

# SWEEPING ETHNO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN KAZAKHSTAN DURING THE 20TH CENTURY: A DRAMATIC STORY OF MASS MIGRATION WAVES PART I: FROM THE TURN OF THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE SOVIET ERA

AINUR SAPARBEKOVA<sup>1</sup>, JIŘINA KOCOURKOVÁ<sup>2</sup>, TOMÁŠ KUČERA<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Health of the Republic of Kazakhstan, The Republican Centre for Healthcare Development, Astana, Kazakhstan

<sup>2</sup> Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Science, Department of Demography and Geodemography, Czech Republic

## ABSTRACT

For quite some time, the population dynamics in Kazakhstan have largely depended on migration processes. At the end of the 19th century, the territory of the country became the main migration space for a large part of Eurasia which was under the governance of the Russian Empire, and later of the Soviet Union. The large scale resettlement of Russian and Ukrainian peasants following the integration of the Kazakh Khanate (name of the Kazakh state in the territory of present-day Kazakhstan and neighbouring countries in 1465–1847) into the Russian Empire, as well as different forms and types of voluntary and involuntary mass movements of populations during the Soviet period, completely changed the demographic picture of Kazakhstan. At the same time, the economic and political conditions established after the end of the Russian Civil War (1917–1920), along with new economic policies implemented in Soviet Central Asia in the 1920s and 1930s and their tragic consequences, resulted in massive outflows of population, namely Kazakhs. All these movements had a significant direct impact on population development within the territory, and on the size, ethno-demographic and other social characteristics of the population.

The aim of the paper is to trace the changes in the total population and its ethno-demographic structure in Kazakhstan from the end of the 19th century to the very end of the 1980s, and to determine the role of migration in these changes. Systematization of migration policies is presented, and the effect of past migration processes in Kazakhstan is discussed. The presented research is based on census data.

**Keywords:** Kazakhstan, population, migration, ethnic structure, Russian Empire, Soviet Union

## 1. Introduction

At the end of the 19th century, ethnic Kazakhs formed a crucial part of the population living within the territory of today's Republic of Kazakhstan. However, at approximately the same time, this territory became the main migration space of the Russian Empire. And it remained in this position throughout virtually the entire period of communism, for about a hundred years all together.

During this long period, millions of people from the European as well as other parts of the country came to the Kazakh steppe. Many immigrants came forever. Many of them or their descendants eventually left the territory in question. Ethnic Kazakhs lost their quantitative dominance within several decades because their natural frontiers opened for the waves of a larger scale migration. There were, however, two main factors supporting this radical change: in addition to migration also cataclysmal phenomena – wars and famines. The change would have been even more pronounced if there had not been some significant differences in reproductive behaviour developments and population statistics.

As a result, at the time of the first post-war census held in 1959, the Kazakhs were a minority in their own country, representing only 30 percent of its population. At the end of the Soviet era they were the largest ethnic group, with 40 percent of the total population, though still in a minority position relative to members of the European nations. No other indigenous nation was in a similar

situation when the former Soviet republics were gaining their independence.

The aim of the paper is to trace the changes in the total population and its ethno-demographic structure in Kazakhstan from the end of the 19th century to the very end of the 1980s, and to determine the role of migration in these changes. Systematization of migration policies is presented, and the effect of past migration processes in Kazakhstan is discussed.

## 2. Data

The presented research is based on data from censuses which took place in the territory of Kazakhstan between the years 1897 and 1989. In total, nine full-scale population censuses were held during this period: 1897, 1920, 1926, 1937, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989. However, only the results of seven of them were used in this study. The results of the 1920 census were not included because they were obtained under very specific historical conditions in the period marked by the end of the Civil War and the total collapse of the country and its economy. The 1937 Census was held successfully but afterwards *de facto* annulled. Its results were published for the first time in 2007 (Zhiromskaya, Polyakov 2007). Due to their informal nature, they are only compared with the results of the “corrective” 1939 Census, and the results obtained are briefly discussed in the text.

There is no doubt that the censuses were of varying quality, and thus the credibility of their outputs differs to some extent. On the other hand, they are the only comprehensive sources of information one can employ to fulfil the objectives of this work. But it has to be done with full awareness and an appropriate degree of caution.

Despite the selection, the resulting set of censuses cannot be regarded as homogeneous in terms of data reliability. This necessarily affects our conclusions about the development of the total size and ethnic structure of the population in the territory of contemporary Kazakhstan between censuses, as well as within the entire study period. For example, in the case of the First General Census of the population of the Russian Empire (1897), ethnicity was judged on the basis not of ethnic but of linguistic features. The mother tongue was the main criterion for inclusion into an ethnic group (Krasnobayeva 2004). Moreover, the term *mother tongue* was not yet clearly defined for the purpose of the census. For instance, the majority of indigenous people noted the Turkic language as their mother tongue. This led to the mixing of different ethnic groups belonging to the Turkic language group (Tatars, Kyrgyzs, Uzbeks and Turkmens) with Kazakhs (Alexeyenko 1999). At the same time, many members of the European nations (Ukrainians, Belarusians, Jews and others) reported Russian as their mother tongue (Krasnobayeva 2004). In addition, it has been documented that the original nomadic population made many efforts to hide for various reasons before the census (op. cit.). The most frequent reasons were related to equity and fiscal motifs.

Similar criticisms also apply to the 1926 Census, when the central statisticians decided to again use the concept of mother tongue in determining the ethnic structure of the population, regardless of the opinion and recommendations of experts. In addition, various historians and demographers have estimated that the census did not count between 4 and 7 percent of Kazakhstan's population, especially young women (Alexeyenko, Alexeyenko 1999). This was associated with both religious constraints and the Soviet campaign against polygamy.

In the case of the 1939 Census, it is difficult to find any assessment of its quality. This can be interpreted as an expression of silent but sound doubts about the credibility of the data. The 1939 Census has to be understood as a "corrective" to the 1937 Census. The latter was successfully completed but the results did not satisfy the ruling elite, who did not approve of the ideological thesis of rapid population growth under socialism. The fact that there was a significant reduction in the list of nations for which it was possible to classify inhabitants, or with which they could identify themselves, may also have had an impact on the comparability of the results. In 1926 there were 160 ethnic groups on the list, whereas in 1939 there were only 62 (Alexeyenko 1999).

The first post-war census of 1959 methodically followed the 1939 Census. Ethnicity obtained a proclamative

character, and the list was extended to include 93 ethnic groups. The 1959 Census itself was well elaborated and preceded by a pilot census carried out on a small sample of the population only. Its results are generally considered representative and reliable.

The subsequent censuses of 1970, 1979 and 1989 were carried out according to a similar methodology as the 1959 Census. The basic control mechanisms were also preserved. The observed changes in methodology and content had no significant impact on the size and ethnic structure of the population. In fact, all post-war censuses in the territory of Kazakhstan can be regarded as relatively reliable and comparable, in terms of the obtained results.

### 3. Historical overview of the impact of migration processes in Kazakhstan before 1991

For quite a long time following its inclusion in the Russian Empire (1847), Kazakhstan was a region of active migratory movements. The intensification of migratory flows during this period was mostly a consequence of the decisions of governmental bodies. Most often state regulatory measures encompassed the authorization of already established flows, such as migration of Russian and Ukrainian peasants, as well as different forms of voluntary and involuntary movement. Migration, in turn, also affected the development of the state as a result of changes, mainly caused by migration, in the ethno-demographic composition of the population.

#### 3.1 The period of Russian colonization of Kazakhstan

Before entering the Russian Empire, which took place during the period from the 1730s to the middle of the 1860s, the territory of Kazakhstan was inhabited by Karakalpaks, Uzbeks, Kalmyks and Tadjiks, among other non-Kazakh ethnicities. According to Asylbekov (1991), the process of consolidating ethnic territory started after entering the Russian Empire and was accompanied by rapid population growth at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. The eastward migration of Russians from the European part of the empire to Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia involved nearly 6.5 million people (Demko 1969). Approximately a third of these people migrated to Kazakhstan. Among the forces pushing this eastward migration were an oppressive political situation, the socio-economic condition of peasants who were considered to be slaves, rural over-population and the rapid rate of population growth, economic hardship, and a low level of agricultural productivity. Conversely, the existence of vast areas of unused land and an agriculturally suitable territory beyond the Urals was one of the main factors which attracted migration.

As stated by Treadgold (1957), there were two primary causes of peasant migration: land and liberty. Initially,

the Russian government did not encourage, and even prohibited peasant resettlement. The ban was later lifted, and with the abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire in 1861 the number of those resettled in the northern regions of Kazakhstan increased significantly. The first legislation dealing with the migration of peasants was a law concerning temporary rules for resettlement, adopted in 1881. Although the law removed previously existing barriers such as the need to receive permission to settle, it had little effect on migratory flows. Another piece of legislation called the Resettlement Act of 1889 could be considered an important policy measure; it still required that permission be granted to migrate, but offered a number of inducements such as land allotments, loans ranging from 30 to 100 rubles, waiving of taxes for up to 3 years, etc. Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk and Semireche, Turgay and Uralsk, along with some regions of Western Siberia, were designated for settlement. This resulted in an increase in the share of Kazakhstan's Slavic population, which accounted for about 8% of the total population by the 1870s.

Newcomers, mostly of Slavic ethnicity, settled in the entire territory of Kazakhstan at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Russian and Ukrainian villages formed a Slavic area in the north-western, northern and north-eastern regions of Kazakhstan. After the conclusion of the Treaty of St. Petersburg concerning demarcation of the border between the Russian and Qing Empires in 1881, 45 thousand Uyghurs and 4 thousand Dungans resettled from the Kulja region to the south-eastern territories of Kazakhstan (Sadovskaya 2001). Masanov et al. (2001) stated that by 1897, the population of Kazakhstan consisted of 3,101 thousand Kazakhs, which was 78.4% of the total population, 502 thousand Russians (12.7%), 75 thousand Uzbeks (1.9%), and other ethnicities.

The ethnic structure of the population during the period from 1897 to 1916 showed that the number of Russians, including Belorussians and Ukrainians, increased by more than 1,250 thousand, or by more than three times (Demko 1969). The growth in the Russian population was particularly marked in the northern regions of Kazakhstan, namely the Akmolinsk and Turgay oblasts. By contrast, the indigenous population grew by only 350 thousand persons, or only 14% during the same period. The disparity between Russian and native population growth in Kazakhstan can be explained by the immigration of Russian settlers as well as differences in natural increase – the crude birth rate for the Russian population was nearly two times higher than that of the natives as of 1926, mostly due to the younger age structure of the settler population (op. cit.).

The population growth at the beginning of the 20th century was due to an increase in the size of the indigenous population, as well as migratory flows. The most significant period in terms of settlement was 1906–1914, when more than 1 million migrants moved into Kazakhstan and accounted for 80% of total immigration for the

period 1896–1916 (Demko 1969). It is necessary to mention that new legislation enacted in 1904 removed all restrictions on internal movement, and was followed by important changes resulting from the Stolypin reforms of 1906–1910, which dissolved the restrictive commune system and allowed peasants to move freely and enclose their lands.

The migration inflows observed in Kazakhstan from 1896 to 1916 can be divided into three periods, taking into account the intensity of flows. The first period, from 1896 to 1900, is characterized by relatively large inflows. This occurred due to the adoption of favourable legislation by the Siberian Railroad Committee and the completion of a railroad to Lake Baikal. However, the volume of migration decreased in subsequent years, especially 1901 and 1902, due to famine in Siberia and Kazakhstan. The second wave of intensive inflows of peasants is observable for the period 1906–1911, with its peak in 1908 (Demko 1969). This can be explained by the elimination of restrictions on resettlement and massive peasant colonization of Kazakhstan and Siberia. A decrease in migratory flows is seen for the years 1911 and 1912. The land reforms that had taken place in previous years led to alleviation of the intensity of the agricultural crisis and to excellent crop yields in European Russia, and so weakened the main reasons for rural outmigration. Migration began to decrease following the involvement of the Russian Empire in World War I, and continued to do so in the years of the Revolution and Civil War. The eastward Russian migration had obviously affected the size of Kazakhstan's population, which increased during the period 1896–1916 by more than 2 million people, or 2.3% annually, while the same indicator for European Russia was 1.3% (Demko 1969). In Kazakhstan most of the increase – of 43% – occurred by 1911. As far as regional distribution is concerned, the largest absolute increase in population was observed in Akmolinsk oblast, followed by Turgay oblast.

The consequences of World War I and the Civil War were generally disastrous for the population of Kazakhstan, as well as the population of the Empire as a whole. The socio-economic situation caused by a crisis in the economy and agriculture was aggravated by the famine of 1919–1922. This famine resulted in a population decrease of 19.1% (Assylbekov 1991). Olcott (1987) points out that the population declined during this period by well over 1 million people. This number included several hundred thousand emigrants, mostly Russians, some of whom tried to return to their native territory (Olcott 1987) while others moved to the south – Turkestan or other more prosperous regions of Kazakhstan. During the years of Soviet power a decree of the Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars on planned resettlement for 1925–1926 dated 17 August 1925 increased the population, as the number of in-migrants exceeded the number of out-migrants by the end of the 1920s. However, spontaneous migratory flows dominated organized ones. The number of migrants was

1.5 million, while the population size was approximately 6.2 million in 1926 (Sadovskaya 2001).

The First All-Union Population Census, held on 17 December 1926, showed that since the latest census of the Russian Empire in 1897 the population of Kazakhstan had increased 1.5 times, or by more than 2 million persons (Tab. 1). The ethnic structure of the population of Kazakhstan consisted mainly of Kazakhs, Russians and Ukrainians by the end of the 19th century. However, the 1926 Census revealed that the proportion of Kazakhs in the total population had decreased sharply, from 81.8% in 1897 to 58.5% in 1926. As a consequence, the proportion of Russians and other ethnicities increased to approximately 21%, which represented a three- and four-fold increase in the numbers of Russians and other ethnicities, respectively. The 1926 Census recorded 1,601 thousand persons (Galiyev 1979) who at the time of the census stated that their current place of residence was other than that of their birth. Thus, most of them were settlers who came from Ukraine, the Volga area, the northern, western and central part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and a small number from Siberia, the Urals, Central Asia and the Far East.

**Tab. 1** The size and ethnic structure of the population in the current territory of Kazakhstan according to the 1897 and 1926 censuses.

Ethnicity	Population size (in thou.)		Index	
	1897	1926	1926/1897 (in thou.)	1926/1897 (in %)
All ethnicities	4,148	6,196	2,049	149.4
Kazakhs	3,393	3,628	235	106.9
Russians	454	1,275	821	280.6
Others	301	1,294	903	430.4

**Source:** Department of Statistics of the South-Kazakhstan Oblast. (undated). [Electronic res.]. Accessed in 2012 at [http://www.ontustik.stat.kz/rus/perepis\\_nas/index.php](http://www.ontustik.stat.kz/rus/perepis_nas/index.php).

The migration processes of the first decade of the Soviet regime in Kazakhstan had a clearly industrial character (Sadovskaya 2001). Indeed, the economic policy of the USSR from 1926 was directed towards industrialization, and the territory of Kazakhstan was considered one of the main regions for accelerated industrial development. However, the initial phase of industrialization faced a labour shortage, and it was decided to transfer unemployed people from the western and central part of the Soviet Union to these areas. Thus, the main population flows were directed towards the industrial and mining areas of Kazakhstan and consisted mainly of peasants.

As a result of the collectivization campaign which began in the second half of the 1920s, the new population flows were mostly involuntary and forced in character. This program was adopted at the Fifth Party Congress in December 1927 and included a formal decision to move toward a collectivized economy. Collectivization aimed to

establish socialist production in rural areas by associating individual peasant farms into collective ones. It is difficult to know the percentage of the rural population which was collectivized; however, 60% seems to be a reliable estimate according to Olcott (1987). Moreover, the pace of collectivization was uneven across individual regions of Kazakhstan. Approximately 70% of the populations in the Akmolinsk, Syr Darya, and Pavlodar regions were collectivized, whereas only 20% of Kazakhs in the nomadic areas were collectivized. During the Seventeenth Party Conference in 1932, the government of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (Kazakh SSR) therefore reported the failure of the collectivization campaign. In addition, 25% of the population left their collective farms due to livestock shortages (Olcott 1987). The Central Committee of the Kazakh SSR resolved that any attempt to forcibly collectivize Kazakhs was wrong, but it nevertheless succeeded in settling them. The forced settling of nomads and the mass collectivization and socialization of land acreage resulted in a shortage of feed and a massive loss of cattle, which led in turn to a shortage of basic products in most households and finally resulted in famine. In the history of Kazakhstan, the famine of 1931–1933 is considered to be the main cost of collectivization. The number of victims in the Kazakh SSR during these years was one of the most discussed issues among historians, and varied between 1,750 thousand and 2,020 thousand (Abylkhozhin et al. 1989; Alexeyenko 2000). Some authors believe about 1.5 million Kazakhs died in the 1930s, though the actual losses could be even greater (Olcott 1987).

Collectivization was accompanied by the elimination of kulaks (prosperous peasants who used hired labour) as a social class. These actions were accompanied by confiscation of the means of production from kulak farms, including livestock, food and seed stocks. The dispossessed kulaks fell into three categories: the first category received imprisonment in concentration camps or death; the second category were exiled to the most remote areas of the USSR (so-called “kulak exile” or “labour exile”); and the third category were settled within the district of residence, but outside the farm arrays (PBCC 1930). The Urals, Siberia and the territory of Kazakhstan were selected as places of “kulak exile” for peasants from different part of the country. The mass deportation of kulak households formally ended in 1931, in accordance with a decree of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) Central Committee, dated 20 July 1931. However, resettlements in the following years were implemented individually. According to Zemskov (1991), 18,092 families from Lower Volga, 11,477 families from Middle Volga, 10,544 families from the Central Chernozem region, and 2,972 families from the Moscow oblast were exiled to Kazakhstan in 1930–1931. The total number of families residing in the Kazakh SSR as a result of labour settlement was 33,852 on 1 January 1939 and 36,484 families on 1 January 1940 (Zemskov 1991). According to data from the Department on Special

Settlements of the GULag (Chief Administration of Corrective Labour Camps and Colonies), 6,765 peasants were sent from Kazakhstan.

In addition, Kazakhstan lost a considerable part of its population due to the emigration of 616 thousand Kazakhs. This is also proven by the fact that the number of Kazakhs residing in neighbouring countries increased between two censuses (1926 and 1939). Approximately 200 thousand Kazakhs emigrated to China, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey (Abylkhozhin et al. 1989). The loss of the non-Kazakh population was also difficult to measure due to their intensive migration. Taking into account changes in the resident population, it is possible to estimate indirectly the effect of migration. For instance, the number of Ukrainians residing in the territory of the Kazakh SSR decreased from 859 thousand in 1931 to 658 thousand in 1933, Uzbeks from 228 thousand to 104 thousand, and Uyghurs from 62 thousand to 37 thousand (Abylkhozhin et al. 1989). This is also the result of high mortality during the famine of 1932–1933. The collectivization campaign and its consequences therefore had a significant impact on population during the 1920s and 1930s.

The arrival of dispossessed kulaks partially counterbalanced the loss of population during these years; however, this mostly affected the ethnic composition of the population. In addition, there was the so-called kulak economic factor, which refers to their contribution to the development of the agriculture and economy of the Kazakh SSR. The settlers' labour was used to irrigate the arid regions of Kazakhstan as well as Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, uproot the land and clear it for agricultural use, pave dirt roads in roadless areas, etc. (Zemskov 1994).

### 3.2 Deportation of nations and forced migration in the 1930s and 1940s

The second half of the 1930s was marked by the intensification of migratory flows, not only stimulated by the totalitarian regime but also directly organized as the deportation of entire nations to Kazakhstan. The first deportations started in the 1920s when Kuban Cossacks (Kazaks) were evicted from their villages and most Russian intellectuals were sent abroad (Sadovskaya 2001). With the consolidation of Stalin's regime in the 1930s, the extent of repression increased and the territory of Kazakhstan, along with Siberia and the northern part of the USSR, were defined as places for exile. According to geographer and historian P. Polian (2001), who researched the issue of forced migration in the USSR, the deportation (forced migration) could be considered a specific form of political repression. The main features of deportations were its administrative or non-judicial character, and both direct and indirect coercion.

Generally, the 1930s was a period which saw the strengthening of the Soviet Union's international

self-isolation and the formation of the "iron curtain". This process also affected the deportation policy of the regime. Mass deportations began with the so-called "cleansing of the borders", which refers to a whole campaign aimed at ensuring the safety of cities, state borders and border areas through the class and ethnic "cleansing" of socially dangerous elements (Polian 2001). The campaign started with the cleansing of western borders in 1935–1936. According to a decree of the Council of People's Commissars, dated 28 April 1936, 35,739 Poles out of 35,820 in total were deported from border areas of the Ukrainian SSR to Kazakhstan (Masanov et al. 2001). The social status of deportees was defined as "politically unreliable elements" who resided in the border regions of the Zhitomir, Kiev, Vinnitsa and Kirovograd oblasts of Ukraine.

The cleansing of the eastern borders, which began in 1937 with the mass deportation of Koreans from the Far East to Kazakhstan (mainly South Kazakhstan, the Aral Sea and Balkhash regions) and Uzbekistan, was the primary focus of deportation policy. As a result of the inclusion of the Far East Republic (currently Far East Kray) into the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic in 1922, the population of the country increased by thousands of Korean, Japanese and Chinese settlers. On the other hand, with the growth of militarism in Japan, the occupation of Manchuria and formation of Manchukuo close to the Soviet border was considered a favourable condition for Japanese espionage and intervention (Polian 2001). These deportations were implemented in two stages. The first stage began in fall 1937 and continued till the spring of 1938, when approximately 200 thousand Koreans were resettled from the Far East to Kazakhstan (Alekseyenko 2000). The second stage covered the period from spring 1938, when 60% of Koreans were resettled internally in Kazakhstan. According to the 1926 Census, there were only 42 Koreans residing in Kazakhstan, whereas the 1939 Census showed that this number had increased to 96 thousand (Tab. 2). The cleansing of the southern borders was implemented in 1938–1939. Deportation in this third direction was not as intense as previous ones, and comprised mostly Iranians who resided in the border regions of Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia.

The results of the Second All-Union Census, held in January 1939, showed that the population of the Kazakh SSR had increased by only 2.6% in comparison with the previous census, held in 1926 (Tab. 2). The Second Census was initially held in 1937 and showed a population loss of 1,072 thousand compared to the 1926 Census results. Obviously, the main reason for the decrease in population was collectivization and the famine of 1932–1933. However, the result of the 1937 Census was declared to be defective given the policy and ideology of the regime. Nevertheless, the decrease in population during these years was considered to be counterbalanced by migration. The population decrease appeared to be due mainly to a decrease in the number of Kazakhs. According to the

1926 Census, Kazakhs formed a majority (58.5%) within the ethnic structure of the population (DSSKO – Department of Statistics of the South Kazakhstan Region – n.d.). However, the share of Kazakhs decreased to 38.0% in 1939 and ranked second behind Russians, who were the major ethnicity with 40% of the total population of Kazakhstan (Tab. 2). The proportion of Ukrainians also decreased from 13.9% in 1926 to 10.8% in 1939. The share of Germans and Tatars increased slightly compared to 1926. However, according to the recently published results of the 1937 Census, the decreases mentioned here were significantly deeper, and the increases significantly more moderate. Statisticians have found about 976 thousand (18.9%) more inhabitants in the territory of Kazakhstan in 1939 than their colleagues found in 1937. Of this difference, there were 132 thousand (i.e., more by 6.0% in 1939 than in the 1937 Census) Kazakhs, 531 thousand (27.7%) Russians and 107 thousand (19.5%) Ukrainians (DSSKO, Zhiromskaya and Polyakov 2007). It is therefore quite likely that the proportion of Russians among the population of the Kazakh SSR was deliberately over-rated by the 1939 Census, and that Kazakhs lost their size dominance only after 1939.

The ethnic structure of other Soviet countries showed an increase in the number of Kazakhs, proving the out-migration of Kazakhs during the years of collectivization. In 1939, the number of Kazakhs in the RSFSR increased by 2.3 times, in Uzbekistan 1.7 times, in Karakalpakstan 2.5 times, and in Kyrgyzstan 10 times compared with the previous census (Galiyev 1979). Overall, the share of Kazakhs residing in neighbouring countries increased from 8% to 20% during the intercensal period.

A new wave of deportations was implemented during World War II (the Great Patriotic War). Most migration in this period resulted from preventive deportations of “punished nations”. Such a punishment was implemented not for a particular crime or betrayal, but rather for “belonging to a nationality with which the country might

be in a state of war” (Polian 2001: 103). In addition, Polian (2001) points out that there was the concept of “geography of unreliability” which derived from the geography of “trustworthy” and “unreliable” nations as well as their relation to certain locations. The first group included a mostly Slavic population whereas the second group included Jews, Germans, Poles and other nations of Caucasus, Central Asia and other territories. Regions where Russians comprised less than 50% of the population were considered “unreliable”, hence the level of reliability decreased from the centre of the Empire to its periphery. After the occupation of the eastern regions of Poland in September 1939 and their inclusion into the Ukraine and Belorussia, the Soviet government began deporting Polish nationalists. These special settlers were called *osadniki* (*osadnik* means settler in the Polish language) and were former soldiers in the Polish army. Most of them were sent to the northern regions, the Urals, Siberia and Kazakhstan.

Among the main targets of deportation policy during the war were Soviet Germans, viewed as potential “collaborators” solely because of their ethnic identification with a nation whose titular state was in a state of war with the Soviet Union and could cooperate with them. According to a decree of the Council of People’s Commissars and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), dated 26 August 1941, Germans from the Volga Germans ASSR, Saratov and Stalingrad oblasts were sent to Siberia and Kazakhstan, 366 thousand and 67 thousand, respectively. Overall, there were 1,427 thousand Germans in the USSR, and 93 thousand of them resided in Kazakhstan according to the 1939 Census (Polian 2001). In addition, 1,209 thousand Germans were resettled in the USSR during the period 1941–1942, and 444 thousand of them were sent to Kazakhstan (Polian 2001).

The subsequent wave of mass deportations that began in 1943 included nations of the North Caucasus and

**Tab. 2** The size and ethnic structure of the population in the current territory of Kazakhstan according to the 1926 and 1939 censuses.

Ethnicity	Population size (in thou.)		Share (in %)		Index 1939/1926 (in %)
	1926	1939	1926	1939	
Entire population	6,199	6,094	100.0	100.0	98.3
Kazakhs	3,628	2,314	58.5	38.0	63.8
Russians	1,275	2,449	20.6	40.2	192.1
Ukrainians	860	657	13.9	10.8	76.3
Germans	51	92	0.8	1.5	180.8
Uzbeks	129	103	2.1	1.7	79.8
Tatars	80	107	1.3	1.8	134.1
Uyghurs	63	35	1.0	0.6	55.7
Koreans	0	96	0.0	1.6	x
Others	112	240	1.8	3.9	214.7

**Source:** Department of Statistics of the South-Kazakhstan Oblast. (undated). [Electronic res.]. Accessed in 2012 at [http://www.ontustik.stat.kz/rus/perepis\\_nas/index.php](http://www.ontustik.stat.kz/rus/perepis_nas/index.php).

Crimea. A new feature of these deportations was the mass displacement of entire nations, accompanied by the loss of their national autonomy. The liquidation of the Karachay Autonomous Region in October 1943, Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) in December 1943, and Chechen-Ingush ASSR in March 1944 led to the deportation of 366 thousand Karachays, Kalmyks, Ingush and Chechens to the Kazakh SSR (Polian 2001). They settled mostly in southern regions of Kazakhstan. As a result of reorganization of the Kabardian-Balkarian ASSR into the Kabardian ASSR in March 1944, 37 thousand Balkars were sent to Kazakhstan and especially Kyrgyzstan (Polian 2001). A decree of the State Committee on Defense, dated May 1944, obliged Crimean Tatars to be resettled from the territory of the Crimean peninsula. This decision was motivated by cooperation on the part of the region's population with the Nazi occupiers. Most Tatars were relocated to the Uzbek SSR and some to the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan received 4,501 Tatars out of 191,044 in total. According to a decree of the State Committee on Defense, dated 31 July 1944, Meskhetian Turks, Kurds and Khemshils (Muslim Armenians), totalling 92,300 persons, were deported from Georgia to Central Asia. Kazakhstan thereby received 28,600 deported people of the mentioned ethnicities (Polian 2001).

Along with the deportation of "punished nations" and cleansing of the borderlands, the Soviet government implemented the deportation of so-called "anti-Soviet" and "hostile" elements (Polian 2001) from different parts of the USSR, mostly to Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia. Thus the deportation of *ounovtsy* – former members of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) – from West Ukraine began in 1944 after the liberation of these territories by the Red Army (Polian 2001). The total number of deported Ukrainian nationalists was approximately 100 thousand persons. These deportations also included nationalists from the Baltic States and West Belorussia.

**Tab. 3** The ethnic structure of the evacuated population, as of 30 November 1941.

Ethnicity	Evacuated population (in thou.)	Share (in %)
Russians	51.8	32.1
Ukrainians	26.6	16.5
Belorussians	4.0	2.5
Jews	75.0	46.5
Poles	1.0	0.6
Germans	0.4	0.3
Latvians	0.3	0.2
Estonians	0.2	0.2
Lithuanians	0.1	0.1
Others	1.9	1.2

**Source:** Bazanova, N. F. (1987).

In addition to migration under the deportation policy of the Soviet government, migratory flows included those who were evacuated from the western part of the USSR to the east. For the first five months of the Great Patriotic War, the majority of industrial regions with 38% of land previously used for crop production and holding approximately 40% of the population were occupied (Olcott 1987). It was therefore decided to evacuate the productive forces of the country to the eastern regions. During the second half of 1941, more than 140 factories and various industrial units were placed in Kazakhstan (Amanzholyuly and Kuzembayuly 1999). Given its remote location and mineral resources, Kazakhstan had become a powerful industrial arsenal for the front. The evacuation of plants and factories was accompanied by the inflow of specialists in different spheres of industry.

According to the authorized bodies responsible for registration of the evacuated population, approximately 161,400 persons had been evacuated to Kazakhstan as of 30 November 1941 (Tab. 3). Olcott (1987) points out that nearly 400 thousand evacuees were sent to Kazakhstan. Jews, Russians and Ukrainians were prevalent in the ethnic composition of the evacuated population, comprising 46.5%, 32.1% and 16.5% of the total, respectively.

The population of the Kazakh SSR began to increase after 1945. However, the size of the population was difficult to determine due to the fact that the first post-war census was conducted in 1959 – twenty years after the last pre-war census. Bazanova (1987) stated that the population of the Kazakh SSR was 5,807 thousand by 1945.

Generally speaking, the movement of populations within the Soviet Union in the pre-war period and during World War II was affected by the situation in the international arena and the external affairs of the Soviet Union. The western enlargement of Soviet territory in 1939–1940, achieved through occupation of the eastern territories of Poland and Finland and inclusion of the Baltic States into the USSR, was followed by the forced movement of the population of those areas to the east and central regions of the country. As mentioned before, the main reasons for those actions were to prevent the collaboration of nationalists from the occupied territories with Germany, and to suppress the attempts of some autonomous territories to return or gain independence, etc. The main results of these deportations, for Kazakhstan as well as other regions in the Asiatic part of the Soviet Union, were an increase in population size and a diversification of the ethnic composition of the receiving population.

### 3.3 Labour migration and population movement in the post-war period

The significant inflows into Kazakhstan in the post-war period were related to the industrial development of the country. The increase in the labour force occurred mainly due to resettlements from other republics of the USSR. These flows can be divided into two main

streams. The first inflow stream – *orgnabor* (organized recruitment) – aimed to attract mostly skilled workers to industrial enterprises. In general, the resettlement plan for the period 1954–1960 considered 84,360 families. In fact, more than 300 thousand persons were settled in the Kazakh SSR (Amanzholyuly and Kuzembayuly 1999). In addition, 39,441 repatriates immigrated to Kazakhstan from the People's Republic of China in 1955 (Ablazhei 2003). They were former Soviet citizens and were considered to be repatriates.

The second inflow stream included workers that were attracted to develop fallow and virgin lands during the Tselina campaign. According to a decree of the February-March 1954 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party “On increasing grain production in 1954–1955 through the development of virgin and fallow lands”, 13 million hectares of virgin lands in Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Urals and the Volga region were designated for cultivation during the indicated years. The main Tselina areas in the Kazakh SSR were the Kustanay, Tselinograd, Kokchetau, North-Kazakhstan and Pavlodar oblasts. Prior to the development of virgin lands, the rural population of Kazakhstan was less than in the pre-war period, even though both the rural and urban population had been increasing gradually since 1945. This increase in population took place due to migratory flows to Tselina. In the first stage of the campaign (1954–1956), 640 thousand workers, or 45.3% of the rural population residing in the Tselina areas, came to Kazakhstan (Masanov et al. 2001). According to the available data, the population increase in Kazakhstan between 1954 and 1958 was 24%, and a similar indicator for the Tselina regions was 40–50%. Most of the migrants who arrived during this period were highly skilled workers.

Migratory flows in the 1950s generally had an effect on population formation in the Kazakh SSR. This era is characterized by significant population growth – approximately 3 million people – and can be conditionally divided into the period before the development of virgin lands

and the period during the years of the Tselina campaign. The size of the population at the beginning of the first period in 1954 was 7,555 thousand, which represented an increase of 1,200 thousand people compared to 1949 (Central Statistical Office of the Kazakh SSR, 1971). Although population growth occurred in all economic regions, there was a difference among them – the highest increase was observed in the central region and the lowest in the northern regions. The most significant population growth was observed in the second period, from 1954 to 1959. This can be explained by intensive migratory flows into Kazakhstan, beginning with the development of Tselina. The population of Kazakhstan thereby increased by approximately 2 million people. With regard to regional distribution, the most significant population growth was observed in the central and northern regions of Kazakhstan, while the smallest growth occurred in the southern regions.

The first post-war census, conducted on 15 January 1959, showed a 1.5-fold increase in the population compared to 1939. The high rate of population growth ranked the Kazakh SSR in first place among Soviet republics. According to Table 4, the number of Kazakhs increased by 16.5%, whereas the Russian population increased by 38% and exhibited a growth rate 2.3 times higher compared to the Kazakhs. In addition, the number of other ethnicities as well as their share in the total population of Kazakhstan also increased. However, despite the increase in size among Kazakhs, Ukrainians and Uzbeks, their share in the total population decreased. The share of Kazakhs decreased to 30% and the share of Ukrainians and Uzbeks to 8.2% and 1.5%, respectively, in comparison with the 1939 Census. The reduction in the share of Ukrainians can be explained by the assimilation process, as most Ukrainians and Belorussians considered themselves to be Russian. With regard to regional distribution, Kazakhs became a minority in the northern, central and eastern regions, while remaining the major ethnicity in the western and southern economic regions.

**Tab. 4** The size and ethnic structure of the population in the current territory of Kazakhstan according to the 1959 and 1970 censuses.

Ethnicity	Population size (in thou.)		Share (in %)		Index (in %)	
	1959	1970	1959	1970	1959/1939	1970/1959
Entire population	9,310	13,009	100.0	100.0	152.8	139.7
Kazakhs	2,795	4,234	30.0	32.5	120.8	151.5
Russians	3,974	5,522	42.7	42.4	162.3	138.9
Ukrainians	762	934	8.2	7.2	116.1	122.5
Germans	660	858	7.1	6.6	714.2	130.1
Tatars	192	288	2.1	2.2	179.5	149.9
Uzbeks	137	216	1.5	1.7	132.3	158.4
Belorussians	74	198	0.8	1.5	236.4	267.9
Others	790	759	8.5	5.8	232.3	96.0

**Source:** Department of Statistics of the South-Kazakhstan Oblast. (undated). [Electronic res.]. Accessed in 2012 at [http://www.ontustik.stat.kz/rus/perepis\\_nas/index.php](http://www.ontustik.stat.kz/rus/perepis_nas/index.php).



Summarizing the virgin land campaign in Kazakhstan, Olcott (2002) points out that the goal of the Soviet government of developing a modern agrarian economy in Kazakhstan was neither wholly successful nor a total failure. The cultivation of land in the northern regions of Kazakhstan allowed for a transformation of the country's economy. As a result, 20 million hectares of virgin lands were cultivated during the period 1954–1960. Kazakhstan produced 597.5 million tons of grain during these years, which was a significant contribution to the all-union economy. These results were probably achieved due to the importation of labour from other parts of the Soviet Union. In addition, with the development of heavy industry in Pavlodar-Yekibastuz and Rudnyi, the intensity of migration in the northern and central regions of Kazakhstan was high compared to other regions. Approximately 2 million people came to Tselina during the period 1954–1962 (Smailova 2005; Kozina 2007) and about 500 thousand people were attracted as *orgnabor* from Ukraine, Belorussia and Lithuania during the period from 1961 to 1965 (Amanzholuly, Kuzembayuly 1999). In addition, about 200 thousand people who had emigrated during the Civil War and collectivization campaign in the 1930s returned from China in 1959–1963. The ethnic structure of returnees included Kazakhs, Uyghurs, Dungans, Russians, Uzbeks, Tatars and Kyrgyz. However, complicated relations between China and the Soviet Union as well as border conflict in the middle of the 1960s halted this process, and approximately 1 million Kazakhs remained there. The migratory flows of the 1960s are characterized by a gradual decrease by the end of the decade. In 1960–1964, net migration did not change significantly and showed a positive value of 61 thousand people (Smailova 2005). It did start to decrease, however, and turned negative in 1968.

According to the results of the 1970 Census (Tab. 4), the population of Kazakhstan numbered more than 13 million, representing an increase of 40% compared to the previous 1959 Census results. Taking into account the increase in size, the ethnic composition of the population showed that the share of some ethnicities in the

total population had also increased compared to 1959. In particular, the proportion of Kazakhs increased to 32.5%, the share of Belorussians to 1.5%, of Uzbeks to 1.7% and of Uyghurs to 1%. Although a slight decline could be observed in the proportions of Ukrainians, Germans and other ethnicities in Kazakhstan, their numbers increased during this decade. An increase in the population size of the western regions of Kazakhstan took place mainly due to migration inflows. Mangystau oblast ranked first as a destination region for migrants, surpassing the previous main destination regions in the central, northern and eastern parts of Kazakhstan. This can be explained by the development of oil fields in the region.

By the mid-1970s, the intensity of migratory flows to Kazakhstan continued to decline. This trend can be explained by the general demographic situation in the USSR, which was faced with a sharp decline in the working age population, decreasing fertility and increasing mortality. Along with the influx of population to Kazakhstan at the beginning of the 1970s, people had begun to return to Russia and other western republics of the Soviet Union. This affected the share of Europeans in the total population, and it started to decrease. The number of returnees was 35 thousand in 1970 and increased gradually during the following years (Asylbekov, Kozina 1995). The number of immigrants from other regions of the Soviet Union decreased by 60% in the period 1966–1979. The main sending countries were Russia – 16.3%, Azerbaijan – 4.0%, Tajikistan – 2.2%, Uzbekistan – 1.6% and Turkmenistan – 5.5%. The 1979 Census results (Tab. 5) showed a population increase in Kazakhstan of 1,680 thousand people compared to 1970. In addition, during the period between the two censuses the share of Kazakhs increased by 1,059 thousand people, namely by 6%, whereas the share of the Slavic population decreased, especially that of Belorussians and Ukrainians, to 1.2% and 6.1%, respectively.

A decline in economic development by the mid-1980s, along with ethnic conflicts in some parts of the USSR, resulted in a crisis of the whole system that affected Kazakhstan as well. The outflow of population which was

**Tab. 5** The size and ethnic structure of the population in the current territory of Kazakhstan according to the 1979 and 1989 censuses.

Ethnicity	Population size (in thou.)		Share (in %)		Index 1989/1979 (in %)
	1979	1989	1979	1989	
Entire population	14,688	16,199	100.0	100.0	110.3
Kazakhs	5,293	6,497	36.0	40.1	122.7
Russians	5,991	6,062	40.8	37.4	101.2
Ukrainians	898	876	6.1	5.4	97.5
Germans	900	947	6.1	5.8	105.2
Tatars	313	321	2.1	2.0	102.6
Uzbeks	263	331	1.8	2.0	125.7
Belorussians	182	178	1.2	1.1	98.0
Others	700	807	4.8	5.0	115.2

Source: Alexeyenko, A. (2001).

observed in previous decades increased by the end of the 1980s, as the number of emigrants exceeded the number of immigrants. The destination countries for emigrants from Kazakhstan were mainly Russia, Ukraine and other western republics of the Soviet Union. The ethnic structure of migrants showed that Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians were among the emigrants and Uzbeks, Kyrgyzs and Turkmens among the immigrants. However, emigration of population was not significant in 1983–1987 due to restrictive policy regarding exit from the USSR to go abroad. This administrative restriction was lifted in 1988, resulting in the emigration of 23,500 people from Kazakhstan. This number increased to as much as 92,300 in 1990 (Smailova 2005). The largest share of emigrants comprised Germans, Jews and Greeks returning to their historical homelands.

According to the 1989 Census results (Tab. 5), the size of the population in Kazakhstan was 16,199 thousand, representing an increase of 1,511 thousand compared to the previous census. The number of Kazakhs increased by 1,204 thousand, and their share by 4.1 percentage points. Although the number of Russians, Germans and Tatars increased slightly, their share decreased due to an increase in the share of Kazakhs. However, the share of Belorussians and Ukrainians continued to decrease along with a decrease in absolute numbers. With regard to the regional distribution of major ethnic groups, only two regions of the Kazak SSR, out of 19 in total, had less than one-quarter of the population who were non-Kazakh, namely Kyzylorda – 17.3% and South Kazakhstan – 23.5%. The share of the same population in Kokshetau, Pavlodar, East Kazakhstan, Tselinograd (Akmola), Kustanay, Karaganda and North Kazakhstan varied from two-thirds to four-fifths. In the other two regions this proportion ranged from 27.5% in Guryev (Atyrau) to 47.1% in Semipalatinsk.

## 4. Conclusion

For quite a long time, the dynamics of population in Kazakhstan have largely depended on migration processes. At the end of the 19th century, the country's territory became the main migration space for a large part of Eurasia which was under the governance of the Russian Empire and later of the Soviet Union. The large scale resettlement of Russian and Ukrainian peasants following the integration of the Kazakh Khanate into the Russian Empire, as well as different forms and types of voluntary and involuntary mass movements of populations during the Soviet period, completely changed the demographic picture of Kazakhstan. At the same time, the economic and political conditions established after the end of the Russian Civil War (1917–1920), along with new economic policies implemented in Soviet Central Asia in the 1920s and 1930s and their tragic consequences, resulted in massive outflows of population, namely Kazakhs.

All these movements had a significant direct impact on population development within the territory, and on the size, ethno-demographic and other social characteristics of the population.

At the same time, the observed migration waves established conditions for potential follow-up migration, both out of and into the territory. Through these consequent movements and also the natural reproduction of immigrants, the original migratory movements have demonstrated their significant secondary impacts on population development. As a result, the consequences of migration observed in this article are clearly traceable up to the present day. They have principally determined the direction, size and structure of new migration waves crossing the borders of an independent Kazakhstan during more than the past 20 years. All these prior movements will then affect the population development of the country, for at least several decades to come.

This article presents only a part of the entire exciting but also often tragic story of migrations into and out of Kazakhstan. Our follow-up article is going to present a detailed insight into the recent history of large-scale migration movements which have affected the population developments of Kazakhstan, as well as their policy background and consequences for the ethno-demographic development of the country, from the time of independence in 1990 till the beginning of the 2010s.

## Acknowledgements

The study was supported by the FP7-PEOPLE-2011-IRSES (Marie Curie Actions) Project No. 295211 – The comparative analysis of the economic aspects of international migration: EU, Mediterranean, and CIS (MIGMEDCIS).

## REFERENCES

- ABLAZHEI, N. (2003): Masshtaby i posledstviya vozvratnoi migracii iz Kitaya v SSSR. [Electronic res.]. Available at <http://hum.sbras.ru/kapital/project/modern/018.html>.
- ABYLKHOZHIN, Z., KOZYBAYEV, M., TATIMOV, M. (1989): Kazakhstanskaya tragediya. Voprosy istorii 7, 65–67.
- ALEKSEYENKO, A. (2000): Naselenie Kazakhstana v 1926–1939 godakh. In: VLADIMIROV, N. (ed.): Kompiyuter i istoricheskaya demografiya, 9–26. Barnaul, Izdatelstvo Altaiskogo Universiteta. [Electronic res.]. Available at: <http://new.hist.asu.ru/biblio/histdem/Contents.html>.
- ALEKSEYENKO, N. (1999): Statisticheskiye istochniki po demografii Kazakhstana. Ust-Kamenorsk, Shygys Baspa.
- ALEKSEYENKO, N., ALEKSEYENKO, A. (1999): Naseleniye Kazakhstana za 100 let (1897–1997 gg.). Ust-Kamenogorsk, Vostochnokazakhstankiy gossudarstvennyi tekhnicheskii universitet, Laboratoriya socialno-demograficheskikh issledovaniy.
- ALEKSEYENKO, A. (2001): Respublika v zerkale perepisei nasele-niya. Sociologicheskie issledovaniya 12, 58–62.

- AMANZHOLULY, Y., KUZEMBAYULY, A. (1999): Istoriya Respubliki Kazakhstan. Astana, Foliant.
- ASYLBEKOV, M. (1991): Socialno-demograficheskie process v Kazakhstane (1917–1980). Alma-Ata, Gylym.
- ASYLBEKOV, M., KOZINA, V. (1995): Demograficheskie processy sovremennogo Kazakhstana. Almaty, Atamura.
- BAZANOVA, N. (1987): Formirovanie i razvitie struktury naseleniya Kazakhskoi SSR (natsionalnii aspect). Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan.
- KAZAKHSTAN ZA 50 LET (1971): Statisticheskii sbornik. Alma-Ata, Centralnoye statisticheskoye upravlenie KazSSR.
- DEMKO, G. J. (1969): The Russian colonization of Kazakhstan 1896–1916. Uralic and Altaic series. Vol. 99. Bloomington (IN), Indiana University Publications.
- GALIEV, A. (1979): K istorii migracii naseleniya Kazakhstana. Vestnik AN KazSSR 5, 54–56.
- KOZINA, V. (2007): Demograficheskaya istoriya Kazakhstana. Karaganda, Karagandinskiiy gossudarstvennyy universitet.
- KRASNOBAYEVA, N. (2004): Naseleniya Kazakhstana po danym pervoy vsheobshchey perepisi naseleniya Rossijskoi Imperii 1897 goda (regionalnyi aspect). In: Etnodemograficheskiye process v Kazakhstane i sopredelnykh territoriyakh. Materialy V Mezhdunarodnoy nauchno-prekticheskoy konferencii, g. Ust-Kamenogorsk, 20–21 oktjabrja 2003 g. (190–198). Ust-Kamenogorsk, Media-Alyans.
- MASANOV, N., ABYLKHOZHIN, ZH., EROFEEVA, I., ALEXEYENKO, A., BARATOVA, G. (2001): Istoriya Kazakhstana: narody i kultury. Almaty, Daik-Press.
- OLCOTT, M. B. (1987): The Kazakhs. 1st edition. Stanford (CA), Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University.
- OLCOTT, M. B. (1995): The Kazakhs. 2nd edition. Stanford (CA), Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University.
- OLCOTT, M. B. (2002): Kazakhstan: unfulfilled promise. Washington (DC), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- POLIAN, P. (2001): Ne po svoey vole... Istoriya i geografiya prinuditel'nykh migracii v SSSR. Moskva, O.G.I. – Memorial.
- PBCC (1930): O meropriyatiyakh po likvidatsii kulatskikh khozyaistv v raionakh sploshnoi kollektivizatsii. Politicheskoe Byuro Tsentralnogo Komiteta Vsesoyuznoi Kommunisticheskoi partii (bolshevikov). Postanovlenie ot 30.01.1930. [Electronic res.]. Available at <http://ru.wikisource.org>.
- SADOVSKAYA, E. (2001): Migraciya v Kazakhstane na rubezhe XXI veka: osnovnyye tendencii i perspektivy. Alma-Ata, Galym.
- SMAILOVA, G. (2005): Migraciya naseleniya Kazakhstana v 1959–1989 gg. Vestnik Kazakhskogo nacionalnogo universiteta. Seriya istoricheskaya 2, 155–158.
- TREADGOLD, D. W. (1957): The Great Siberian Migration. Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press.
- ZHIROMSKAYA, V., POLYAKOV, J. (eds.) (2007): Vsesoyuznaya perepis naselenija 1937 goda: Obshchiye itogi. Moskva, Rossijskaya politicheskaya encyklopediya.
- ZEMSKOV, V. (1991): „Kulackaya ssilka“ v 30-e gody. Sociologicheskie issledovaniya 10, 3–21.
- ZEMSKOV, V. (1994): Sudba „kulatskoi ssilky“ (1930–1954). Otechestvennaya istoriya 1, 118–143.

## RÉSUMÉ

### Rozsáhlé etnicko-demografické změny v Kazachstánu v průběhu 20. století: dramatický příběh masivních migračních vln

Populační dynamika na území dnešního Kazachstánu byla po celé 20. století zásadním způsobem ovlivňována migračními procesy. Kromě migrace se do vývoje početního stavu obyvatelstva v území a jeho struktur promítaly válečné konflikty, hladomory i politické represe. Vývoj etno-demografické struktury je v celém období pozorování popsán s pomocí dat ze sčítání a analyzován v kontextu opatření vnitřní migrační politiky uplatňované mocenskými strukturami carského Ruska i Sovětského svazu. Podle výsledků sčítání z roku 1897 tvořili Kazaši čtyři pětiny z přibližně čtyř milionů obyvatel žijících na sledovaném území. Při posledním sovětském sčítání o 92 let později zde žilo na 16 milionů obyvatel, přičemž podíl kazašského etnika činil dvě pětiny. Území Kazachstánu se během 20. století stalo důležitým imigračním cílem pro početné skupiny obyvatel z různých částí Eurasie, která byla nejprve pod nadvládou Ruska a posléze Sovětského svazu. Etničtí Kazaši ztráceli svou početní převahu postupně od druhé poloviny 19. do třicátých let 20. století. Vedle řady různě motivovaných imigračních proudů ke ztrátě této převahy významně přispěl hladomor z let 1932–1933. Ten byl přímým důsledkem uplatňování sovětské ekonomické politiky, zejména politiky kolektivizace a usazování kočovného obyvatelstva. V období před vypuknutím a v průběhu druhé světové války představovalo území Kazachstánu jeden z hlavních cílů procesu násilného přesídlování celých etnických skupin obyvatelstva z různých částí Sovětského svazu. Další výrazná migrační vlna souvisela s industrializací Kazachstánu po druhé světové válce a chruščovskou zemědělskou politikou, rozoráním stepí v severní části centrálního Kazachstánu. Podle prvního poválečného sčítání v roce 1959 tak Kazaši ve výsledku tvořili již jen 30 % obyvatel Kazachstánu, nehledě na jejich intenzivnější přirozenou reprodukci, zatímco podíl samotného ruského etnika dosahoval v té době více než 40 %. Neúspěch zemědělské politiky z druhé poloviny 50. let a postupné uvolňování vnitřních politických poměrů v následujících třiceti letech vedly k migračnímu odlivu vybraných skupin obyvatelstva a spolu s pokračující intenzivní demografickou reprodukci kazašského etnika znamenaly zvýšení jeho podílu na obyvatelstvu o deset procentních bodů, na uvedených 40 % v roce 1989. Přesto však až do rozpadu Sovětského svazu v Kazachstánu početně převládali příslušníci evropských etnik, zejména Rusové, Ukrajinci, Němci a Bělorusové.

*Ainur Saparbekova*  
 Ministry of Health of the Republic of Kazakhstan  
 The Republican Centre for Healthcare Development  
 Nursaulet Business Center  
 13, Imanov Street  
 010000 Astana  
 Kazakhstan  
 E-mail: [ainursap@gmail.com](mailto:ainursap@gmail.com)

*Jiřina Kocourková*  
*Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Science*  
*Department of Demography and Geodemography*  
*Albertov 6*  
*128 43 Prague*  
*Czech Republic*  
*E-mail: jirina.kocourkova@natur.cuni.cz*

*Tomáš Kučera*  
*Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Science*  
*Department of Demography and Geodemography*  
*Albertov 6*  
*128 43 Prague*  
*Czech Republic*  
*E-mail: kucera@natur.cuni.cz*