the Oblast and having already mastered Russian language.

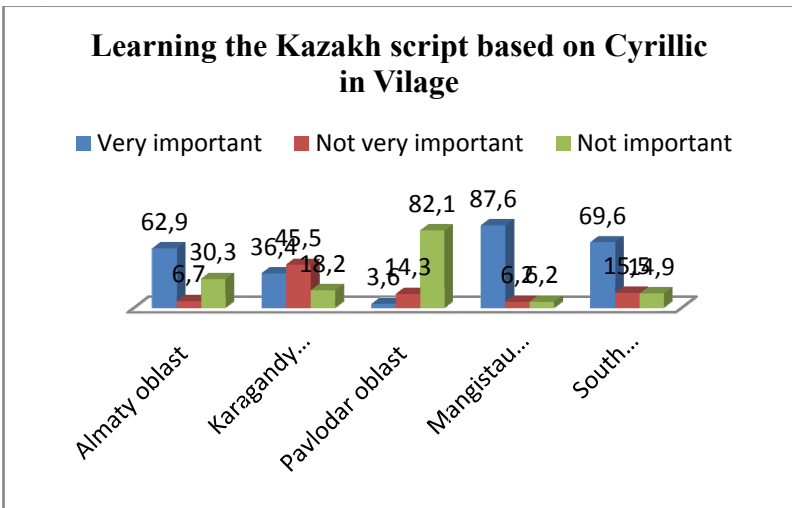
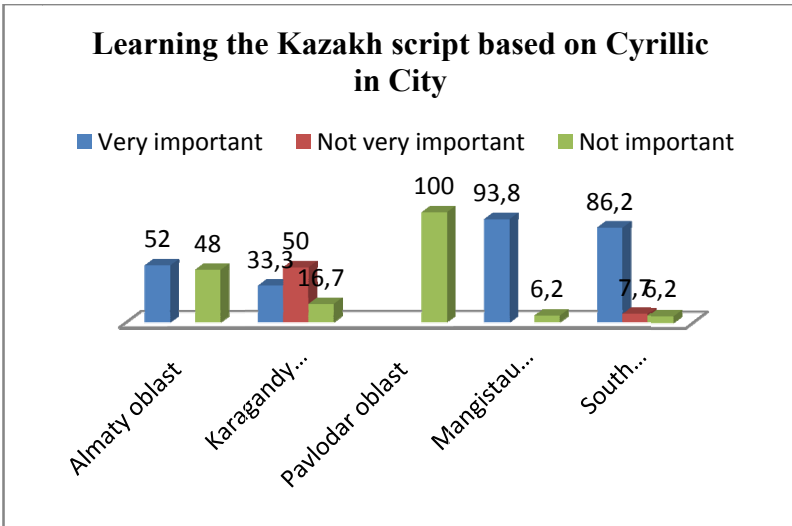
Figure 46.



Source: Compiled by the authors based on data of the sociological survey

The problem of learning the Kazakh script based on Cyrillic alphabet was mainly important for oralmans who settled in Almaty, Mangistau and South Kazakhstan oblasts. (Figure 47).

Figure 47.



Source: Compiled by the author based on data of the sociological survey

As can be seen from the figure, more than half of the oralman respondents in these areas gave a positive answer to this question. This was largely related to the migrants' country of origin. In these

oblasts, along with oralman from Uzbekistan, familiar with the Cyrillic alphabet, Kazakhs settled from Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, where this script was not distributed. Analysis of expert interviews also confirmed the importance of this problem. Difficulties in drafting documents and in employment were connected with the lack of knowledge of Kazakh Cyrillic script, as well as of Russian.

Those who arrived from the former Republics of the Soviet Union, and they make a majority – over 90% – are easier to adapt in the language environment, since they speak Russian. Kazakhs from Iran have a little more problems in the processes of teaching language and getting used to the culture.

*From interview with the Head of Department for Analysis and Demography of the Migration and Demography Department, Aktau, Mangistau Oblast*

The Kazakhs repatriates themselves took an active part in solving the language problems. For example, the Chairman of NGO “Asar “, organized by the oralman themselves, noted that the organization headed by him has opened free courses in Almaty, Akmola Oblasts, Petropavlovsk, and Karaganda. The courses were aimed at teaching oralman in such areas as how to open and conduct business, studying Cyrillic, Russian, document execution, and studying the laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The courses worked for the account of grant funds, allocated by the IOM (International Organization for Migration.)

It should be noted that for the successful adaptation of Oralman children everywhere at schools, the free clubs or groups and elective lessons were organized to study the Russian language and to get acquainted and master the Kazakh script (based on Cyrillic alphabet.)

706 oralman children study at our school. There are no difficulties in communicating with children, but there are problems with academic achievement. In the initial period after the arrival, the low level of academic achievement is associated mainly with the fact that children do not know how to write in Cyrillic, they know Latin graphics .... Teachers try to deal with such children individually.

*From interview with the Director of the school, Aktau, Mangistau Oblast*

The first persons the newly arrived immigrants face were employees of state migration services. And here at meeting with them, they experienced language problems and, accordingly, a cultural shock. Some workers (Kazakhs) did not know the Kazakh language. It was inexplicable for them. How can Kazakhs living in Kazakhstan do not know the Kazakh language. Therefore, many of them who took part in the sociological survey noted this phenomenon. In particular, many respondents emphasised that the employees of migration and social services who work with oralmans must know the Kazakh language.

In the first years of independence, the narrow sphere of application of the Kazakh language by the local population in Kazakhstan had a negative impact on contacts with the oralmans.

Mostly, representatives of the southern regions of the country spoke the Kazakh language. In the north, the north-east and especially in the cities, the mother tongue was not in much demand and even was considered (in the Soviet period) the language of second level. In fact, it was disappearing.

With gaining independence, one of the important tasks was the revival of Kazakh state identity on the basis of the Kazakh language. A number of resolutions and a law were adopted on the development of the Kazakh language as a state language (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated July 11, 1997 No. 151-I “On Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan.”)

Over time, for example, at the time of the survey (2004), the respondents interviewed noted progress in the state language functioning. Thus, characterizing changes in the last three years (2001-2003), 79.6% of them believed that civil servants became better in speaking the Kazakh, 85.5% emphasized that people began to speak Kazakh more often. In the opinion of 83.6% of them, the television and radio start to broadcast more interesting programs in Kazakh language.

69.3% of total respondents in Almaty, 89.3% in Mangistau, 87.4% in South Kazakhstan Provinces, and only 51.2% in Karaganda and 45.5% Pavlodar Provinces said about the better knowledge of the Kazakh language by civil servants, 81.6% of respondents in Almaty said that people began to speak more in Kazakh, 97.5% in

Mangistau, 87% in South Kazakhstan oblasts and 54.5% in Pavlodar and 65.9% – in the Karaganda Oblasts.

It is interesting to note that in conversation, many oralmans attributed the positive results in the language sphere to their own account: “thanks to our arrival – the carriers of the Kazakh language – the scope of its application has expanded,” “before our arrival, most of the local Kazakhs spoke Russian.” Indeed, after gaining independence, the functional demand for the Kazakh language has increased significantly. One of the reasons for this expansion in use of the Kazakh language, including in the domestic sphere, was contacts with oralmans.

Analyzing the problem of the language development and, in particular, of the Kazakh language, the impact should be noted exerted on this problem by the construction of the new capital of Kazakhstan, Astana. As noted above, the construction of the Astana city was one of the main causes of economic growth. The construction of the new capital gave start to attraction of a large number of migrants. They were not only from abroad, but also from other regions of the country. A large number of migrants arrives from the southern Kazakh-speaking regions. Oralmans made a certain number among these internal migrants.

Finally many citizens of new capital speak in state languages.

The combination of these factors: first of all – the state policy in the sphere of language development, then migration from the southern Kazakh-speaking regions to the north, in particular to Astana, served as a kind of centripetal migration force for repatriates coming not only to the new capital Astana, but also to Kazakhstan as a whole. The oralmans who, at the beginning of the implementation of the migration policy in the 90s, exercised the centrifugal forces and emotions (willing to go back to their country of origin) due to lack of knowledge of the Russian language, gradually disappeared and at present time, they are quite rare and not as acute as previously.

## **6.2 Cultural Problems**

For Kazakhstan, the problem of cultural integration of oralmans into Kazakhstan society had and currently has its own peculiarities.

First of all, this is related to the fact that Kazakhstan is a multi-ethnic, multi-confessional and multilingual country. For the period of existence of the USSR, a peculiar “Soviet culture” has emerged in Kazakhstan that absorbed not only the special ethnic shades of different peoples and nationalities living in the country, but also the Soviet legacy in the form of Soviet ballet, opera, fine arts, science, sports, etc. With the gaining of independence, Kazakhstan did not reject this culture (except for the communist ideology), but began to develop it, although with a mildly (or brightly) emphasized national identity. At present, the country has built new sports palaces, theaters, Opera and Ballet Theater in Astana, national cultural centers, etc. Entire this heritage and, especially, the new language environment did and do make a flair on the problem of cultural adaptation of oralmen. This problem was especially acute for Kazakhstani repatriates who came from far abroad (Iran, Turkey, Mongolia, China, etc.). It was they who, in the 90s of the last century, after communicating with the local Kazakh people, who did not know Kazakh traditions and customs, found certain centrifugal forces for themselves to leave Kazakhstan, or, conversely, gravitational forces to arrive in.

When face with the other customs and habits spread among the local Kazakhs, for example, in the food system or in the norms of behavior, the oralmen did and do try as far as possible to adhere to those the ethno-cultural traditions they followed in the countries of their origin. At the same time, being a small group, they are forced to gradually adopt certain laws, traditions and customs that the local Kazakh population follow.

Cultural adaptation of oralmen took place in various directions. This includes: the degree of religiosity, observance of certain traditions, customs, rituals, etc.

A distinctive feature of the process of cultural adaptation of oralmen is the arrival of oralmen with a rather high degree of religiosity.

In the process of sociological survey, a special question was devoted to this issue. As the main indicator of this characteristic was the answer to the question: Do oralmen pray five times namaz?

As a result of the survey, the following answers were received.

In Pavlodar Oblast 2.9%, in Mangistau – 9.9%, in Karaganda – 17.8% , in Almaty 28.9%, and in South Kazakhstan – 46.8% of oralmsans responded that they did it.

This picture showed and shows a higher degree of religiosity of oralmsans in the southern compared to northern regions.

Cultural integration of oralmsans is an important component in the whole process of oralmsans adaptation. An analysis of oralmsans' compliance with the main national traditions, rituals and customs showed that although there were a certain differences in their observance, they was not of an irreconcilable nature between the oralmsans and the local Kazakh population.

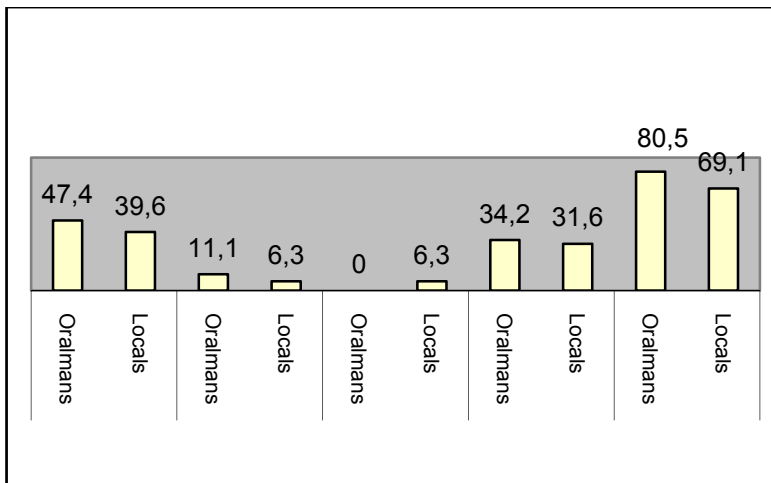
At the same time, as the results of the survey showed, the oralmsans and the local residents settled in South Kazakhstan, Almaty and Mangistau Oblasts the most strongly followed some national traditions. For example, in the Karaganda Province 11.1% of the oralmsans surveyed and 6.3% of the local residents surveyed observed the “kalyn mal” (bottom drawer) ritual, while in the South Kazakhstan Oblast, 80.5% of the oralmsans surveyed and 69.1% of the local residents interviewed observed it (Figure 48.) In the Pavlodar Oblast, none of the oralmsans interviewed gave a positive response to this question.

The picture reflecting a great degree of similarity in compliance with national traditions is observed in the context of funeral and memorial rites.

As can be seen from Figure 49, in the South Kazakhstan Oblast, both oralmsans and local residents note 7 and 40 days from the date of death (Zhetisi, Kyrki) and the anniversary of death (Zhyly).

Figure 48

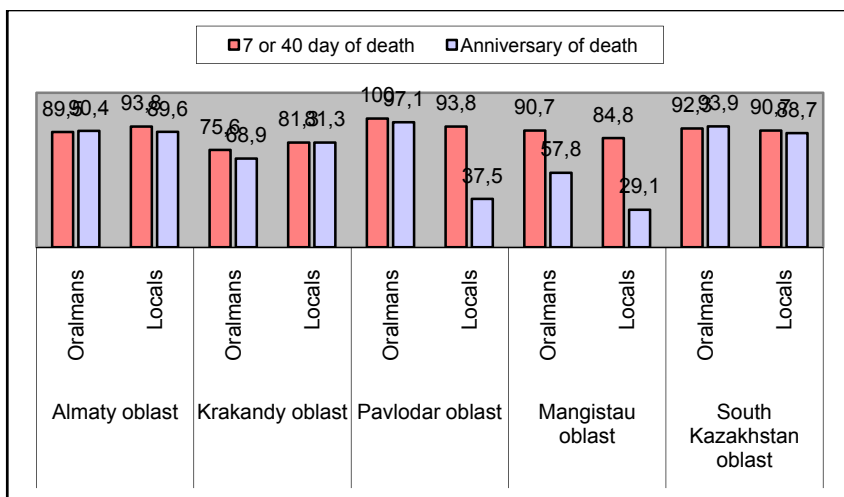
**Compliance of bottom drawer rites by oralmans and locals, %**



Source: Compiled by the author based on data of the sociological survey

Figure 49

**Compliance of funeral and memorial rites by oralmans and locals, %**



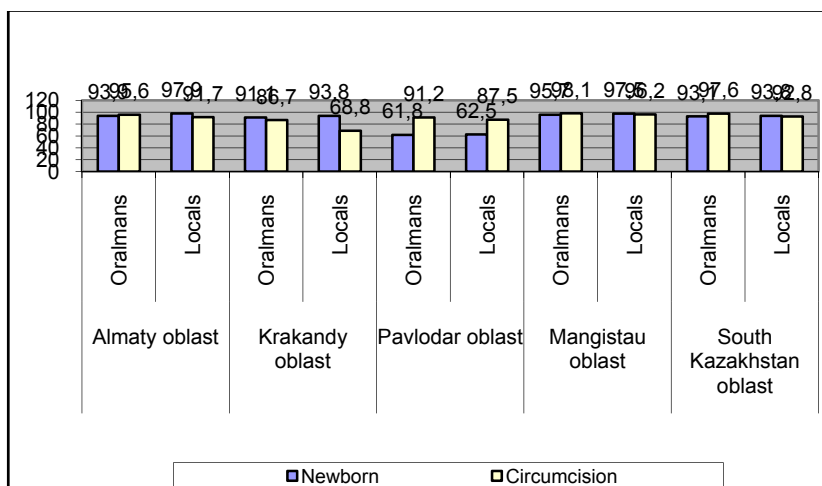
Source: Compiled by the authors based on data of the sociological survey

However, in the Pavlodar Oblast not all locals, unlike the oralmans, mark the anniversary of death. Only 37.5% of the surveyed local residents said that they observe this custom. A similar picture is observed in the Mangistau Oblast. Only 29.1% of the surveyed local residents said that they observe it.

The degree of observance of children's rituals (ShildeKhana or Besik toy – celebration of the newborn, Sundet toy – the circumcision) is also higher in the southern and southwestern regions of Kazakhstan and lower in the northern and central regions, in particular in the Karaganda and Pavlodar Oblasts. Moreover, there is no significant difference between locals and oralmans in observance of these rituals, except for the Karaganda Province (Figure 50).

Figure 50.

**Compliance of newborn or circumcision rites by oralmans and locals, %**



Source: Compiled by the author based on data of the sociological survey

As can be seen from the figure, in the Karaganda Oblast 86.7% of oralmans observe the circumcision ritual, while only 68.8% of the local population surveyed answered positively.

In general, oralmans, living in the southern and western regions of the country, to a greater extent retained the cultural specifics of the country which they left. For example, migrant women wear

traditional national clothes, consisting of a long, closed dress, over which they put on a camisole. They cover heads with a kerchief. At the same time, their clothing has experienced a certain cultural influence, that is, contains elements, details of the national dress of the country where they came from. In many ways, the Kazakh women who arrived from Turkmenistan, Iran, Afghanistan, do not accept the complex of local Kazakh clothes, considering it too Europeanized. In men, the difference in clothing is not so significant, but nevertheless some details of traditional clothing are also preserved. Men who came from Uzbekistan wear skullcaps on their heads, and those coming from Pakistan and Iraq (mostly old people) wear a turban.

People live there under the laws of Sharia. Polygamy is a special feature for us, while for them this is a usual thing. "If you can maintain two wives, then with permission of the first, and therefore, the eldest one – you are free to have a whole harem." In one family, which the journalist visited, women "are happy of the relocation .... Things are going well. Seniors are working, doing their own business ... The younger members of the family learn. Women can read and write in Persian only. They talk only in Kazakh with a noticeable accent. But the younger ones learn Russian at school. They watch Iranian television programs by satellite. No any militants and disgrace." The migrants considered the short skirts and short haircuts of compatriots to be a disgrace: "The things we saw caused a shock."

*Article "Oralmans – their own among their own," Newspaper "Navigator" dated April 28, 2004.*

Oralmans of the so-called "first wave," that is, repatriates from Mongolia, approached local residents to a greater extent. In the first years of their residence in Kazakhstan, they brought with them and used mainly hand-made garments (including winter ones), however, now, they have almost completely switched to clothes of modern, European style.

There are differences in everyday life too. Many oralmans do not buy furniture, but they have a lot of "corpe" (patchwork quilts made by hand), pillows and strip of carpet at home. Before coming to Kazakhstan, they used to produce household items by hand, they brought many items with them and used to decorate the house. At the same time, with the change of occupations, environment, involvement in the processes of urbanization, the production of

household items of everyday life has virtually come to naught, especially among the Mongolian Kazakhs. This was due to the lack of necessary materials, and rethinking the practical need in such things. Thus, we can say that during the stay in Kazakhstan the oralman's culture (on the example of the Mongolian Kazakhs) did and does acquire new features, significantly modernizing.

In general, with the arrival in Kazakhstan, the oralman's culture is gradually transforming. It changes especially noticeably in the North, East and Center of the country. While transformations in the oralman's of the Western and especially the Southern Regions are less noticeable, which is due not only to the proximity of the country to the origin (D), but also to the longer (t) living there (Iran.)

## **Conclusions on the chapter**

Language adaptation of oralman's occurred and is quite specific in Kazakhstan.

First of all, they had to, and have to learn Russian language in order to fully integrate into the Kazakh society. Even knowing the Kazakh language, many of them have to learn Kazakh written language based on Cyrillic.

Especially difficult language adaptation took place for oralman arrived in the 90's.

Gradually, and especially in recent years, the knowledge of the Kazakh language becomes a necessity for all citizens of Kazakhstan. An important role in this was played not only by the state policy in the sphere of language, but also by the arrival of ethnic repatriates. That is, the arrival of oralman's played a beneficial role not only in the part of population recovery, but also in the revival of the Kazakh language.

Arrival of oralman's to Kazakhstan has caused some of them a so-called cultural shock. Style clothes, rituals, traditions of oralman's who arrived especially from far abroad differed sharply and differ from the local population, including Kazakh. Europeanized style, cultural communication, especially in cities, shocking them. At the same time, the local population is shocked by their way of life,

especially the style of life, the culture of Kazakhs who came from far abroad – Iran, China.

A special role in the cultural adaptation of oralmansis played by religion. In many of them, it is the basis of ideological thinking, through it they analyze the behavioral lifestyle of the local population. Despite some differences, the attitude towards religion among oralmans and the local Kazakh population is similar.

Similar occurs in observance by them of various national ceremonies, traditions.

In general, the oralman's language and cultural integration, despite some problems, has been and is proceeding satisfactorily. In the republic, there was no significant outflow of newly arrived ethnic migrants for the above reasons.

## Chapter 7. THEORY OF GRAVITATION AND FORECAST OF ETHNIC MIGRATION DEVELOPMENT TRENDS IN KAZAKHSTAN

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The theory of gravitation of ethnic migration presented in the previous sections allows us predicting the main trends of its development in the future. As it was noted in section 1.1, the gravity model of ethnic migration may look like this:

$$Fem = \frac{P \times Px}{D \times t}$$

where

$Fem$  is the force of gravity of ethnic migration between the country of origin and receiving country

$P$  – population of the country of origin of this ethnic group

$Px$  – population of the same ethnic group residing in the country

$x$

$D$  – distance between places of residence of this ethnic group

$t$  – duration of residence of ethnic group in country  $x$

The presented the gravity model of ethnic migration displays the most significant physical, natural factors that exert the strongest influence on this force, namely, number of people, distance and time.

Despite the external simplicity it is quite problematic to calculate the force of gravity of ethnic migration, or the indicator which reflects it not only because the indicators of which the force consists of are somewhat inhomogeneous in their values (for example, thousands of people per kilometer-year), but also due to calculation of these indicators. For instance, a question arises to determine the distance between the country of origin and the country where this diaspora lives, as well as to calculate the time the diaspora lived abroad.

However, in our opinion, this does not downplay the importance of visual representation by the above formula of how to determine the force of gravity of ethnic migration flow in the abstract format.

This formula clearly shows that the greater is the number of ethnic groups living in the country of origin and the host country, the stronger are the ethnic migration flows between these countries. At the same time, the longer is the distance between the country of origin and the host country of ethnic migrants and the longer is the period of their residence abroad, the less are the migration flows.

The above analysis of ethnic migration, in particular, of Kazakh repatriates, showed that the strongest migration flows were and are observed from and to Uzbekistan, China, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Mongolia. These countries border on Kazakhstan and / or are not far away (D). The most numerous Kazakh diasporas live there (Px). These people themselves or their ancestors left Kazakhstan not so long ago (t), compared to the Kazakhs living in Turkey, Iran, and other countries of far abroad.

If the stability and the political, economic, social and cultural situation that is currently observed in Kazakhstan, maintain for 25 years, the trends and the strength of the oralmans' inflow from the above-mentioned countries will continue. However, it will be not as intensive and large-scale as it was observed in the previous period. Later, their acquaintances and relatives not obviously of the Kazakh nationality will come from these countries to Kazakhstan. According to the theory of migration networks presented by Todaro and Massey, ethnic Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Chinese, Mongols will move to Kazakhstan. This trend will be observed if, first of all, political, then, economic and social factors do not change in all these countries, including Kazakhstan. That is, if in these countries the CETERIS PARIBUS conditions will be preserved.

Analyzing the above-mentioned formula in the context of ethnic emigration from Kazakhstan, it should be noted that the formula presented is appropriate with regard to the Russian population too. But it will work in line with the return of Russians from Kazakhstan to Russia. This will be due not only to the short distance, but, primarily, to the fact that the Russians have preserved their language and culture. An important reason will also be that Russia, following

the example of Kazakhstan and other countries began to implement similar political actions with regard to ethnic migration since 2006. Thus, the President of the Russian Federation has issued a Decree “On Measures to Promote the Voluntary Resettlement to the Russian Federation of Compatriots Living Abroad” dated June 22, 2006 under the No. 637. This Decree and the “State Programs to Promote the Voluntary Resettlement to the Russian Federation of Compatriots Living Abroad” adopted on the basis of said Decree make an important basis for ethnic migration (in this case, Russians) from Kazakhstan to Russia.

In order to validate the forecasts presented in the table, the retrospective of external ethnic migration of population in Kazakhstan is shown.

Table 6.  
**Balance of external migration in the context of ethnic groups, persons**

	Migration balance				
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
<b>Total</b>	5096	-1426	-279	-12162	-13466
Kazakhs	25246	18151	14962	8918	8345
Russians	-19022	-18550	-14098	-17472	-18374
Uzbeks	552	601	448	278	201
Ukrainians	-2153	-1855	-1632	-1783	-1704
Uighurs	95	76	74	51	38
Tatars	-392	-366	-360	-427	-470
Germans	-1465	-1484	-1468	-2101	-2101
Other ethnic groups	2235	2001	1795	374	599

Source: Source: Demographic yearbook of Kazakhstan. Statistics Committee of the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, [www.stat.gov.kz](http://www.stat.gov.kz)

As can be seen from the table, in recent years, in Kazakhstan, an outflow of population been observed, first of all, of Russian people. Moreover, this outflow exceeds the immigration of Kazakhs. Such imbalance in the number of immigrants and emigrants is caused, ultimately, by a decrease in the number of oralmans. If in 2011, the number of arriving Kazakhs was 25,246 people, then in 2015, their number was 8,345 people, thus, almost a threefold decrease has occurred. In our opinion, this was conditioned and was a consequence of not only the global economic crisis, but also of the fact that Kazakhstan began to pursue a more targeted policy with

regard to ethnic migration. As noted in Section 3, in the current period, the priority is given to attracting highly skilled oralmans and those who agree to live in the northern regions of the country.

As can be seen from the table, the citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan mainly emigrate to the CIS countries. Their number is many times higher than emigration far abroad, to non-CIS countries. This is conditioned not only to by the manifestation of the gravity model of ethnic migration, specifically, the proximity of distance, but, above all, by the political, economic, and social factors: almost all these countries (with some exceptions) still have some traditions, standards, and customs that were present in the USSR.

Table 7.

**Balance of external migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2011-2015, persons**

	Migration balance				
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
<b>CIS countries</b>	-307	4385	2234	11265	13026
Azerbaijan	450	314	23	1	1
Armenia	201	158	12	8	1
Belarus	-675	-553	4	9	97
Kyrgyzstan	1690	1042	-	-	-
Moldova	16	18	953	1404	430
Russia	-23221	22063	13	7	5
Tajikistan	328	314	27	93	31
Turkmenistan	1017	1343	2	2	3
Uzbekistan	19951	7	-2	0	3
Ukraine	-64	-125	-	-	-
<b>Other countries</b>	5403	2959	16561	20148	21777
United States of	-123	-72	26	1	2
			0	87	01
			92	5	7
			6	60	62
			1516	8	7
			506	481	228
			-	-	8
			-94	41	5
			19	-	-
			55	897	440
			-	-	-

America			108	167	201
			-	-	-
Germany	-664	-606	1037	2003	1974
Greece	12	12	12	6	3
			17	6	1
Georgia	326	288	5	8	05
			-	-	-
Israel	-52	-53	-33	72	63
				1	8
Iran	58	53	50	00	3
				-	-
Canada	-98	-149	-71	93	101
			20	5	1
China	3264	2608	49	96	217
				-	-
Latvia	4	6	8	4	1
				1	
Lithuania	4	13	5	6	1
			30	2	1
Mongolia	1926	312	7	62	79
			35	1	1
Turkey	364	323	9	85	98
				-	-
Estonia	-1	3	-1	1	4
			24	2	1
Others	383	221	0	08	16

Source:Source: Demographic yearbook of Kazakhstan. Statistics Committee of the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, [www.stat.gov.kz](http://www.stat.gov.kz)

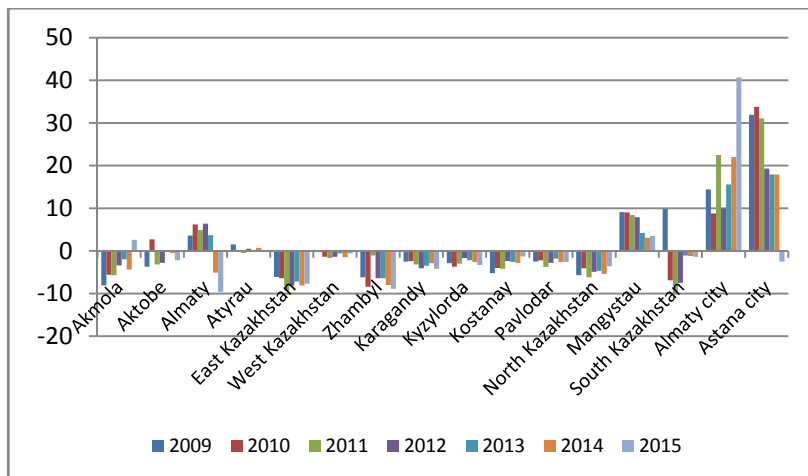
As can be seen from the table, mostly, representatives of European countries (Germans, Ukrainians) emigrate from Kazakhstan, while the citizens of nearby Asian countries (Uzbekistan, China, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, etc.) immigrate to Kazakhstan,.

## 7.2 Internal migration and its ethnic content

Analysis of internal migration with breakdown by oblasts of the Republic of Kazakhstan shows that, in recent years, the outflow of population has been observed from the northern and eastern oblasts of Kazakhstan. The same process is observed in other oblasts, except

for the Almaty, Mangistau oblasts and Almaty and Astana cities (Figure 51).

Figure 51  
**Balance of internal migration in Kazakhstan from 2009 to 2015, thsd. People**



Source: Demographic yearbook of Kazakhstan. Statistics Committee of the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, [www.stat.gov.kz](http://www.stat.gov.kz)

As can be seen from the figure, almost all oblasts of Kazakhstan are mainly donors of 4 regions: Almaty and Mangistau Oblasts and cities of republican significance – Astana and Almaty.

The most strong emigration flow is observed in South Kazakhstan and Zhambyl oblasts, which is caused by the population growth in these areas due to the birth rate and immigration of repatriates. By reason of the above-mentioned regularities, emigrants mainly migrate to Almaty and the Almaty Oblast.

In the northern regions, the emigration flows are less pronounced, due not only to a lower birth rate and, correspondingly, to the aging of population, but also to a smaller number of residents. Mostly, emigration flows from these regions are directed to Russia or other countries or to Astana.

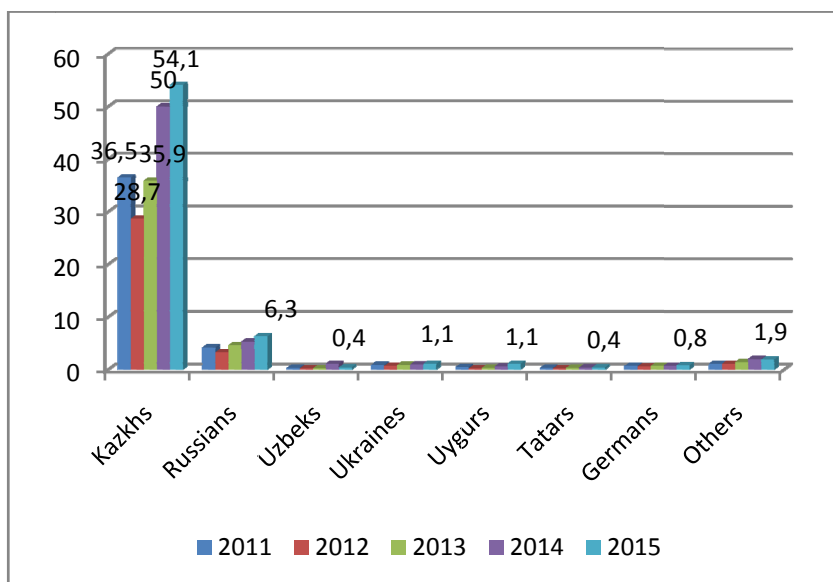
Analysis of internal migration in Kazakhstan shows that a pronounced urbanization of population in the country takes place. In

recent years, the urban population has increased. In general, the urban population increases in the context of the theory of gravity due to the population of nearby villages, district centers and other settlements. This is observed in all oblasts of Kazakhstan. This fact indicates that in Kazakhstan, the employment in the primary (agrarian) sector of economy is decreasing and increase in the secondary (industrial) and third (service) sectors of the economy.

The highest growth in the number of urban population was observed within the period from 2011 to 2015, due to the inflow of Kazakhs, then Russians, Uighurs, and Ukrainians. (Figure 52)

Figure 52.

**Growth of urban population from 2001 to 2015, thsd. persons**



Source: Source: Demographic yearbook of Kazakhstan. Statistics Committee of the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, [www.stat.gov.kz](http://www.stat.gov.kz)

At the same time, as can be seen from the figure, the growth of the urban Kazakh population manifold exceeds the input of other ethnic groups into the growth of urban population.

In general, the trend of internal ethnic migration development is directed not only to the growth of the urban Kazakh population, but also to interregional redistribution. Due to the high population density, and consequently, the tight labor market in the south, more and more people from the southern regions head to the central and northern regions of the country.

It should be noted that the Resolution of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On the establishment of a regional quota for the acceptance of oralmans and resettlers for 2017,” in 2017, the oralmans mostly settled in the northern regions of the country: the Akmola Oblast; East Kazakhstan Oblast; Kostanay Oblast; Pavlodar Oblast and North-Kazakhstan oblast.

## **Conclusions on the chapter**

External migration processes in the context of the analysis of various ethnic groups shows that in the case of compliance with *Ceteris Paribus*. The migration of Kazakhs will continue in line with the law of gravity of ethnic migration. More migrants from neighboring countries will come, because of the short distance and fewer who live further and live there for a longer time.

In the context of these patterns, a greater number of Russians, especially the northern regions, will emigrate to Russia. This will be conditioned not only by the above-mentioned regularity, but also by the contemporary migration policy of the Russian Federation aimed at stimulating the return to Russia of its former compatriots.

The forecast of internal ethnic migration shows an increasing urbanization of the Kazakh population. Along with this, in connection with the aging and emigration of the population from the northern regions of Kazakhstan, the migration of Kazakhs to these regions of the country will increase.

# CONCLUSION

In the midst of globalization, intensive growth of population migration, this process sometimes acquires certain regularities. Among these regularities, the dependence of the force of migration on the distance which the migrants travel. A special shade, in various types of migration has ethnic migration. Ethnic migration, based on the migration of diasporas from the country of residence to the country of origin of the ethnos or vice versa, is distinguished by the fact that along with distance, the time of living of the diaspora abroad.

The Kazakh example of ethnic migration shows the manifestation of this regularity is the most glaring one.

An analysis of the history of migration processes in Kazakhstan shows that before the acquisition of independence, many Kazakhs left the country due to various reasons, primarily they were associated with political rather than economic, social, cultural factors.

The political factor in the development of ethnic migration processes is one of the main and determining factors. Due to its importance, one ethnic group can be divided and some of it will be forced to leave the country of origin. This happened with the Kazakhs who inhabited Kazakhstan before the republic gained its independence.

With the acquisition of independence from the republic, a large number of the population began to emigrate. In many respects it was of an ethnic character. Many people deported to Kazakhstan during the Stalinist repressions, or who arrived within the framework of building socialism, were hiding from the country.

The country faced the problem of a sharp decline in the population. This issue has acquired, to some extent, the problem of national security of the country.

In order to solve it, the government of the country has chosen a policy to return former compatriots (Kazakhs) back to Kazakhstan. This problem of violence is not only an economic nature (the influx of a declining population), but also deeply ethical. The Kazakh

language was disappearing, the culture and traditions of the people were disappearing.

The political actions taken by the state to stimulate the arrival of ethnic Kazakhs (oralmans) brought a positive result. The government's policy in providing houses to the oralmans, promoting their employment, receiving education, and providing health care, despite the existing and still existing problems of adaptation in some cases, led to oralmans arriving and arriving in Kazakhstan both within the framework of state programs (within the quota) and independently, outside the quota.

Due to this policy, not only the adult population, but also the Kazakh language began to play a significant role in the formation of the state identity of the country.

It should be noted that newly arrived migrants (oralmans) arrived and settled in a certain pattern designated above. They, basically, settled closer to the country of the outcome and thereby reflected the manifestation of the law of gravitation in its space-time context.

Together, in the present period, in Kazakhstan, ethnic migration processes, having the above-mentioned patterns, acquire a certain specificity. From Kazakhstan, mainly representatives of European countries (Germans, Ukrainians) emigrate, and citizens from nearby Asian countries (Uzbekistan, China, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, etc.) come.

In the country there is urbanization of the Kazakh population.

In general, in the case of the observance of the Ceteris Paribus condition, the migration of Kazakhs will continue along the lines of the gravity model of ethnic migration presented in this paper, that is, more will come from ethnic migrants from nearby countries, because of the short distance and fewer who live further and live there for a longer time.