

南 華 大 學

國際暨大陸事務學系亞太研究碩士班

碩士論文

哈薩克移民政策與族裔人口變動 (1992-2009):

以 Oralman 研究為例

Kazakhstani Immigration Policy and Ethno-demographic

Changes (1992-2009): A Study on Oralman

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ABSTRACT

After Kazakhstan declared its independence, it has become a large performer in the worldwide international migration process. The attractions of social and economical stability (with an increase in the level of living standard), stable ethno-demographic and population growth, the inexistence of nation struggles as well as positive geopolitical situations, have lead to a huge flow of immigrants to Kazakhstan in the years since independence. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, eighteen years ago, many ethnic Kazakhs have been resettled in the newly formed state of Kazakhstan, which has attracted diaspora groups to return to their “historical homeland.” This study examines Kazakhstan’s ethnic immigration policy since 1992, and the concurrent changes in Kazakhstan’s ethno-demographic structure. This study considers the effect of government migration policies on the ethno-demographic outcomes taking place in Kazakhstan from 1992-2009. I also consider results of the ethnic immigration policy include strengthening the national identity, creating a positive effect on the ethno-demographic outcomes, and increasing the number of the population size over the last eighteen years.

Keywords: migration process, immigration policy, diaspora, oralman, ethno-demographic changes

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The migration process is one of the most important issues in recent “global economics and politics.” (Zimmerman 1995: 60-61) Today, as many people live and work outside of their home country, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has estimated that over 214 million people live outside their home or mother country (International Migrant Stock 2010). These migratory movements have a big influence economically and politically in both countries those in which people arrive and the ones from which they have left (Castles and Miller 2003: 29).

The reason for the migration process and the amount of migration are becoming more important questions among researchers. Though normally based on general trends of migration from less developed to more developed countries, and less democratic to more democratic countries, many transitional migration processes in the world may also be explained by broader ethnic and cultural changes (Castles and Miller 2003: 35-37). Kazakhstan is one example of a place where such processes can be seen very clearly, and thus we will be looking at the migration policies in this and nearby countries, and the specific issues involved.

In 1992, Kazakhstan started a repatriation process of calling back its many dispersed peoples to belong to the new nation, and to their new found ethnic identity. Kazakhstan has ethnic-based immigration policies which, including the “repatriation process of ethnics”, have helped significantly as Kazakhs tries to reconcile past wrongs, increase internal stability and conserve national identity.” (UNDP 2006: 9)

After 1992, the government of Kazakhstan’s migration policy has focused on ensuring that ethnic Kazakhs from abroad return to Kazakhstan. These policies are “aimed at preserving national identity,” and remembering the past, as well as aimed

toward other “social, economic and cultural factors.” (UNDP 2006: 6) Roger Brubaker, and Isik Kuscu have noted that “in the dissolution of the former Soviet Union right after 1990, about 70 million former Soviet citizens founded themselves to be living outside their ethnic polity.”(Brubaker 1993: 40-45; Kuscu 2008: 1) In the case of the political changes in the Central Asian region, with its large national identity issues, its government have led to the emergence of the importance of ethnic groups,” (Brubaker 1996: 55; Kuscu 2008: 1) both in the receiving states they now reside in and outside the state of their homeland.

Kazakhstan is one of the few countries in the region that has had strong ethnic policies. According to official estimates, the country has become home to more than 1 million immigrants since independence, of which over 700 thousand are ethnic Kazakhs or ethnic immigrants. In this research will explore immigration policy issues, and especially the ethnic migration process’s effect on the development of this country. This paper will primarily discuss “*oralman*” (singular), a Kazakh word used for ethnic return immigrants, and the plural “*oralmandar*”, a legal category defined by the Kazakhstani government as “foreign persons of Kazakh origin who lived out of the Republic of Kazakhstan at the moment of the state gaining independence, and who arrived to the Republic of Kazakhstan for permanent residence after independence.” (Law on Migration 1992: Article 1)

The Kazakhstani government encourages ethnic-based return immigration through its policies, and so, since 1992, many “ethnic return migrants” have been resettled to their ethnic historical homeland (Kuscu 2008: 36- 37). As this migration process to the country has significantly increased, many of these people have arrived back to their “historical homeland”. During the Soviet period, much of Kazakh traditional culture was sidelined, mainly Kazakh language, and some cultural elements. In other words, at that time in Kazakhstan, the society was mostly

dominated by a “Russified cultural landscape” (Bhavna Dave and Peter Sinnott 2002: 5-8). To remedy this, current government ethnic immigration policies actively support Kazakhs living outside ethnic territory to return from abroad to Kazakhstan. This, the attraction of Kazakh ethnics “back” to Kazakhstan (regardless of whether they or their families have ever lived in the present-day territory of the recently formed nation of Kazakhstan) is one of the main components of an ethnic immigration policy intended to preserve national identity and maintain Kazakh traditional culture.

This study focuses on the return immigration policy since 1992, and the start of the transition process, and on changes in Kazakhstan’s ethno-demographic structure. The government’s ethnic immigration policy has influenced and changed the country’s in ethno-demographic via the migration process to Kazakhstan.

Research Background and Motivation

In the end of the 1980s, Central Asian countries encountered severe political, social and economic changes. With the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, social upheaval brought about political and economic changes, privatization, mass migration and a recalculating of the ethnic balance between titular peoples, ethnic minorities, and Russians in each of the post Soviet countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan as well as in neighboring regions such as China’s western provinces and in Mongolia.

Ethnic migrants have increasingly become an important aspect in Kazakhstan’s ethno-demographic, “social and economic landscape” following independence, and are keys to its rapid development over a short period of time.

Therefore, after 1991, the new Kazakhstan government extensively used *oralman* immigration as part of its “nationalities process,” and this ethnic return immigration policy was critical in countering “significant population loss since the

Soviet period” primarily that of Russian and other European ethnic groups’ migrants returning to their ethnic homelands. In this way, immigration policies were used to “increase internal stability through the preservation of traditional Kazakh culture.” (UNDP 2006: 9) Because of this, the return of oralman immigrants became one of the important factors of “government immigration policies that aimed to preserve and develop traditional culture and improve economic condition.” (UNDP 2006:9)

Oralman immigration is situated in an especially interesting context. *Oralman* immigration is a term used to distinguish people moving from their historical homeland from those who are “moving back to their historical homeland.”(Alexander Diener 2005b: 465-467) Isik Kuscu has noted that in relation to ethnic immigration processes and migration policy, “Kazakhstan was the first homeland in the former Soviet Union space that adopted immigration and citizenship- specific policies for regulating the migration of its diaspora.” (Kuscu 2008: 3)

The motivation of the present study is to examine the *oralman* immigration policy of Kazakhstan, as implemented by the government since the independence of Kazakhstan in 1992, and to do research on the influence of this policy on changes of the ethno-demographic structure in Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan’s ethnic demographic structure has largely changed according to the official statistics data (Demographics Yearbook of Kazakhstan 2008: 31): in 1989 the ethnic Kazakhs represented 39.7% of the Kazakh Republic’s population, but have the Kazakh increased to over 63.1% of the population in 2009. Ethnic Kazakhs are no longer in a minority group in Kazakhstan. Otherwise, most non-titular ethnic groups (non- Kazakh or Turkic) have dominated in Kazakhstan’s Northern region bordering Russia. These groups including Russians and Germans, experienced negative population growth. Early in 1990, the slowed the growth (ethnic Kazakhs) of birth rate among Kazakhs ethnics, relative to other ethnic groups in Kazakhstan. According to the latest official estimates the levels of natural growth in

recent years has advanced among the ethnic Kazakh groups. The ethnic groups with the highest numbers of demographic potential in Kazakhstan were the Uzbeks (Turkic group). In 1989, there were 331 thousand Uzbeks in 1999 - 371 thousand, and in 2009- 457 thousand. (Demographics Yearbook of Kazakhstan 2008: 178). The “titular ethnic groups” (“titular ethnic groups”- means groups most connected with the title of country for instance Germans in Germany, Han Chinese in China, Kazakhs in Kazakhstan) dominated the regions of South Kazakhstan, and West Kazakhstan, as well as the previous capital in the Almaty region.

This ethno-demographic deficit, representing about one third Kazakhs of total population around the 1980s, seemed to be a “national security threat and arising unspoken fears” of influence from its powerful neighbor, Russia (King and Melvin 2000: 127-128). The Kazakhstan government paid much attention to this painful problem of the new independent state, and thus the government of Kazakhstan declared in 1992 that they would attract Kazakh ethnics to migrate to their home country. Since then, the migration process has been activated in Kazakhstan and about more than half of the total population have participated in these movements in to and also out from this country.

The scope of this study is limited to the ethnic immigration policy in Kazakhstan during the period of 1992-2009. I mentioned above that early in the 1990s, a number of Russian and other ethnic groups were majority groups of population in this country. Namely, the “Russified cultural landscape” dominated at that time in this country. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Kazakhstan experienced the challenges of independence. At that time one of the important governments projects (as part of “nationality policies”) (King and Mevlin 2000: 127-130; Dave and Sinnott 2000: 5-8) was to invite the largest diaspora groups of Kazakhs from abroad to return to Kazakhstan. First, one of the main aims of those first migration policies was an

increase in the number of ethnic Kazakhs. Second, during that period Kazakhs were less than half the population of Kazakhstan, making this was a problematic question for the newly independent country's demographic landscape. The Slavic ethnic half of the population experienced losses consequent of the large scale emigration of other ethnic groups from Kazakhstan. This out- migration process brought on a negative demographic balance, which affected the decreased numbers of the population, in the 1990s. Thus, for ethnic immigrants the first "Law on Immigration" was adopted in 1992. Following this law on immigration, a new law was written in 1997, and later amended in 2002. The latest government policy for ethnic immigrants was launched on January 1, 2009. In addition, the ethnic immigration policy was changed many times, and the result has been that many ethnic immigrants were resettled in Kazakhstan society since independence. Other results of the ethnic immigration policy include strengthening the national identity, creating a positive effect on the ethno-demographic outcomes, and increasing the number of the population size.

Literature Review

This literature review focuses on previous studies on Kazakh ethnic migration process. Many scholars and researchers have examined that the ethnic migrant issues involved in diaspora, "ethnic identity, ethno- nationalism," and the "ancestral homeland". Previous researchers have studied ethnic Kazakh migration processes, mostly focus on the historical challenges and some factors that influence ethnic migration trends specifically face upon arrival.

As Charles King and Neil J. Melvin in "Ethnic Linkages, Foreign Policy, and Security in Eurasia" describe it, the "new political context which puts the return migration issues on the agenda for the states of the region either as nationalizing states or as homelands that have co-ethnics living outside the state borders" (King and

Melvin 2000: 110). They explore the “circumstances under which states come to see themselves as the national homelands of distinct ethnic groups, interpret their role as that of a spokesman for the interests of a co-ethnic migration group abroad, and attempt to craft foreign policy accordingly”. They discuss the concept of diaspora politics and its relevance to the Soviet successor states of Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, three very different manifestations of transborder ethnic issues in the former Soviet space. They then compare the three cases and highlight the reasons for their relative ineffectiveness in using of diaspora politics as a tool of foreign policy in the 1990s (King and Melvin 2000: 110-118)

Alexander Diener in “One Homeland or Two? Territorialization of Identity and The Migration Decision of the Mongolian-Kazakh Diaspora,” (2003) examines key issues of geography and territory faced by Mongolian Kazakh Diaspora in both Mongolia and Kazakhstan- most centrally, the issues of “historical homeland” and what that means Kazakh today. In his other some articles (2004, 2006) he takes up this issue of historical homeland in his examinations of Germans and Koreans who were resettled by the Soviet Union into the Kazakh SSR as part of the Soviet strategies of moving periphery groups around in order to maintain state power (Diener 2006: 203-205). He more fully investigates how this solidifies claims of ethnic Kazakhs to the territory, noting that “ethnic Kazakh claims to Kazakhstan's territory revolve around historiography that projects the nation into periods preceding its inception.” (Diener 2002: 639)

Cynthia Werner and Holly Barcus study the “migration decision-making process among the Kazakh community in western Mongolia in relation to post-Soviet migration to Kazakhstan” (Werner and Barcus 2008: 1). Their study contributes to a theoretical understanding of the ethnic Kazakh population’s movement process from Mongolia to Kazakhstan. “The economic and cultural factors that influence these

decisions include the strong kin-based social networks of Mongolian Kazakhs.” (Werner and Barcus 2008: 1) As their research argues “place attachment to Mongolia inhibits migration for many Kazakhs despite the draw, both emotional and historic, to Kazakhstan, a place which many perceive as an ancestral homeland” (Werner and Barcus 2009: 53) .

Isik Kuscu has also addressed this return Kazakh migration issues in her discussion of the public debate in Kazakhstan on the governments return migration policy (Kuscu 2008: vii). According to Kuscu that migration policy “different perspectives on the return migration policy reflect deeper divisions between the “nation-state” and “civic-state” visions of Kazakhstan's future.” (Kuscu 2008) She also demonstrated that “nation-statists, seeking to make Kazakhstan the Kazakh homeland, vigorously support ethnic return migration; civic-statists, envisioning a multi-ethnic country, oppose it.” Kuscu (2008: vii). She suggests that “public debate is also reflected in the Kazakh- and Russian- language print media” and that all on an analysis of public debate surrounding issues and migration policy, looking at on the role of the public debates in the legislative changes in Kazakhstan (Kuscu 2008: 210).

Meltem Sancak and Peter Finke in “Migration and Risk Tasking A Case study from Kazakhstan” have analysed economic concerns in relation to migration arguing that “the experience of migration not only points to greater willingness to take risks but also –if it does not prove to be a total failure reinforces - people’s self confidence.” (Sancak and Finke 2005: 128). They examine the economic condition of ethnic Chinese Kazakh immigrants in Kazakhstan suggesting that the “the decision to migrate to different countries where one has no previous ties surrounds a willingness to take risks and suggests that decision necessarily forces people who move to reorganize their lives according to circumstances that are not totally predictable.” (Sancak and Finke 2005:153).

Celia Emmelhainz and Cynthia Werner in their presentation, “Moving towards the State: the Benefits of Economic Citizenship for the Kazakhs of Mongolia,” have studied Mongolian Kazakhs migration between the two countries, forming what has become an increasingly transnational lifestyle. They suggest that Mongolian Kazakhs see the meaning of citizenship mainly as an “individual or family status that entitles them to certain welfare benefits from the state” and suggest that “a received difference in provision between Mongolia and Kazakhstan could lead diasporans to choose to apply for citizenship in Kazakhstan instead.” (Emmelhainz, and Werner 2010)

This present study in Kazakh migration studies aims to expand previous research by studying the Kazakhstan government’s policy on oralman migration, and how these policies have affected ethnic composition as well as its influence in population change. When above researchers examined in the Kazakhstan migration process, they focused on the “territorial” and “historical aspects” (Diener 2003, 2005: 465-468), and on new nation policy and political sides (King and Melvin 2000: 127-138; Kuscu 2008: 1-205). Scholars (Barcus and Werner 2009: 49-59; 2010: 209- 228) also examined interdependencies of economic and cultural factors that influence decisions related to “immobility and place attachment, gender and transnational migration, social networks and remittances of migration process of the host country” (Werner and Barcus 2009 57:59). However, there has been little study focused on the policy orientation of Kazakhstan and it’s ethno-demographic effect. This study focuses on ethno-demographic changes in the Republic of Kazakhstan since the implementation of these ethnic immigration policies.

This study therefore, assesses the implications of the way in which changes in policy lead to changes in the ethno-demographic composition of a nation. In order to understand the possible implications, we must first understand or describe how policies can influence the ethno-demographic composition of a country. This study

also consider results of the ethnic immigration policy include strengthening the national identity, creating a positive effect on the ethnic component, and contributing to culture and language revitalization, and increasing the number of the population size over the last eighteen years. In this research make my own contribution by studying the ethno-demographical aspects of *oralman* migration to Kazakhstan including immigration policy issues. In addition an extensive study of previous scholars articles and policy documents, I developed field experience in this specialty by working as a researcher assistant for researchers Cynthia Werner and Holly Barcus on their project Mongolian Kazakh migration project. This was done in Western Mongolia in Bayan-Ulgii and Khovd provinces between summers of the 2006-2009. During this experience I participated in formal and informal meetings, interviews and questioners with rural urban Kazakh ethnics as well as return migrants (about 60,000–70,000 Kazakhs moved from Mongolia to Kazakhstan in the 1990s, and possibly 10,000–20,000 returned again to Mongolia by the early 2000s). Their research was concentrated with this migration population as well as with non-migrants, and accomplished through observation of their daily life.

Based on the review of literature on Kazakhstan immigration process the following generalization can be made research concerning oralman migration process was initiated considerably late in Kazakhstan. There was no evident study until the late 1990s, when Diener, and then Werner and Barcus made the first attempts and raised the bar for research. The increasing population movement that took place after 2000s triggered and intensified the subsequent research, which has investigated this migration in both Mongolia and Kazakhstan, through surveys and ethnographic study.

An examination of the literature has revealed some aspects that remain to be addressed. Although the government is implementing a policy directed to *oralman* immigration, detailed study on how the policy influenced the ethno-demographic

structure is still lacking. Mostly, the studies have paid more attention to political issues, such as foreign policy, new nation building or migration decision making processes. More research regarding the specific facets of return migration process, as well as statistical data evidence explaining demographic changes are needed.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study to examine is the ethno-demographic changes taking place in Kazakhstan and then the government ethnic immigration policy's effect on the migration process from 1992-2009. This discussion focuses on the effects of immigrant policy, and on the way in which it promoted ethnic Kazakhs to return to Kazakhstan. The ethno-demographic change anticipated in the country allowed the immigration process to proceed within defined migration polices. Such study allows us to explore the link between immigration policy attempts, broader ethno-demographic and structural issues.

Based on the research background of the demographic and immigration policy issues, there are questions that this study raises:

- How does the government policy changed over time?
- How does migration policy affected the ethnic demographic structure and migration process?

In this study, the argument is that the particular government policy on ethnicity, through implementation, can bring to this country positive effect on its ethnic and demographic picture. Immigration policy positively affected the ethnic and demographic problems of the country by increasing the population size. Thus, this contributes to maintain traditions, culture and language. Because of the Soviet era much of Kazakh language and traditional cultures was sidelined in the public sphere, and the ethnic composition in this country was dominated by non-titular ethnics. Early

1990, the ethnic Kazakhs were minority of the Kazakh republic's population, but increased to majority of the population by 2009. This country has received more than 1 million new immigrants since 1992, of which over 700 thousand are ethnic Kazakhs or oralman immigrants. A change in the demographic composition of a country, particularly in its ethnic composition, could influence future policies and well-being of that country. If such ethnic change is not welcomed by the existing population, it could result in a loss of Kazakh national symbols and traditional cultural landscape, something dangerous to the symbolic formation a nation.

The immigration policy changed several times between 1992-2009, mainly in response to the rise of new issues with migration over time, from the need for oralman to have citizenship, to the need for more and better benefits and social integration programs. However, the government provides special subsidies for ethnic oralman immigrants. These incentives have generally adequately disbursed among them, however, immigrants occasionally faced some difficulties after settling in their new living environment. Reason for government policy changes depends on improved adaptations for immigrants.

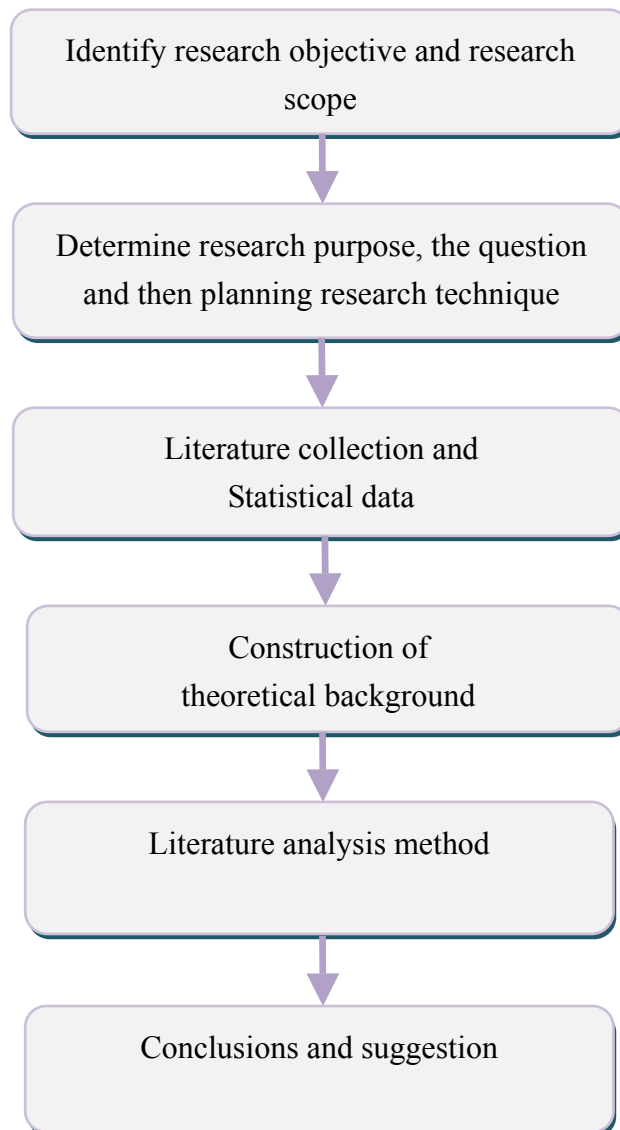
Research Data and Methodology

This study used a "literature analysis method" in order to investigate how the ethnic migration process is influencing in social and demographical effects, like policy-orientation of Kazakh migrants and demographic changes related to the ethnic immigration. This thesis examines these policy implications by studying previous relevant studies published on this topic since independence, as in scholarly books, and journal articles. This study investigates the demographic changes in the region since 1992, particularly in terms of the ethnic Kazakh migration process. It will ask how the changing ethno-demographic landscape of Kazakhstan in the wake of immigration

policies was implemented in this country, and also used electronic reports and news portals as a source for the migration process on Kazakh ethnic immigration. This study use literature analysis and considers previous scholars dissertations and academic articles.

Most of the materials in this research are taken from electronic data from the Human Development Reports, and the Official Statistic data of National Statistic Agency and the Committee on Migrants. Recently in Kazakhstan the migration issues in Kazakhstan are most important as the term implies, this is research based on describing the past. This kind of research method works by analyzing how ethnic migration process figures is changing over time using the official statistical data from Kazakhstan's statistical reports and how it changes ethnic structure and Kazakh ethnic growth over time years. This study procedure is to get a concrete research data idea. Then all of the relevant literature and others materials were collected and after that the previous literature review was based on describing the migration process. The figure of this study is shown as follows:

Figure 1.1 Thesis structure



Structure of Study

This thesis is divided into an introduction, four chapters, and a conclusion.

The first chapter researches the basis of the migration of population. In this chapter brief discuss about Kazakh ethnic migration research in a framework. The chapter is divided into four sections: Research Background and Motivation, Research Purpose, Previous Literature Review of Migrants, Research Data and Methodology, The Structure of Study.

Chapter two presents the main theories of the migration process, and then gives a description of theoretical understandings of the reasons for migrating, as well as for patterns of migration. This chapter will include sections on Sociological theories, Economic theories, and Pull and Push Theories.

Chapter three will studies the Government migration policy and focuses on changes in Kazakhstan ethnic immigration policy since independence. This chapter considers the following sections: The Historical Background of Migration Process, Belonging to the Immigration Policy: Diaspora, the Government Immigration Policy, Implementation of Immigration Policy, and The Ethnic Kazakh Migration Process.

Chapter Four examines the development of migration processes in Kazakhstan and describes migration studies framework of the development of ethnic migration processes in Kazakhstan. Based on the official statistics and also provide information about immigrants in Kazakhstan, including: the ethno-demographic issues of the ethnic component changes which give special emphasis over time. This chapter provides an analysis of the Immigration and Emigration Process, Ethnic Changes and Migration Process, and Impact's of Immigration Policy

Chapter five is the conclusion. This chapter will summarize the findings on the ethnic immigration policy and migration process issues, and provide suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: THE MIGRATION ISSUES AND OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION THEORY

In this chapter, present the main theories on population movement processes. Migration is one of the most important processes in changing the demographic picture of countries. It also influences countries' "socio-economic" and "cultural" structures (IOM 2010). It therefore has an important role in the ethnic components of population change. There are many reasons for migrants to migrate outside of their home countries, including; studying abroad, seeking work for a better salary, improving one's living conditions, or fleeing as a refugee for political reasons (war, conflict etc). These different causes for migration produce different experiences for countries which receive people versus one which are sending people, and these processes also greatly influence the demographic of both sending and receiving countries. World history, without exaggeration, may be represented in the permanent displacement of people. Since the migration out of humankind's primitive historical homeland, we see the migration process of the population from one different territory to another. Typical features of these migrations are widespread. Migrations are seen as moving a significant number of people.

Nowadays population movement explanation theories are widely connected to the social-economic globalization and development level of world countries. The theories mainly explain and analyze migration process on the sides of demographical, economical and sociological aspects. Scholars pointed out that the population movement (migration process) topics are an "interdisciplinary context." (Castles and Miller 2003: 21-22). This means that one cannot study one aspect of migration without study related aspect.

The earliest attempts at migration theory came from the England geographer Ernest G. Ravenstein (1885, 1889) who is widely regarded on migration issues. He

used census data from England and Wales to develop his “Laws of Migration,” nothing that the motivation of migration is of an “economic nature, with the stream of migrants” in his case examined mostly from low income rural to high income “absorption areas.” He pointed out that most migration occurs in the following laws that form the basis for what is now called “modern migration theory.” “Most migration is from rural area to urban area, because of tending to move to higher income regions.” (Corbett, John 2009: 1) One the other hand, “most migration flow also produces a movement in the opposite direction and most migrants are young males, while more internal migrants are female and they are adults.” (Corbett, John 2009: 1)

Most scholars have examined the general pattern of migration process and have concluded that population moves from under-populated rural regions to more densely populated urban regions and likewise from developing nations to more developed nations.

Sociological Theories

Basic migration studies of “sociological approaches” include the theory of Everett Lee, who also outlined the impact that “intervening obstacles” have on the migration process. According to this theory, any migration process consists three main parts: “origin”, “intervening obstacles” and “destination.” Positive and negative factors of certain territories also influence a migrant’s decision-making process. (Lee 1966: 49-50) Negative factors, such as distance and, physical and political barriers can impede or prevent migration.

Scholars suggests that population move selectively of because differentials such as age, gender and that individuals respond differently to “the sets of positive (+) and negative (-) factors at origin and at destination, have different abilities to overcome

the intervening sets of obstacles.” (S.A Qazi and Navaid Qazi, 2006: 40; Lee 1966: 56)

Within the positive and negative factors influencing migration decisions can be named factors such as education, economy, science, technological level and individual factors like comfortable living condition. An individual’s final decision on whether to move or stay is affected by both positive and negative factors. Some social factors affect migration decisions, especially social networks which may function to create new migration processes in the structure of sending and receiving societies (Douglas Massey and Espana 1987: 736 -737; Alberto Palloni et. al, 2001: 1265-1266). Social connections in the both origin and destination locations influence the people seeking to migrate abroad. Because of the many related kinship and friendship structure among Kazakh, social ties create wave upon wave of individual family member migration to the country of destination. Every new migrant becomes part of the network, and his entry attracts future kin and friends through a variety of social contacts, which still encourages more migration, thus attracts peoples. (Massey and Espana 1987: 736 -737). For example: in recent years, social ties have increased among migrants and non-migrants because of national and international television broadcasts, cellular phone coverage and internet access. This has connected many to migrate from abroad to Kazakhstan (Barcus and Werner 2010: 218)

The sociological theories of the migration process in the case of ethnic Kazakh migration involve the sending countries (origin) of Mongolia, China, Turkey and other and Kazakhstan as the receiving country or destination. People of all ages migrate to Kazakhstan, because of entire *oralman* families migrating at once. (Barcus and Werner 2010: 217- 218) In recent years, particularly more younger families have migrated with their young siblings, including extended families. Some male individuals migrate for temporary jobs and are engaged in gainful activity in building

construction and other infrastructure setting.

Researchers examined that migration process trends from rural areas, where population is low level, to industrial urban areas and from less developed countries to more and highly developed countries.

One recent migration approach and widely accepted theory is “migration systems theory”. Migration systems theory assumes there is a “linkage between arriving and sending migration countries and previous links influence in present migration process”. This linkage can be including colonization, political influence, trade, investment and cultural ties and etc. (Castles and Miller 2003: 26-27)

The political and economical condition and international relationships, the laws and structures of sending and receiving countries are referred to as “macro-structures”. The micro-structures are informal social networks developed by migrants like family and household relationship, friendship and other personal matters. Both micro-structures and macro-structures interact in forming the resulting migration processes. The combinations of these two structures are called meso-structures in previous literature. (Castles and Miller 2003: 27). Institutional theory also study micro-structures of the linkage between two countries: receiving and sending countries. The non-governmental organizations, other assisting organizations and migration supporting facilities also play very crucial role in the migration process. (Castles and Miller 2003: 27-28).

Pull and Push Theories of Migration

Migration studies scholars mostly aim to examine the reasons for migrating as well as pattern of migration. The process of population movement has an important outcome on household. Household, economic, and political circumstances all influence reasons for people migrating. A nation’s migration policies decide who is

permitted and its access to integration of new immigrants.

Scholars have described these two factors as equally affecting migration: the pressure of the pull factor from receiving countries and the push factors from sending countries. These two factors jointly contribute to population movement processes. Lee (1969) pointed out that migration was governed by a push framework; that is, “unfavorable conditions in one place are the push factors.” (Zheng Wu 2010a: 1)

Migration processes are characterized by “push- pull factors” in the “origins” and “destinations” of migrants. The push factor means any “unfavorable conditions” concerned with the side of sending countries. Migrants may leave out foreign countries or destinations for seeking favorable conditions in an external location or receiving country. These favorable conditions which attract migrants are referred to as pull factors. Both terminologies jointly create migration processes. What is the main reason of the migration of people to different countries? According to this theory, both “pull and push factors” influence people to migrate. The following pull and push factors can be influences in migration:

Pull factors- for a particular job or for better work opportunities, for study at University and better education opportunities, and for a higher standard of living etc. (Human Migration Guide 2005: 2-3) In the beginning of the 1990s, the transition of economic and ethno-political forces provided “push and pull factors” that influenced ethnic Kazakh towards a large political and demographic rearrangement over the time into and out of Kazakhstan. In the case of Kazakhstan, in order to attract only ethnic immigration, Kazakhstan’s government promised for ethnic Kazakh immigrants a full of range benefits (special benefits for ethnic Kazakh immigrants) including various time, “economic and cultural incentives and supplements for their living housing, working, training and adapting etc and these enormous ranges of supplement.” (Werner and Barcus 2009: 54) These economic and cultural incentives have played

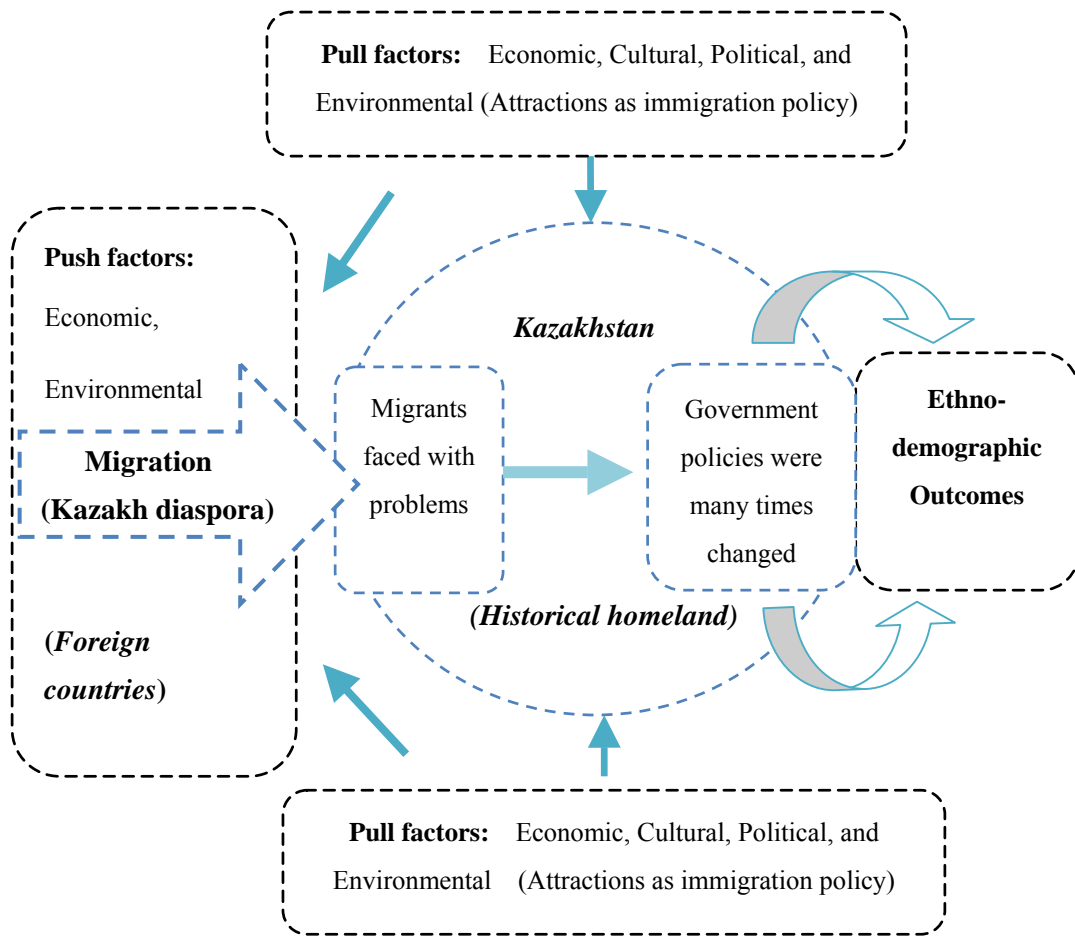
the role of pull factor. From the other side, some of the most important flows of immigrants can be identified, as differed by immigrants' goals in coming to Kazakhstan: the ethnic immigrants whose government actively supports them to adapt in "historical homeland." Thus, "historical homeland" is one of the important role of pull factors in Kazakhstan's ethnic migration process. In addition, the pull factor for labor immigrants coming to Kazakhstan. They are looking for better job opportunities and employment from China, Turkey, and Kyrgyzstan. Labor migrants mostly work on trade, construction of building and energy, and in mining companies. (International Federation for Human Rights 2009: 27-28; Sadovskaya Elena 2007: 153-154).

The *Push factor*- according to Pranati push factor may include "economic depression, poverty, lack of employment (job) opportunity, struggle for livelihood, and lack of industrialization."(Datta, Pranati, 2004: 1). It is more fully explained that reasons for push factors include the "lack of job opportunities, poor economic condition, lack of social facilities, war and conflict and refugees etc." (Human Migration Guide 2005: 2-3) For example; during the 1991-1996s, Mongolian economic conditions fell down (Peter Finke 1999: 114). At that time, many ethnic Kazakh migrants from Mongolia migrated to Kazakhstan seeking higher living (push factor) conditions (Finke 1999: 114-115). These situations played an important role of "push factor" of abroad living Kazakhs.

The population migratory process occurs as a response to economic development as well as to push and pull factors and it greatly affects in both the sending countries and receiving countries (Human Migration Guide 2005: 2-3).

The following four pull and push frameworks are critical in the case of Kazakhstan. In this case, we study one of the important elements people migrating: the push factor from sending countries (for example: from Mongolia), and the pull factor to receiving countries such as to Kazakhstan, as well as their migrating reasons.

Figure 2.2 Model of correlation between migration factors and immigration policy



Source: Design of model from Janzen, J, Taraschewski, T, Ganchimeg M, 2005. "Massive immigration, rapid growth of Ger- settlements, social spatial segregation and pressing urban problems," Ulaanbaatar at the beginning of the 21st Century, No.2, p. 16.

Political factor- the strife and destruction caused by war is a big reason for the boost of migration of persons. This can also include milder changes, such as seen after independence Kazakhstan. In more extreme cases people may have been fleeing from joining armies, or the men may have been striving to avoid conscription so as to hide and save their families. Moreover they might also have been the victims of political, ethnic persecution, and other violations. By the end of the 1980s, after the Soviet Union regime fell down, some Eastern and Central European countries gained freedom and changed to democratic regimes and systems. These political changes

greatly affected migration processes among countries around the 1990s (Jakub Bijak et al., 2004: 22).

As a minority population in a separate country, Kazakhs are sometimes discriminated against. Although it is not an extraordinary problem, ethnic migrants may perceive that there will not be any discrimination in Kazakhstan and therefore this might be a reason to migrate. In addition, some scholars suggests that Kazakh ethnic groups emigrated from abroad countries are “pulled” to Kazakhstan, not extraordinarily “pushed” out of abroad countries “due to cultural or political persecution.” (Diener 2003: 176-177; Barcus and Werner 2010: 215). Since 1992, the political leaders of Kazakhstan’s government have often actively supported ethnic Kazakh immigration from countries abroad. Therefore, the political factor is one of the important attractions as a pull factor of in this country’s on immigration process.

Economic factor- an improvement of living conditions and livelihood is an important factor among other economic factors. People migrate to other countries because of economic crises, low income, unemployment and other economic problems and they hope to find better opportunity of working condition or career path. For example in Kazakhstan, many immigrants from the neighbors in countries work for oil and mining industries. And also they are available to work in agriculture and livestock industries (Sadovskaya, Y. E, 2002: 4-5). There are better living conditions and better jobs opportunities in Kazakhstan for Kazakhs as compared opportunities in Mongolia. This is the perception of migrants, whether or not it is actually true. This is an important reason for migrating to Kazakhstan from abroad countries.

Cultural factor- for Kazakhstan, the cultural factor is one of the key pull factors to attract ethnic Kazakh immigrants. Many Kazakhs would like to live in their “historical homeland” - a place where their culture is the dominant culture and not secondary to other cultures such as in Mongolia. This is an one of the important

reason for migrating. In the past, ethnic Kazakhs constituted only one third of the total population, with Slavs and other ethnics at the much higher percent of the Soviet Republic population. However, this is changing with the current migration policy. Thus, the government of Kazakhstan has focused on attracting ethnics from abroad for “maintaining culture and traditional language in their ancestor homeland.” (UNDP 2006: 23) Therefore, the government’s focus on culture has played a role of “pull factor.”

Environmental factors- Climate change and natural disasters are a massive threat. Some researchers suppose they will remain a primary reason for migration in the future. In addition to adverse physical conditions such as “flood, landslide (earthquake), air pollution, soil degradation, erosion, and desertification contribute largely for the population movement, and people leave one environment for another more suitable environment full of natural resources.” (Stojanov, Robert, 2006: 306-307) A herd sizes increase in Mongolia and government supplemental food program decrease environmental degradation may result. In winter time people in Mongolia often experience severe storm conditions (called dzud) in rural areas (Griffin, Keith 2002:4-5; Barcus and Werner 2010: 221, Andrew Cullen 2010/06/01). Research Keith pointed out that natural disaster “massive winter storms (dzuds) which killed millions of livestock and destroyed the livelihood of thousands of herding families.” (Griffin 2002: 4-5) These can lead to large decreases in herds and people living conditions. The loss of livestock and thus, the loss of livelihood, especially as a consequence of natural disasters and environmental degradations, is one of the reasons ethnic Kazakhs migrate to Kazakhstan. The degradation in herders leads many Kazakh herders to consider migrating to Kazakhstan. Most oralman immigrants have settled in southern Kazakhstan because the southern region has warmer weather (pull factor), and additionally, gives them nearness to previous communities and the

presence of relatives. This region also pulls many oralmans because of its higher salary levels. (UNDP 2006:14)

Economic Theories of Migration Process

Theories on migration process are most widely studied from the economical science perspective. Beside the individual factors expressed by personal preference, the economical factors became an important determiner of migration decision in recent years.

Theorists explain that “economic theory” looks mostly at people who migrate from different areas, with a “surplus of labour to areas with deficit of labour.” (Lewis 1954) Therefore, migration itself is distinguished exclusively as a mechanism which “equilibrates labour markets.” (Bijak et al., 2004: 8-9) According to this theory international migration is related to the “global supply and demand for labor and labor force” and is more in higher wage areas than those in lower wages regions (Bijak et al., 2004: 8-9). And this plays an important role of pull factors for immigrants and people who migrate from countries with a “surplus lower demand of laborers force.” (Bijak et al., 2004: 8-9). The main point of this theory is considering that the migrants of foreign country mainly become higher waged labors in the receiving countries.

The “neo-classical economic theory” (Lewis 1954; Todaro 1970) is based on the earliest systematic theories and pull and push factors of migration. The earliest theories concerned or focused on certain conditions of pull-push factors, like demography, living standards, political condition and etc. They assumed that people always tends to move from one region, with poor conditions, to another region or country, seeking better living standards (Wu 2010b 1-2). Though these earliest works cannot fully explain why people choose one country among other countries, which have the same opportunity and condition. Unlike the previous theories, the

neo-classical economic theory emphasizes the “individual decision to migrate and assumes that individuals maximize utility by comparing benefits of remaining in the area of origin or moving to various alternative destinations.” (George Borjas 1989: 460-461) The advantage of the neo-classical economic theory of migration is that it considers a wider range of factors into economic research and explained not only migration from less countries to better conditions, but also movement to among countries which has same opportunity. The disadvantage of this theory though is its simplicity and incapability of explaining actual movements or predicting future ones (Castles and Miller 2003: 22-24).

The “*Dual Labor Market Theory*” (Piore 1979) that “migration is driven by the demand for labour force as well as by recruitment practices of destination regions, rather than by differences in salary levels observed between the places of origin destination” (Wu 2010a,b 1-2;). According to this theory that immigrants in high developed counties are recruited to fill these low-wage works which are avoided by the native-born people. Mainly from the less developed countries migrants are coming and filling these type of works. The perspective of this theory is that the geographical distribution of work force is becoming more and more international in the era of globalization. Depending on the speed of the globalization, the growing numbers of people are migrating around the world to find better jobs and salaries, forming new means and patterns of migration. In the era of globalization, the borders and distances seem to no longer cause trouble for migrants. (Douglas Massey et al., 1993: 444-445)

According to *World Systems Theory* Wallerstein (1974), population movement process is “a consequence of capitalist markets development and is inherent to the process of capital and investment flows.” (Bijak 2004: 8-9) Contemporary patterns of international migration tend to be from the periphery (poor nations) to the core (rich nations) because factors associated with industrial development in the First World

generated the formation of economic problems, and then push factors, in world. For example, with the flow of investment from the industrialized countries into the less-industrialized countries, a more productive, skilled and economically sustainable part of the population with considerable amount of gathered capital move to these countries and contribute to their future development. This phenomenon can be explained by the migration process of World system theory. A major principle is the flow of investment from world leading developed countries into those countries with traditional economic relationship (before colonized), or with new relationship and large natural resources (of course, developing country), and thus generating so called development migration processes (Massey et al., 1993: 446-448).

Economic theories in Kazakhstan's case - since the beginning of 1990, the newly independent states were involved in the creation of new economic relations and the formation of new social and economic relations in Kazakhstan. This country created new elements of market infrastructure- markets for goods and services, the labor market, and the financial market. They developed of small and medium-sized private businesses, increased secondary and informal sector employment, and encouraged an increase community involvement in commerce. These economic changes were tied in to migration as attracted by real change in employment, indicating a movement to the market model, and reflecting the transition of migration character.

The government approaches to the regulation of human rights is supported by international conventions and the Constitution of Kazakhstan does not allow discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and origin in respect of access to the labor market and employment (but discriminate by ethnicity in the matter of who is allowed to migrate). It seems consistent with such an approach to the laws by which the market works. In a recent speech, local expert of migration Vadim Ni's suggests that these laws "must involve approaches to the regulation of flows depending on the

sectors of employment, attracting qualified labor force, in some cases - the countries from which they come.” (Tulkin Tashimov 2009 /11/9). Support of compatriots is carried out and should be implemented as a category of immigrants returning to their historic homeland, where they receive support for their arrival and settlement.

Many employers of the workforce (including oralman immigrants in the workforce) from abroad to Kazakhstan encouraged migration for those working in oil and gas, construction, trade, small industrial production and services (including banking, hotel, restaurant, medical services, etc.) and other industries. Oralman immigrants’ contributed to the labour market of Kazakhstan a cheaper work force, as they took low salaries for working in various industrial sectors. According to the Kazakhstan vice-minister of Labour, Birzhan Nurymbetova, of the total volume of immigrants attracted in 2009, 35% are unskilled workers, and 60% are qualified personnel. He said “We hope that this trend would continue will be a contribution to the task of modernizing the economy.” (Tashimov 2009 /11/9) For example: immigrants from China often worked in farming and agriculture sectors, given their prior experience in China. Likewise migrants from Mongolia and Pakistan continued work to as livestock herder sector in their new country. Those from other CIS countries moved to construction/ building industries and low paid jobs in mining, gas, and oil. Many immigrant workers from neighboring and former Soviet countries entered Kazakhstan easy given the visa free regime for CIS citizens. According to the International Federation for Human Rights (IFHR) the regional distribution of immigrants is relatively stable immigrants from Uzbekistan (all immigrants from CIS member countries) China, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan tend to go to the Almaty region, while the biggest cities of Astana and Chymkent receive immigrants from neighbor countries (IFHR 2009: 27). For example, Uzbek immigrants (62%) worked in the construction and building sector (primarily in the larger cities), while the remainder

worked and agricultures sector (26%) the trade sector (5%), and other sectors.

Some scholars have noted that Kazakh immigrant workers come through a progress of “migrant networks”, a kind of infrastructure that includes individuals companies and organizations that mediate the selection, purchase, and transportation of goods, that provide security, that help in the job search and placement, and in other areas related to employment (Sadovskaya 2002: 8-12). It seems that in the future the process of organizing, reorganizing and legalization will continue to happen in Kazakhstan, where there will be new firms and companies in purchasing, trading, brokerage, and transportation, etc. Those who can not stand the competition are likely to go bankrupt and look for the application of its workforce in other sectors, which shows the self-regulating mechanisms of market relations.

Another economic role to be explained migrant workers, however, is that they not only take out money to buy goods, but also send money to support their families from abroad. There is currently no known exact amount of remittances, from Kazakhstan due to the work of migrants. However, this is no doubt a significant amount- though perhaps more limited in recent times given the 2008 economic crises.

The migration processes there have both positive and negative consequences, related to the changes in location, density and the number of the population. As a consequence, the territories with economical and social advantages, as well as with better infrastructural qualities gain more population as opposite to the other regions which are becoming less and less dense over time. Another important consequence are sought to be social changes that occur in the lifestyle of the individual and family members (those changes can be for better or for worse). There can also be significant changes in the ratio of urban and rural population, leading to uneven development.

CHAPTER THREE: ETHNIC IMMIGRATION POLICY IN KAZAKHSTAN

This chapter will discuss the Government migration policy and focuses on changes in Kazakhstan ethnic immigration policy between 1992- 2009. This chapter is divided into five sections: The Historical Background of Migration Process, Kazakh Diaspora Identity, the Government Migration Policy, Implementation of Migration Policy, and The Ethnic Kazakh Migration Process.

The Historical Background of the Migration Process

In terms of its territory, Kazakhstan is the second largest country of the Soviet Republics and the ninth largest in the world. Kazakhstan is one of the lowest populated states in the world. In Central Asia the population of Kazakhstan is in the second place after Uzbekistan. (Makash Tatimov 2005: 8)

The formation of the multi-ethnic population in the territory of contemporary Kazakhstan began in the mid-18th century. Until the beginning of the 20th century, the population structure remained rather homogeneous with ethnic Kazakhs constituting the majority of the population. In the First General Census of the Russian Empire, of the year 1897, the Kazakh population within the “contemporary territory of Kazakhstan amounted to 3,392,751 people and ethnic Kazakhs constituted 81.7 percent of the total population.” (Zhardikhan Qinaiatuly 2007: 28-29) Though during the twentieth century, resettlements in Kazakhstan reached more than 5 million people. In the war and post war years people in Kazakhstan had been evacuated and sent to camps, and more than 2 million people were deported to Kazakhstan. These great tides have played a role in the subsequent demographic processes that led to the “accumulation of large migratory capacity, for the time being held by the unity of the state space.” (Murata Sdykov 2002: 4)

During the industrialization period, the migration process of the population increased significantly in Kazakhstan. The number of workers grew between 1931-1940 mainly due to the “labour force” of other ethnic groups mostly participated in the migration process. During this time all branches of the country such as industry, farm, transport, national economy and agriculture had changed. This is because of people who wanted to move big cities and other metropolitan areas. As the population increased, the Kazakh ethnics moved all over their country because they worked with livestock in rural areas; they moved every season of the year. (Sdykov 2002: 4-5) As to the Russians, Slavic, and other ethnic groups “*formed sizable minorities as well. Some of these came as deported people during World War II; others had been settling in Kazakhstan for centuries.*” (Sancak and Finke 2005: 132)

Thus, between the years 1954-1956, 10,117 families and 60,703 people were repatriated to Kazakhstan from Xinjiang and in 1958, 2,270 families and 13,996 people were repatriated. Since 1959, the immigrant population increased each year until 1963. In 1961, over the border moved 818 families, 3481 people. Against the backdrop of persistent and provocative actions against Soviet citizens, the Soviet Union decided to close their diplomatic mission to China Urumchi. The culmination of events then came with the opening for one month of the Sino-Soviet border in 1962 for refugees from Xinjiang (Qinaiatuly 2007: 92-94). Many refugees and crossed over into Kazakhstan.

Only in the 1970s, due to the sharp decline in migration to Kazakhstan and the high natural increase of the Kazakh people, the process of redistribution from rural to urban areas, and the raising of the national consciousness and culture did the Kazakh people gradually begin to exert their influence on the ethnic and cultural relations. The increase of Russian ethnics has had a significant effect on overall population growth. And yet beginning in the 1970, and continuing in the 1980s there was an

outflow of Russian-speaking population from Kazakhstan (Tatimov 2005: 19-22). During the Soviet period there was an uneven distribution of the population, with a mostly ethnic Kazakh rural population, and an urban population composed of ethnic Russian groups. Soviet roles strongly affected the social, cultural and political society of the Kazakhs, which mainly and negatively resulted in Russian social and demographic policy, strongly influencing the ethno-demographic structure for Kazakhs in all spheres of Kazakhstan (Sdykov 2002: 5-6). During the Soviet ruling, the social and the political arena and the intellectual elite among the Kazakhs were dominated by persons who were educated in Russian language and culture that they had a better understanding of Russian than of Kazakh language and culture.

In 1989, before the independence of the country, Kazaks had for the first time in decades surpassed Russians as the largest ethnic group. As a result after the freedom of Kazakhstan, a lot Russians started to leave the country. However they still dominate some Northern provinces which borders the Russian Federation, and many of the industrial centres (Olcott 1987: 126; Sancak and Finke 2005: 132).

Here we see that past forty years, there has been shift from Russian to Kazakh predominance. This shift has been future increased by Kazakhstan's policies on the Kazakh Diaspora, as I will outline below.

Belonging to the Immigration Policy: Diaspora

In this section, in order to discuss "diapora" in a specific context, it is helpful to have an understand of a ethno-national identity as related to the immigration policy of Kazakhstan. The study of Kazakhstan's ethnic "diaspora" structure would not be complete without the phenomenon of ethnic migrants. The Kazakh diaspora, who had lived outside Kazakhstan and who had returned to their "historic homeland", became an important state level issue after independence, requiring adequate migration policy

from the newly independent state. Diener has demonstrated that “the concept of ‘diaspora’ has traditionally been employed to communicate a sense of displacement or de-territorialisation among groups living beyond the borders of their ethno-national homeland.” (Diener 2005a: 329) In 1991 the Kazakh ethnicity was in the minority of the ethnic groups of total population in this new nation of Kazakhstan. The formation of first legal diasporan institution (World Kazakh Association) of was made Kazaks in 1992, along with the creation of a Kazakh ancestral homeland, and focuses on increasing the ethnic Kazakh and diaspora from abroad. This organization “would reiterate the rhetoric of an open invitation diaspora in the following years.” (Kuscu 2008: 116) Werner and Barcus describes that migration process as a series of “dislocations among contemporary diasporic communities, (meaning that) the notions of homeland and national identity are often a salient factor influencing migration choices.” (Werner and Barcus 2009: 50) Through these movements we see the Kazakh government taking a central interest in diaspora.

Diaspora is interesting context, especially migration studies. The meaning of the term “diaspora” should refer to specific historical groups and is often loosely used to refer to any group residing outside its leave of origin. Some scholars described it as a triangular relationship between a dispersed population, their homeland, and their host land, in which everyone uses a myth of migration to an imaged homeland for their own needs (William Safran 1991: 83-84). Safran defines diaspora as constituted by:

expatriate minority communities that are dispersed from memory, vision or myth about their original homeland; that believe they are not –and perhaps cannot be –fully accepted by their host country; that see the ancestral home as place of eventual return, when the time is right; that are committed to the maintenance or restoration of his homeland; that they group’s consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the continuing relationship with homeland. (Safran 1991: 83)

Recently diasporan issues have been central to ethnic (resettlement) migration studies in Kazakhstan. Previous researchers explain (Diener 2005b: 465; King and Mevlin 2000: 127-128; Kuscu 2008: 2-4) the ethnic Kazakh migration process as central to inviting “diaspora” group from abroad to return to countries that are “historic homelands.” Diaspora as a new research area in modern Kazakhstan has attracted considerable attentions from scholars. Some scholars have made attempts to understand how issues related to the formation and development of the multi-ethnic population of Kazakhstan are related to historical, economic, demographic, ethno-psychological, socio-political, cultural and welfare and other aspects of the development of the Kazakh and diaspora in the world. As Gulnara Mendikulova describes it, the Kazakh diasopra should be understood in a modern political science context. She has also mentioned that the term diaspora refers to one of some categories of ethnic politics, and characterizes the ethnic minority groups to be resettled, living and functioning in the host country, but preserving a strong sentimental and maternal links with their country of origin (Mendikulova 2005b: 1).

Kazakhstan is a Muslim country, which belongs to the Turkic ethnic peoples. It is only because of domestic and foreign policy collisions in the past, that these Kazakh people currently reside outside their country in the world. Mendikulova says that diaspora is one of the most important components of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy (Mendikulova 2005b: 2-3). King and Melvin argues that “diaspora emerged as an significant aspect of the new political issues in Kazakhstan,” (King and Melvin 2000:128) The attraction of diaspora was a key point of the new democratic government of Kazakhstan as it sought to create “nationalism” by attracting a national community abroad

Therefore, most of the studies claim that the underlying political and strategic reasons for inviting ethnic diasporas from overseas countries is to maintain

ethno-cultural background, and to build new nation state. Kazakhstan uses “diasporan” ethnic Kazakhs to maintain Kazakh power and a “nationalist image” of itself as representing Kazakhs, and to maintain a “nationalized” idea of traditional culture. King and Melvin have noted that “national cultural groups such as “Qazaq Tili (the Kazakh Language Association) are working to encourage a rebirth of Kazakh language and culture” (King and Melvin 2000: 129).

Table 3.1 Estimated Number of Kazakhs Diaspora in the World.

Kazakhstan	8 7 25 000	Canada	7, 000
Uzbekistan	1 500 000	Pakistan	5, 000
China	1500 000	Germany	2 ,000
The Russian Federation	800 000	French	2,000
CIS (not including Uzbekistan)	187 000	USA	1,000
Mongolia	83 000	Saudi Arabia	1 000
Afghanistan	30 000	Sweden	2 00
Turk	10 000	Australia	9 00
Iran	10 000	Argentina	5, 00

Source: Mendikulova G, M. 2005a. “Kazahskaya Diaspora i irredenta: istoriya i sovremennosti,” *Statiya, Istochnik: Press Slujba*, <<http://kazembassy.ru/issue/?issueId=232>>.

Kazakhstan’s state leadership strongly supports and invites diasporan people to Kazakhstan. According to the speech at the first World Kazak Association, it is necessary to accommodate the interests of major ethnic groups that serve as a further consolidation of society.

The Kazakh diaspora are migrating over long distances, during the short time available, crossing the external borders, from China, Russia, the Central Asian states, Afghanistan, Iran, and Mongolia. Researchers have studied diaspora groups that live

temporarily outside their historical homeland, such as in the capacity of seasonal and contract workers, service personnel and professionals (Mendikulova 2005b).

At the last two political meetings of the World Kazakh Association some issues about the diaspora of Kazakh ethnicity have been discussed. There are also many issues which have been broadcasted through media. In these discussions, what was mostly pointed to was to bring all of Kazakh diasporas living abroad to their historical homeland. From the point of view of diaspora people and ethnics, this may seem right, but it should also be noted that it is not only a way to solve the Kazakh ethnic problem, but one of the opportunities. Some of the Kazakh diasporans living in foreign countries have already made their lives, while some want to take advantage of both countries and stay more, and some of them even “do not to migrate their historical homeland” Kazakhstan. Unlike the first years which were very active, the Kazakh ethnic migration process has slowed and taken on a constant tempo in recent years (Werner and Barcus 2009: 55-56). However, people who will migrate and who will not migrate is not the end of whole the ethnic migration process. Therefore, Kazakhstan’s “nationalistic policy” mustn’t be only invite the Kazakh diasporas from abroad to migrate to Kazakhstan, but also beginning thinking about globalization’s effect as they try to protect to national values and support some serious ethno-demographical and ethno-cultural activities.

Future it is evident that Kazakhstan’s government should not only encourage, but also support and take care of diasporic people from abroad, because they play an important role in the changes of the ethnic component of Kazakhstan’s demographics today.

The Government's Immigration Policy

Beginning in 1990, government leaders in Kazakhstan were not only trying to carve out their own space, but also working in terms of internal political legitimacy and economic development. At that time Kazakhstan created its “national history”, including myths and symbols, as well as promote the titular group’s own traditional culture and Kazakh language (Fireman 2005: 419-420). Fireman noted that Kazakh language “thanks in part to the greater prevalence of the Kazakh language in various domains since independence, the language appears to have begun to serve as part of a commonality for an increasing share of Kazakhs.” (Fierman 2005: 410) As an element of the diaspora, ethnic immigrants for the main section have preserved cultural landscape of Kazakh national customs.

When this country achieved its independence in beginning of the 1990, its President, Nursultan Nazarbayev, officially invited all ethnic Kazakh groups (diaspora) to resettle in the historical homeland of Kazakhstan. The main political strategy was to change the demographic balance of ethnic Kazakhs, and increase the country’s total number of population. The idea behind the migration policy was to increase the proportion of the ethnic Kazak population as among other ethnic groups. In other words, the main purpose of the ethnic migration policy was to deal with the overall ethnic structure, in a way that would favor the Kazakh ethnics. Kazakhstan’s leadership and high-level government institutions actively encouraged ethnic Kazakhs of the previous diasporas to return to their “historical homeland”. Likewise, a key government policy focused on increasing the ethnic Kazakh immigrants.

In 1989, Kazakh ethnics comprised only 39.7 percent of the total population. This ethnic component deficit was the main reason to invite the Kazakh diaspora and balance the ethnic structure of the country. To balance the ethnic structure,

government officials have largely relied on a succession of the immigration policies. Indeed, Kazakhstan's ethnic demographic issues and migration process have been extensively politicized.

The main goal of the ethnic immigration policy is to increase the population number of the ethnic Kazakh diaspora and to regulate the migration process by welcoming all foreign citizens of ethnic Kazakhs who come legally to live in Kazakhstan. The Kazakhstan government believes that ethnic Kazakh returnees will bring more of a sense of the Kazakh nationality to the new nation state.

There are several factors that have had a strong influence on the ethnic immigration policy. These include "maintaining national identity" as well as the country's population growth. The content of the "nationalist" new independent country in Kazakhstan has been studied by some scholars. According to Bhavna Dave, the Kazakhstan government has successfully pursued "nationalization through deepening titular control over the state apparatus" (Dave 2004: 4). Here my opinion, that the migration policy is related to the ethnic demographic changes and migration process character of the population aspect in Kazakhstan.

Some institutions are responsible for support policies in of oralman immigrants as well as for the protection of oralman immigrants' in Kazakhstan. The first institution was established in 1992, called the Department of Migration under the Ministry of Labour, as for responsible the implementation of the benefit system and also for regulating the ethnic immigrants. The Department of Migration under the Ministry of Labour was transferred to a special governmental body called the Agency of Migration and Demography institution in 1997 (UNDP 2006: 12).

The next organization established in 2004, was the Agency of Migration and Demography by the Commute on Migration under the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection. Thus, this change was also transferred from supervision of the presidential

administration back to the Ministry of Labour. (Kuscu 2008:125) As, mentioned above, there has been a change of institutions' title so far as well as changes affecting the supervision of the institutions and all these above changes have been responsible for ethnic immigrants. (UNDP 2006: 11) The Kazakhstan migration policy has thus become one of the core aspects of the presidential policy, and thus all of the forthcoming acts of changing and amending migration policy are about to be initiated directly by the Presidential institutions. (UNDP 2006: 11) Also at first state level organization was the "World Kazakhs Association" (Qurultay) opened in 1992. Qurultay comes from the Kazakh word meaning political meeting, which promotes links with Kazakh diaspora peoples. The Qurultay institution "serves not only to declare Kazakhstan as independent homeland for the diaspora but also to announce the policy of diasporic immigrants" (Kuscu 2008: 116). President Nursultan Nazarbayev is chairman of this association. The World Kazakh Association mostly operates to support and maintain traditional cultural and national character values. This organization's responsibility is to work helping ethnic immigrants learn culture and tradition, provide language teaching materials and education such as translations, to help in filling out registration and citizenship materials, and also to provide information on the conditions of ethnic immigrants with an especial attention on immigrant problems in Kazakhstan. (Kuscu 2008: 128-129)

During 1992-2009, the main issue considering the new immigrants to Kazakhstan was their constitutional status. Regarding this problem a general "Citizenship documenting" was made by the Kazakhstan Republic Government on 18 November 1991. That and "law on migration" made by Government on 1997 have played an important role. In this law it was made possible that every Kazakh living abroad could return to Kazakhstan freely and according to the Republic of

Kazakhstan’s constitution (Article 3). The Republic promised to protect and support all of the Kazakhs currently living abroad (Kazakhstan 2009 /04/ 29).

Table 3.2 The immigration policies in Kazakhstan (1992-2009).

Year	Government Immigration Policy
1992	Immigrant’s citizen status was unclear and their citizen status was “ <i>five year labour contract workers</i> ”. During the 1992-1997 years about 30 000 families were received in to Kazakhstan.
1997 amended 2002	New annual quotas were made and were allowed apply for Kazakhstani citizenship. During 1997-2000 about 4 000 families were received and the annual quotas were relatively low.
2001-2005 (mid-term)	A further improvement of the legislation of Kazakhstan in terms of simplifying the process of receiving <i>oralmans</i> into full citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Between 2001 -2005 country received about 33000 families
2005-2009 (Long-term)	This provided incentives to attract people to the point of economic growth, especially in small towns and villages. From 2006-2008 settled about 35 000 families.
2009-2011 “Nurly Kosh”	This attracted to immigrants to under-populated regions by providing incentives such as low-interest loans to buy land or housing, and employment opportunities. The 2009-2011 planning is estimated to receive more than 75 000 families.

Source: Government Program 2001.10.29. N137, Diener 2003:344-349, Barcus and Werner 2010: 218-225.

The Migration law of the Kazakhstan has been under government consideration since 1992. The Kazakhstan government adopted the first “Law on Immigration” (*Koshi Khon Turali Zan*) in 1992, a law which provided a legal framework for the migration of the ethnic Kazakh migrants. The law was an attempt to imitating German and Israeli “Open Door” (*Kazak- Ashik Esik*) migration policies. Likewise, the “Law on Immigration” has provided extraordinary quota systems for ethnic Kazakh immigrants. The resettlement of ethnic immigrants is controlled by adjusting that

immigration quota. Many ethnic Kazakh households move to Kazakhstan first, and “then apply for *oralman status* after getting settled” (Barcus and Werner 2010: 218). The first phase years since Kazakhstan’s independence were seen as complicated years for ethnic migrants to return to the “historical homeland” (Barcus and Werner 2007: 9). After 1992, many people pertaining to Slavic ethnic group have emigrated from Kazakhstan. Therefore, the overall population has decreased. While the estimated Kazakhstan population was 16.5 million as of 1992, this number has decreased to 15 million in 1999 (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.1). In relation to this ongoing demographic transition process, the issues surrounding population stability have been steadily put forward. Although the government has been actively supporting ethnic immigrants, the demographic transition process has been increasing by posing problematic questions for the government leadership.

In accordance with the 1992 “Law on Migration,” most ethnic migrants had resettled due to “five year work contracts”(Diener 2003: 114, Barcus and Cynthia 2010: 218). In other words, they possessed a citizenship- type status of the host country throughout the first five years of resettlement. When the period of the work contract expired in 1997, many had to make final decisions as to whether to stay by applying for Kazakhstan citizenship or to re-emigrate. Namely, many people again chose to move back from Kazakhstan to their host countries. Diener mentioned regarding the citizenship problems of the diasporic migrants: “lack of Kazakhstan’s citizenship (is part) of the problem with material support as to their integration into Kazakhstan society.” (Diener 2003: 270) For instance, ten thousand (10 000) migrants returned to Mongolia from Kazakhstan after termination of work contracts. Barcus and Werner noted that the labor contract was changed “in 1997 a new law on migration passed which ended the labor contract system and established new procedures for migrants to become citizens.”(Barcus and Werner 2007: 8) Therefore,

that problematic issue in citizenship status were the basis for the refinement of the law on migration, which mainly aimed at regulating the citizenship status of *oralman* migrants and thus the country's demographic stability. Between 1992 and 1997, immigrants' citizen status was unclear, and their status was at most a five year labor contract for *oralman* migrants. But, after finishing that five year contract, government provisions amended new laws, making *oralman* "eligible for citizenship".

The "Law on Immigration," adopted on 13 December 1997, which was after amended in 2002, the next legal framework regulating migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan. The main purpose of the new migration policy was to manage migration processes in order to achieve sustainable demographic development, strengthen public security and to create conditions for the realization of the rights of migrants and "define legal, economic and social principles of the migration processes likewise those required for the creation of necessary living conditions at a new place for *oralmans*."(Kazakhstan 1997: 4-5, Article No. 9)

The 1997 law also favors restrictive laws on citizenship and migration. These law are more restrictive because government made the incentives for migration less attractive. Kazakhstan's 1997 law on population immigration suggests that ethnic migrants are people of Kazakh ethnicity; they can attain many benefits (quota for *oralmans*) but unless specifically applying for citizenship, they are excluded from citizenship benefits (Kazakhstan 1997: Article- 3; Article -27). This is why the law was more restrictive that earlier about labour contracts.

However, the Kazakh diasporans attempting to migrate to Kazakhstan still have been confronting some difficulties. *Oralman immigrants* returning to their historic homeland are faced with a large set of problems, such as "socio-cultural adaptation" as well as issues of "civil- legal environment." (Diener 2005a: 330-331) Although the Kazakhstan government aims to provide different benefits and values for returners,

these benefits are not enough for starting and adapting to new and higher priced life conditions. At the entrance to the territory in Kazakhstan these individuals, as well as other subjects of immigration, must register with the Ministry of Internal Affairs for a temporary residence using an identification card. Becoming *oralman* and taking the quota is a separate procedure, which subsequently gave him the right to claim a number of benefits provided for this category of subject. To do this, a person must first apply for the status of *oralman* and (or) the inclusion in the immigration quota to the territorial authority of the Committee of Migration of the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection. In case the person can not apply, impossibility of the law allows the treatment of such a statement on behalf of the person concerned, using his representative on the basis of a notarized power of attorney. The application is considered within three months. It is mandatory that a statement must be accompanied by documents, an exhaustive list of which is approved by the Government of the Republic. Those receiving the status of *oralman* may later acquire citizenship of Kazakhstan in a simplified procedure.

Thus, many of the ethnic Kazakhs who so far have migrated and lived in Kazakhstan have not had an easy time of it, facing serious adaptation problems, such as housing, language, unemployment (Joanna Lillis 2009: 1-2).

One of the big problems faced by ethnic migrants is language skills. Until now Kazakhstan has had two official languages Russian and Kazakh language. Lack of Russian language skills is one of the common barriers for ethnic Kazakhs hunting for jobs without Russian language knowledge, but with ambition, aspiration, and education (Lillis 2009: 1-2). Immigrants from Turkey, China and Mongolia not have been good enough in Russian language; hence, they may find it difficult to get professional jobs or their children may have difficulties in studying. These problems are often confronted by migrants in the Northern of Kazakhstan, region, where Russian

ethnic groups dominate among others. Usually ethnic migrants find it difficult to find a common language with both foreign descent Kazakhs and local Kazakhs. (Kuscu 2008: 191-192; Lillis 2009: 1-2)

The state was trying to do everything to return the country *oralmans*. Even thus, *oralmans* returning to their historic homeland faced a wide variety of problems of socio-economic and socio-cultural adaptation, as well as issues of civil law (Lillis 2009: 1-2). Among the most pressing issues were reception, accommodation, employment and training ethnic immigrants.

The above problems become the main reason for a discussion of a new policy program. The Migration Policy Program of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2001-2009 was approved by the government in August 2000. This policy program was comprised of two implementation phases: mid-term, which covers the time period from 2001 to 2005 and long-term, spanning from 2006 to 2009. The central objective of the program was the development of the migration process in the economic growth of the country, by further improving the legal, economic, social bases, providing the conditions necessary for the realization of the rights of migrants. The main activity in the medium term (2001 - 2005) in the field of immigration was the prevention of illegal migration and facilitating the return of *oralman* to Republic of Kazakhstan (Government Program 2001.10.29. N1371).

The regulation of ethnic immigration processes in this period was by means of the following tools: (Government Program 2001.10.29. N1371).

- addressing the organization of vocational training and retraining *oralmans*, especially the youth;
- creation of conditions for more jobs to revive the national crafts, as well as assisting *oralman* in business, small business and farming on the basis of state needs;

- facilitate the return on a voluntary basis of *oralman* and their reintegration in the republic (on the basis of elaboration of the necessary intergovernmental agreements that provide social protection through pensions, allowances, etc.);
- further improvement of the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan in terms of simplifying the process of receiving *oralmans* into full citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- a sociological survey on the adaptation and integration of *oralmans* into the country;
- promotion of the education of children *oralmans* in schools, colleges, universities of the country, etc.;
- Then finally, annual observance of the days of oralmans (Government Program 2001.10.29. N1371).

The main activity of the long term years (2005- 2009) was in the external regulation of migration processes with access to the surplus to promote economic growth. In this connection, the law focused on promoting the immigration of individuals with scarce jobs and talented such as scientists, specialists, teachers and other outstanding figures of culture and art, as equity investors in the economy of Kazakhstan.

Another goal was to provide incentives to attract people to the point of economic growth, especially in small towns and villages. This would be done on a voluntary basis, following the development of production and the presence of living conditions, taking into account the demographic situation in the regions. Other goals included:

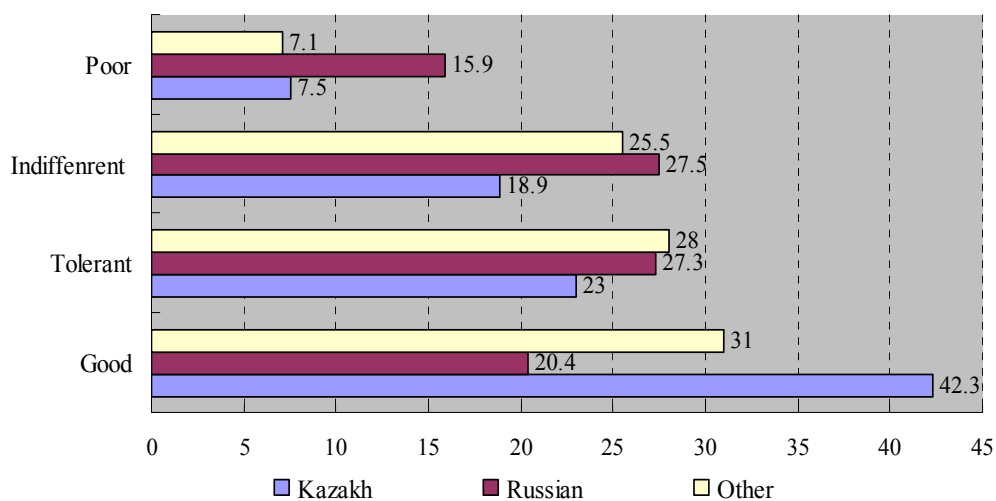
- development of incentives to attract the *oralman* to regions and cities of highly qualified staff, graduates, schools, etc.
- bringing the cultural - educational societies, creative unions and other

organizations to work on the integration of *oralmans* among their new dwelling places;

- bringing these same to work on *oralman* adaptation to changing socio - economic conditions in Kazakhstan and the formation of public opinion on migration;
- developing a system of measures to support the Kazakh diaspora in foreign countries, in order to increase their contribution to the expansion and strengthening of cultural and economic relations of these States with the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- programming of joint activities in the area of migration of public authorities and public associations, including associations of compatriots abroad (Government Program 2001.10.29. N1371).

As this point in time, many local people also felt negative attitudes toward returning migrants, making the situation even more complicated. A study conducted in 2005 by the Center for Social Technology showed that Russians (15.9%), Kazakh (7.5 %) and other ethnics (7.1%) of Kazakhstan's population had "poor" low or negative attitude toward returning ethnic immigrants. Figure 3.1 shows the results of this survey, which was conducted with 1800 respondents from 6 regions (Center for Technology 2005 /10/ 07).

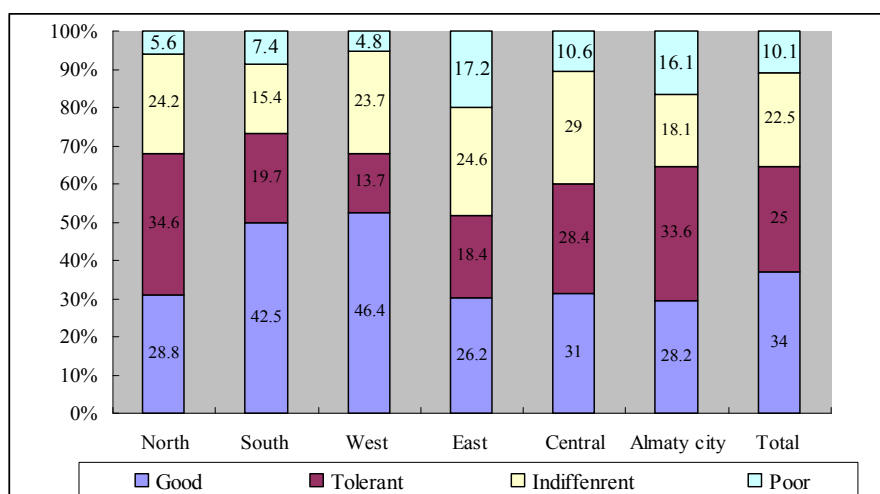
Figure 3.1 “What is your attitude towards ethnic migrants?” (percentage of the respondents)



Source: Center for Social Technology, 2005/10/07. “Oralmany: realii, problem i perspektivy”, <<http://www.zonakz.net/articles/9865>>.

As can be seen from the figure above, the attitude toward *oralmans* varied with ethnic background, where Russian ethnics had twice as much higher dissatisfaction level (15.9%) compared with other ethnicities. This may be in part because of a lack of cultural affinity between Russia ethnic and Turkic ethnics such as the new *oralman* immigrants. Respondent’s attitude toward ethnic migrants by distribution of region is given in the Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 “What is your attitude towards ethnic migrants?” (percentage of the respondents)



Source: The Center for Social Technology, 2005/10/07. “Oralmany: realii, problem i

perspectiv”, <<http://www.zonakz.net/articles/9865>>.

Finally, the latest policy program on migration was launched on January 1 2009 by Kazakhstan’s government. The policy was entitled “Nurly Kosh”, which means “blessed migration” and designed for the period of 2009-2011 (Lillis, 2009: 1-2; Enbek 2008/ 12). Previous government migration policies had focused on bringing only ethnic Kazakh people to the historic homeland. The last legal framework on migration was advantageous over the previous ones, because it was directed not only to ethnic Kazakhs migrants, but also to other overall participants of immigration process (Enbek 2008/12). In the paragraph below I will now describe aspects of the last policy program, as specifically directed to ethnic migrants. This ethnic migration program is designed to re-locate migrants to rural and under-populated regions by providing incentives such as low-interest loans to buy land or housing, and employment opportunities, in order to contribute to the development of the particular area (Russian ethnic dominated area, mostly in Northern region) of Kazakhstan to which they are sent (Enbek 2008/12).

According to the “Nuly Kosh” program, it has focused on “pulling” three groups of migrants: first, about 4.5 million ethnic Kazakhs diaspora living in foreign countries within the annual ethnic immigration quota for *oralmans*; and second, “skilled former citizens” who arrived for work as part of the annual quota for foreign labor to work on the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Third, citizens living in disadvantaged regions are attracted based on a quota for resettlement of internal migrants (Lillis 2009: 1-2). According to this program, “rational resettlement” on a voluntary basis of ethnic Kazakhs, including compatriots living abroad and Kazakh citizens living in disadvantaged regions of the country, is needed for the demographic and socio- regional economic development and the self- realization of potential

participants in this Project Participants of the migration program and their families, in co-moving to the resettlement areas will be eligible to receive social support, which is differentiated by categories and zones of settlement. A fundamentally new approach to the control of migration will rationally allocate labor resources in different regions of the country, regulating the level of unemployment (Talgat Mamashev 2009/01/10).

The ruling as made by the Ministries office of the Kazakhstan Republic in 1992, that social and economical support for the Kazakh ethnics living abroad while they are in Kazakhstan has helped many to return back and remake their lives (Kazakhstan 2009 /04/ 29). The Kazakhstan has been trying to solve all the problems relating to migration. However the Kazakh ethnic migration process, which has started actively with high tempo, slowed down in 1995-1996 and faced some difficulties and problems. The main reason was the economic crises sending and receiving of both countries. In those years, the opportunities made by the previous Soviet Union ended and the new economy of the new Kazakh Republic were experiencing its first recession. The recession strongly affected rural livelihoods, which were also the most active receiving object of Kazakh migration.

The actual problem of immigrants was that there were no proper laws considering their condition at that moment. The law of migration was renovated in 1997. But in that law there were no detailed statements about the rights of a citizenship, and duty of “ethnic migrants” who migrated to Kazakhstan from abroad. Because of this reason, they had difficulties in property ownership, inheritance and employment. Of course, not all of immigrants were affected worse.

The only solution was to solve the citizenship problem. Initially there were told some compliments about the lack of citizenship documenting process, document fees, and lots of bureaucracy. But eventually they learned more about the issue of citizenship in Kazakhstan.

In the 23rd statement, and 24th statement of the “Regulations about human rights”, in Vienna Conventions the labor rights of migrants were stated (United Nation 1993 /06/ 12). The rules related were stated in the 24th statement of Kazakhstan republic constitution, and also in Article 4 of the “Law on Migration” (Kazakhstan 1997). However these rules and regulations are still not fulfilled accurately and totally. Of course initially, unemployment was a difficult situation for many new comers. Until today, many of teachers, doctors, engineers, and technician and scientific workers, most immigrants are jobless. Some of the remainder herd livestock, most do trade, and others are left unemployed. One fact causing this unemployment is the language issue, where Kazakh immigrants often do not speak Russian, the *lingua franca* of Kazakhstan life. But even though there are some difficulties and problems that need to be resolved we can conclude that this migration process has added much to the Kazakhstan’s ethnic diversity, population increase, language, culture, tradition and spirit of daily life. Additionally, since this migration process is a new phenomenon in 20th and 21st century, it has taken time to consider and much experience has been gained.

The government’s attraction of *oralman* into the country by promises of provided social benefits and the increasing number of ethnic immigrants is nevertheless involves true economic problems. The typical quota benefit is not enough for ethnic immigrants living condition in the new country of Kazakhstan. Likewise, many ethnic immigrants are very disappointed by broken promises of supplements such as housing, and job opportunities by the government.

The solution to the ethnic component problems of the country is to increase the number of population due to ethnic Kazakhs returning to their historical homeland. This is an integral part of national security and future demographic strategy of the

Republic of Kazakhstan. But it is unclear in some immigration policy of the vision mostly faced by migrants.

Implementation of Immigration Policies

The Agency for Migration and Demography (AMD) is believed to be responsible for identifying migration policy and its implementation. In accordance with this point AMD's vision was to become an agency like immigration and naturalization. In Kazakhstan, it would mean that Border Service and the immigration police would have to operate and through the AMD. Since its inception in 1997, the main task and competence of the AMD was the organization of immigration and integration especially of ethnic Kazakhs living abroad.

The ethnic immigration policy of Kazakhstan can be studied as three phases in three different time periods, with the first phase after the independence, during the years 1991-1996, the second phase between the years 1997- 2002, and the third phase which started from 2003 until the present (Barcus and Werner 2010: 216).

In the first period on 29-30 September in 1992, the first World Kazakh Association political meeting was held in Almaty. Kazakh ethnics from all over the world gathered in their historical homeland who were happy to live with their historical homeland and compatriots. The World Kazakh Association was established and President Nazarbayev was declared as the leader of the Republic (Kazakhstan 2009/04/29). In this meeting the most important issues were highly supported cultural and traditional values by the Republic of Kazakhstan. All the attendants, the ones who were planning to migrate back and the ones who were welcoming the immigrants were strongly supportive of this idea. These years were the most successful years of ethnic Kazakh migration. 2/3 (see Chapter 4: Figure 4.5) of all migration has taken

place in the first five years of the first phase. The first phase ethnic immigrants were placed in locations chosen by the government.

The second phase which is between 1997-2002 was a very difficult period for Kazakhstan. The economy of the country slowed down, energy, and oil resources were inadequate (Qinayatuli 2007: 228). Government support and subsidies were shortened, and thus the agriculture sector was affected negatively. The labor force in rural areas moved to the cities, which led to urbanization and high levels of unemployment (Sadovsakay 2002: 4-5). For new ethnic immigrants who still hadn't got their citizenship the condition was more difficult, as the requirements of getting citizenship also were not easy. Because of these reasons the number of ethnic immigrants declined sharply in those years. For example the number of immigrants in 1997 was four times less than the number of immigrants in 1991 and three times less than the number in 1993. In those years the law about the migration was lacking. Thus in 1997, the reconstructed "Law on Migration" was declared. Since the decline in number of new ethnic immigrants, the government spent the migration budget on those who came earlier in first phase.

In 2002 in the meeting World Kazakh Association held in Kazan, Turkestan, and the president Nazarbayev gave a speech whose subject was "the sign of Kazakhs stepping to a new century as a whole and one nation." (Kazakhstan 2009 /04 /29) The main issues pointed out in this speech were about protecting Kazakh traditional culture and its rich spirits, and improving its future. Of course the migration was another issue discussed there. Unlike the year 2000, in which the number of ethnic immigrants planned was 500 households, in the year in 2005 this number increased to 15 000 and 2009 to 20 000 households (Talgat Mamashev 2010 /01/ 10).

The implementation of migration policy is linked to sustainable economic development and economic growth, as well as to the positive population balance. The

ethnic composition has undergone significant changes in the last 19 years due to the implementing of ethnic immigration policies.

Most ethnic immigrants arrived in Kazakhstan from Commonwealth of Independent State countries as well as Mongolia, Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan. Throughout 1992, the World Kazakh Association signed bilateral agreements with the above mentioned host states. After this period, the Kazakh ethnics increased by more than 700 thousand people in Kazakhstan. Although ethnic immigrants are facing some problems, the migration flow continues because of several reasons. First, the government promises sound attractive to many diasporans wishing to improve their quality of life. Next, Kazakhstan offers promising job opportunities, especially in the agriculture, mining and construction industries.

Since 2002, the number of ethnic Kazakh immigrants moving back their historical homeland has increased, and also the number of Kazakh living in foreign countries has started to increase. If the migration pace goes on like this, the promise of Kazakh intelligence saying all the Kazakh in foreign countries will be returned back to their historical homeland might turn out to be just an empty slogan. Thus there existed a real difference between the promises and real action taken about the ethnic migration process. Is this Kazakh ethnic migration processes, is there only one solution for the Kazakh issues in the world, or are there other solutions for the Kazakhs all over the world being in relationship and protecting on the national values of Kazakhstan? To answer these questions all the phases (mentioned above phases) of Kazakh migration after the independence should be researched and the experiences of those phases should studied in detail.

Table 3.3 Immigration policies implement (1991 present)

Phase	Immigration Policies Implement
First (1991-1996)	The World Kazakh Association was established. This meeting highly supported cultural and traditional values by the government and the ones who were welcoming the immigrants were strongly supportive of leadership. 2/3 of all migration has taken place in the first five years of the first phase.
Second (1997-2002)	The economy of the country slowed down, energy, and oil resources were inadequate. Government subsidies were shortened, and thus the agriculture and other sectors was affected negatively. The labor force in rural areas moved to the cities, and high levels of unemployment. The number of oralmans in 1997 was four times less than the number of immigrants in 1991 and three times less than the number in 1993.
Third (2003 present)	However, the immigrants attempting to migrate to Kazakhstan confronting some difficulties such as issues of housing and job opportunities and “civil- legal environment.” Although, the government aims to provide benefits, these benefits are not enough for starting and adapting to new and higher priced life conditions. Thus, the government promises sound attractive to diasporans wishing to improve their quality of life.

Source: Diener 2003: 344-349, Barcus and Werner 2010: 218-225.

The implementations of costs of the government policy in third phase were made to clarify the law on the national budget for the relevant financial periods. It is assumed that all participants in the program will be provided with accommodation. The housing issues will emerge through the rehabilitation, construction and purchase of housing, and in the cities of Astana and Almaty via rental housing. Rehabilitation of dilapidated housing currently in the communal ownership of local executive bodies will be partly carried out through a lump sum allocated from the republican budget. Construction and purchase of housing will also come at the expense of the budget of credit extended from the central budget to local executive bodies.

Another issue addressed the mechanism of credit. According to the document, (Enbek, 2008/12) program participants and socio-entrepreneurial corporations entered into an agreement according to which: the program participant pays an initial fee to the bank (5% of the loan) as the housing construction savings and assumes the obligations for 5.5 years (loan period loan) in order to repay interest on loans and allow the accumulation of bank savings needed for a down payment when buying a home. (Enbek, 2008/12) The bank lists the amount of the loan as provided by a member of the program, at the expense of the customer. In subsequent years but within ten years program participants shall repay the housing loan to the bank. For design, the implementation of the program should streamline the processes of ethnic, immigration and emigration, and subordinate them to the interests of socio-economic development of regions. It is also suggested that this will increase the quality of life for a large part of ethnic immigrants and emigrants, will stimulate a return to the country of Kazakhstan of their citizens of various nationalities who have migrated from Kazakhstan. Thus, the warn of possible social risks associated with the difficulties of adaptation and integration of migrants, including unemployment and irregular migration; and will ensure further development of national consolidation, strengthening of social stability and understanding, thereby improving the demographic situation.

CHAPTER FOUR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MIGRATION PROCESSES IN KAZAKHSTAN

This chapter will discuss on the analyses of statistical material between of 1992-2009. This analysis focused on immigration and emigrants' who participated in the migration process in Kazakhstan. Also it describes how this migration has changed the ethno-demographic structure of the country.

Kazakhstan is located on the way from China and the Indian sub-continent to Russia and Europe and therefore there will be demographic pressure from neighboring and nearby states: China, India, Pakistan, Iran Turkey, as well as the other smaller territories of the Central Asia countries. This is due to the fact that the population of these Central Asian countries has increased rapidly, and they have a lower standard of living compared to Kazakhstan (specifically Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan). Kazakhstan, the ninth largest country in the world, currently has 15, 7 million in populations.

After the 1990 transition, when Kazakhstan became a newly independent democratic and market economy country, rapid changes occurred in political, social and economical structures. Changes that consequently altered the population structure. The Law on Migration, which was approved in 1992, gave rights to citizens of Kazakhstan to choose the place for their residence on their own. Following this law, those who previously migrated under strict communist control and regime became able to migrate freely in a voluntary manner, and thus the migration has increased rapidly. Boosted migration was not only related with 1992 Law on Migration, but it was also caused by “nationalist policies” initiated under the Government leadership, and policies directed to changing the ethnic structure of the population.

The development of migration policy, which, to a lesser extent than at present was, based on ethnic criteria. This goal can be achieved through the knowledge of

government officials, media and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) with the policy of open immigration from other countries. Others goals include achieving the objectives of the program of migration policy aimed at reducing problems of immigrants, regulation of migration process, and the prevention of trafficking of people from, in and to Kazakhstan as well as domestically. The regulation of migration policy in Kazakhstan through its laws is intended to establish the legal criteria and procedures for granting or denying a temporary or permanent residence permit for foreign nationals. It is also mean to, establish legislative procedures to address the issues of people in an irregular situation (people who have been refused asylum and different categories of illegal migrants, including those who are in illegal status because of illegal police actions), and establishing a mechanism of public funding of deportations. The Kazakhstan government in addressing these challenges provided advice the Conference on the Law of Migration, held in December 2000 in Astana (Government Program 2001.10.29. N1371). The main directions of future project will be discussed with the Kazakhstani government, especially the Inter-Ministerial Working Group on the development and implementation of migration policy. Objectives of the project on capacity building in migration management should be considered in the context of the migration policy of the government's migration. (Government Program 2001.10.29. N1371).

This chapter provides an overview of the demographic characteristic and migration process in 1992-2009. It also discusses changes in the ethnic makeup of Kazakhstan and the ways in which migration policy and migration process have differently affected the balance of ethnic groups in Kazakhstan.

Demographic Characteristic and Migration Processes

Kazakhstan receiving and sending massive numbers of migrants and are seen to be one of the top ten countries in the world for immigration (World Bank 2008: 23) and one of the most powerful migration process countries of the world. According to the Kazakhstan branch of the International Organization of Migration (IOM 2007), Kazakhstan comprised 0.4% of total international migration since the 1990.

Since 1992, Kazakhstan has experienced the impact of powerful flows that are largely defining its modern history and culture. In the new history of Kazakhstan, migration is now playing a significant role in population movement. Kazakhstan's government has led to the formation of a multi-ethnic population, changing the value and place of the diasporic ethnic group, transforming the socio-economic character of the state and society, and bringing them, within a historically short period of time, to the level of an industrial nation, motivated by the negative impact of the economic collapse in the 1990 years (Barcus and Werner 2007: 8-10).

The demographic development in 1992 was manifested in the high intensity of the processes in the mechanical movement of the population, which primarily affects the dynamics of the population. Therefore, the migration process also influences natural population growth.

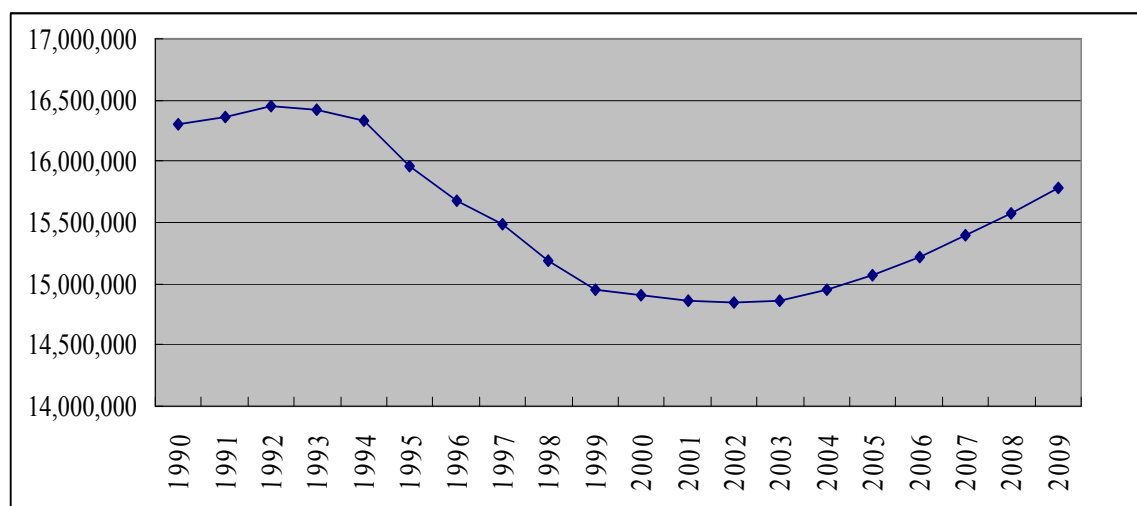
Table 4.1 Population of Kazakhstan (1939-2009)

Year (January)	Population (thousand)
1939	6,081
1959	9,295
1970	13,001
1979	14,685
1989	16,537
1993	16,986
1999	14,953
2005	15,075
2009	15,776

Source: Data 1939- 1999 from- Zhimobina E. P “Dinamika chislennosti I sostava naseleniya Kazakstan vo vtoroi polobine XX beak”. 2003 <<http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2003/0103/analit03.php>>., Data 2005-2009 from “Demography Year Book of Kazakhstan,” 2009. The Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, p. 8.

According to official statistics, the population increased after 1989, peaking at 16 million in 1993, and then declined to 15 million in the 1999 census. The populations downward trend continued through 2002 (Figure 4.1), when it was estimated the population’s decreased to 14.8 million, and then resumed its growth. In 2004, the population began increasing again to 15 million. The increase continued until 2009 and now the population has reached 15.7 million (Table 4.1).

Figure 4.1 Population of Kazakhstan (1990-2009 year)

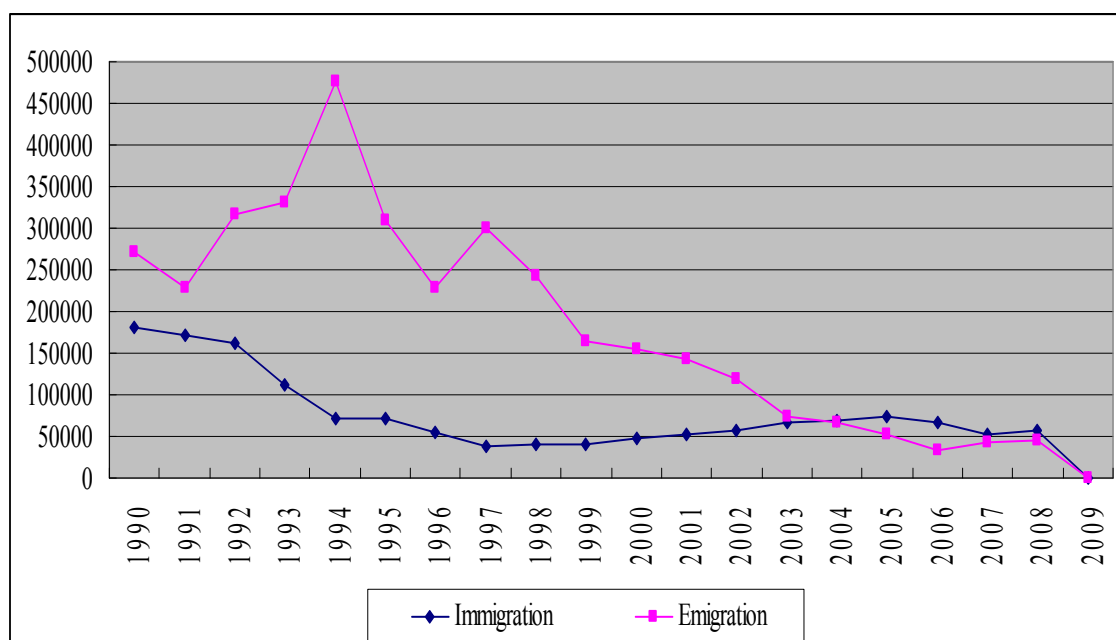


Source: “Kazakhstan Fsihrah 1991-2008”, 2009. *Statistichiskih Sbornik, Agentstvo Respubliki Kazakhstan po Statistiki.*, Astana, p. 12.

After 1992 many people actively participated in the migration process. Their count was increased. People who emigrated or immigrated to any country affect that country’s population in either a negative or positive way. If the immigrants count is higher than emigrants, it creates population growth, and the reverse is true if the emigrant count is higher (birth rate aside). It is demographic manpower. And it belongs to especially high skilled cadres. If, the any countries emigrants count higher than immigrants. It shows negative result.

According to official statistics, Kazakhstan has experienced lots of population loss resulting largely from the emigration of ethnic Slavic, German and other ethnic groups. Between 1991 and 2009, more than 3.4 million people emigrated from the country (Table 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Immigration and Emigration, 1990- 2009 (persons in thousands)



Source: The Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, <<http://www.stat.kz/digital/naselsenie/Pages/default.aspx>>., Data 1999-2009 from “Demography Year Book of Kazakhstan,” 2009. The Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, p. 8.

Since 1995, there has been a downward trend in migration. As shown from the following table (Table 4.2), the negative trend in migration existed from 1995 until 2003. Kazakhstan had an annual loss of its migratory population between the years 1990- 2000 that exceeded 1.9 million people. The height of emigration came in 1994 with the number of those departing coming up to about 477.0 thousand people. Also in recent years (2004- 2009) the number of emigration departures from the territory of Kazakhstan has declined from 52 thousand to 45.8 thousand people every year (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Immigration and Emigration, Balance of Migration (persons in thousands)

Year	Immigration	Emigration	Balance of Migration
1990	179.8	272.4	-92.5
1991	170.7	228.4	-57.6
1992	161.4	317.7	-156.2
1993	111.0	330.1	-219.0
1994	70.3	477.0	-406.6
1995	711	309.6	-238.4
1996	53.8	229.4	-175.5
1997	38.0	299.4	-261.3
1998	40.6	243.6	-203.0
1999	41,3	164,9	-123,6
2000	47.4	155.7	-108.3
2001	53.5	141.7	-88.1
2002	58.2	120.2	-62.0
2003	65.5	73.8	-8.3
2004	68.3	65.5	2.7
2005	74.8	52.1	22.6
2006	66.7	33.6	33.0
2007	53.3	42.4	10.9
2008	56.9	45.8	1.11
2009	41.4	33.9	7.06

Source: The Agency of Statistics of the Republic of

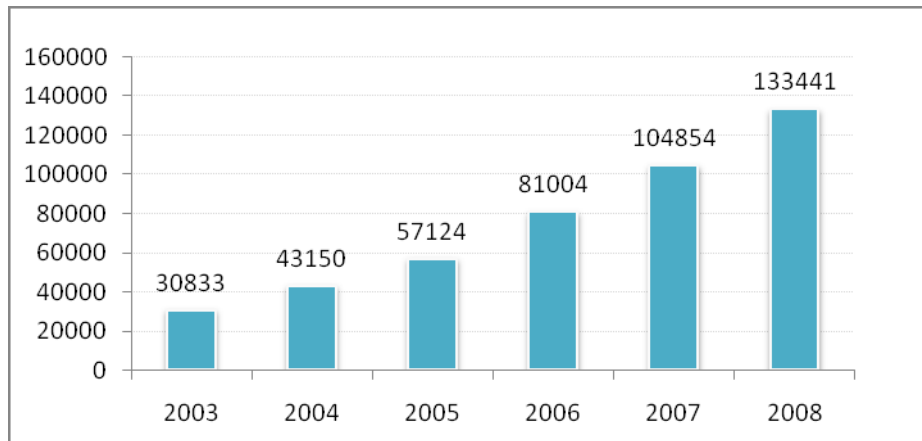
Kazakhstan, <<http://www.stat.kz/digital/naselsenie/Pages/default.aspx>>., data 1999-2009 from “*Demography Year Book of Kazakhstan*,” 2009. *The Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, p. 8.*

Since 1992, the economic downfall has negatively influenced the migration process in Kazakhstan. This can be seen in Table 4.2. There was a negative balance in the migration process between 1992- 2003 and the reasons for this negative trend of the balance in migration were following: firstly, large number of emigrants moved to other countries (Table 4.2) and secondly, a falling of birth rate and rising of death rate of Slavic and other ethnic groups (see Chapter 4 Table 4.6). Some countries (German and Russia) also with this issue have welcomed an “open door migration policy,” as migrants to Kazakhstan have done, following similar ethnic migration policies in Russia (Ivakhnyuk 2009: 16 and 53-54).

During 1992-2003, one of the negative aspects of migration was the decline economic conditions in Kazakhstan. The consequences of the economic crisis, when there was a decline in demand for highly skilled labor force was seen particularly in high industries, science and scientific services, through low wages and long delays in salary payments (Qinayatuli 2007: 228). This led to underutilization of intellectual potential of the whole country. Along with irretrievable emigration of hundreds of thousands of professionals, these same professionals’ current underemployment in trade, services, and temporary jobs affects the quality of the labor potential in general.

From 2004 to 2009, the migration balance became positive. Positive balance from 2.7 in 2004 to 33.0 in 2006 and 7.06 in 2009 (see Table 4.2). Some reasons for this positive trend were the improved economic conditions in Kazakhstan (see Figure 4.3). The country’s economic condition improvement has been foreign investment, mostly developing energy market of oil, natural gas and mining industries.

Figure 4.3 GDP growth rate US dollar (2003-2008)



Sources: *Statistic year book of Kazakhstan, 2009*. "Statistical year book Kazakhstan in 2008," Agency on Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, p. 81.

Thus, stabilization of migration in Kazakhstan has included a range of socio-economic, political, legal, organizational and financial measures in the field of immigration, and emigration.

This economic immigration consists of people who came to the usual employment for professional or business purposes or providing services, as well as for learning. In a country of migration it was allowed (Chants. M, 2002: 5-6):

- for a person to work in a company or a subcontractor, either individually or in groups to perform: repetitive types of work, typically work in industry or services,
- for professionals, managers and ordinary workers to work in a company or a subcontractor, either individually or in groups to meet one-off project (construction of the canal, bridge, etc.),
- for individual wage workers to transfer within multinational enterprises (for specific work activities related to design, implement broader, repetitive functions) or for specific work outside the transnational enterprises as employees who have self-employment,

- for unskilled, skilled, technical officers or other highly skilled workers or employees for the purposes of regular employment and settlement. (Chants. M, 2002: 5-6)

The emigration from Kazakhstan has gone mainly to the Commonwealth of Independent State (CIS) countries, and especially to Russia, and to countries outside the CIS such as Western countries (Nurbolat Massanov 1995: 110-111). The reason for the negative balance was an implemented migration policy in the major receiving countries. Thus, large-scale emigration has resulted in an unprecedented peacetime process of reducing the resident population, despite the relatively high natural growth of the diaspora population and above mentioned ethnic groups.

The IOM branch of Kazakhstan suggested that the government organize an inter-ministerial working group on migration in the summer of 1999. One of the first tasks of the working group was in identifying priorities for capacity-building projects in the management of the migration process, as coordinated with all agencies and Ministries dealing with migration. The migration policy program was adopted by the Government of 2000 and included plans for the following directions: (Chants. M, 2002: 5-6)

Entry Immigration:

- creating an annual database of immigrants;
- creating an information booklet for visitors to Kazakhstan;
- exploring the possibility of organizing a reception center for immigrants
- developing a mechanism to allow immigrants to obtain loans to purchase housing
- carrying out an annual sociological study on the adaptation and integration of the Kazakhs displaced
- and creating a central database for Refugees.

Departure Emigration

- establishing an information booklet for travelers from Kazakhstan,
- developing mechanisms of regulation and control of labor migration, as well as assistance, protection and return of migrant workers (2003),
- monitoring immigration sentiment of the population (every year since 2003), assisting in the voluntary return of refugees (2005). (Chants. M, 2002: 5-6)

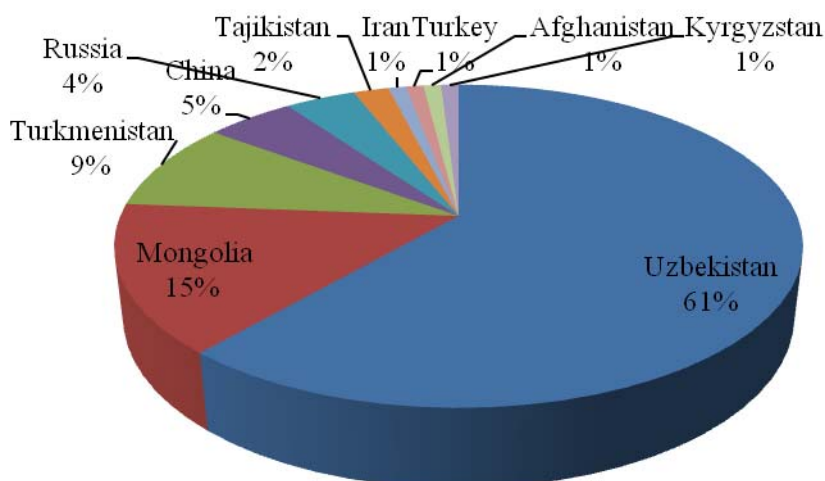
Currently the migrant population in Kazakhstan is an important issue of the country. The Kazakhstan government is trying to reduce the negative impact of emigration. Then it can be said that the increase in demographic number of the population growth has succeeded.

The Oralman Immigration Process

Many of Kazakhstan's ethnics are dispersed over more than 40 countries and have returned to their historical homeland in the years of independence. Kazakhstan's government has lured them into the country by promises of privileged social benefits, cheap housing and well paid jobs. Ethnic immigrants receive financial support from the state budget in the form of lump-sum payments, reimbursement of transportation expenses for travel and transportation assets, the allocation of funds for the purchase of housing and primary support in finding employment. They can also make use of temporary accommodation centers and centers for adaptation and integration, in order to obtain immigrants status for they stay, where they receive a free adjustment service (UNDP 2006: 11). This can include for example, Kazakh or Russian language training, legal advice, and training felt to be needed for occupations, such as skills upgrading and retraining. Today, many ethnic immigrants have become full members of the Kazakhstan's society, which is evidence of the implementation of migration policies

results. The vice chairman of the World Kazakh Association, Talgat Mamashev (2009 /01/10) has declared that Kazakhstan has received more than 700 thousand ethnic immigrants from 1991 to 2009, who obtained permission for permanent residence and citizenship in Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan’s government has planned to “receive about 5 million more ethnic Kazakhs from host countries” (Marat Yermukanov 2005: 18). Ethnic returners and the high birth rate among this ethnic group in have Kazakhstan contributed to the population by half a million, making the Kazakh ethnics dominant over other ethnic groups.

Figure 4.4 The Main countries of origin for ethnic migrants (by percent).



Source: UNDP, 2006. “Status of Oralman in Kazakhstan,” Report prepared by UNDP, Almaty, p.14.

The ethnic migrants throughout the years of 1991- 2005 are comprised from Uzbekistan (62%) Mongolia (15%), Turkmenistan (9%), China (5%) Russia (4%), Tajikistan (2%), Iran (1%), Turkey (1%), and Afghanistan and (1%), Kyrgyzstan (1%) (Figure 4.4).

Table 4.3 shows the number of migrated people and families by each metropolitan area to which they go.

Table 4.3 Total number of ethnic immigrants to Kazakhstan. (1993-2009)

Oblast/ City	Number of Families	Number of Person
Aqmola	7051	36,036
Aqtobe	6076	29,734
Almaty oblast	27,306	94,810
Arytau	3229	12,604
East Kazakhstan	6482	26,232
Zhambul	11,375	66,401
West Kazakhstan	2819	13,008
Qaraghandy	11,437	41,003
Qostanay	5151	20,543
Qyzylorda	3361	16,417
Manhgystau	23,243	80,106
Pavlodar	5533	25,694
North Kazakhstan	5586	27,808
South Kazakhstan	44,545	149,897
Almaty city	1597	5931
Astana city	1070	5045
TOTAL	165,861	651,299

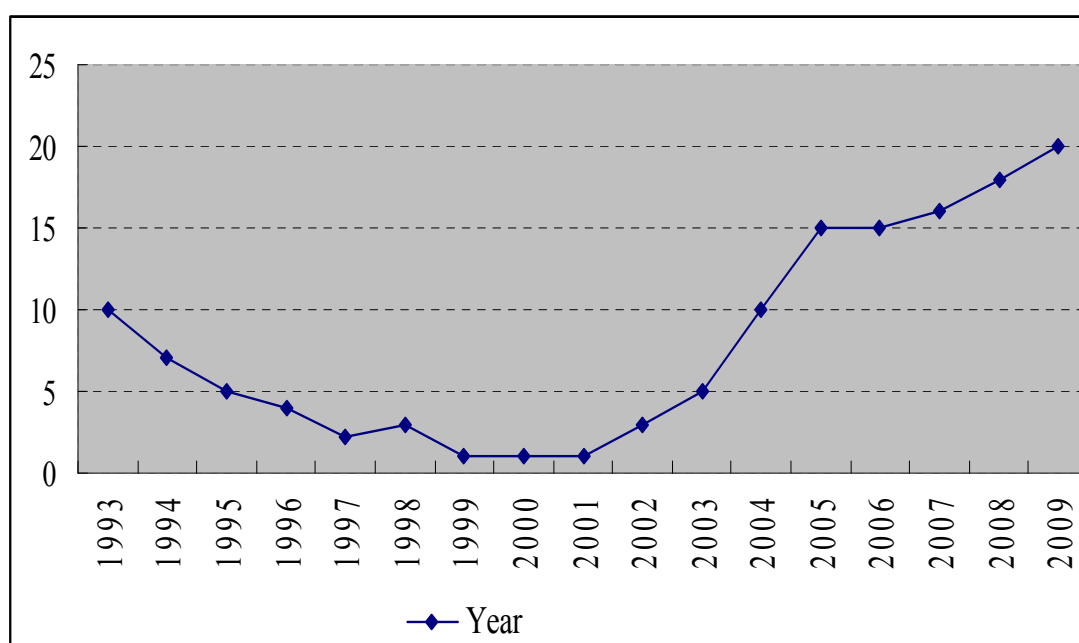
Source: Data 1993-2006 from UNDP, 2006. "Status of Oralman in Kazakhstan," Report prepared by UNDP, Almaty, p. 9-10., Data 2007-2009 from Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of Kazakhstan,

<http://www.enbek.gov.kz/migration/migr_rusdetail.php?recordID=81&mintrud=1>.

The highest quotas are set for the Mangistau, Karaganda, Kostanay, Pavlodar, Almaty, Zhambyl and South Kazakhstan regions. The unresolved problems of immigrants have led some of them to return to their former homes or to move within the country, generally from north to south, closer to their desired climate conditions. Southern and western areas are more preferred by ethnic Kazakh migrants, because these regions don't require additional language skills and the environment is more to their taste and easier to adapt to in Kazakhstan's society (UNDP 2006: 14). The Kazakhstan is government planning until that 2015 the main macro zones of

resettlement of program participants are on the North, South and Central axis of territorial development. Inside macro zone program participants will be settled: a) around the cities - urban leaders and supporting national and regional levels. They are expected to form a network of small satellite cities, with inherent economic specialization and the development of local labor markets. According to the latest migration policy program for the implementation of 45 breakthrough projects in cities - urban leaders and support would require not less than 390 thousand workers. They will be, b) in the border towns for: population stabilization, improving the administration of major importance in border areas and the prevention of population pressure (spontaneous external migration) from labor surplus areas of neighboring states, and finally c) in rural areas with high and medium potential (B. O Zhangutinn 2008: 4-5).

Figure 4.5 Quota for repatriation of ethnic migrants (households in thousands) (1993-2009)



Source: Data 1993-2006 from UNDP, 2006. "Status of Oralman in Kazakhstan," Report prepared by UNDP, Almaty, p.10., Data 2007- 2009 from "Demography Year Book of Kazakhstan," 2009. The Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, p. 850.

In 1994, Kazakhstan faced economic crises, which affected decrease in the number of immigrants. As shown in the above figure, the resettlement of ethnic immigrants has been adjusted to accommodate the immigration benefits, since 1993 (Figure 4.5).

Between 1995- 2001 the intensity of the ethnic immigration of the Kazakh population has decreased significantly, and the tendency to return has been present, as some of the Kazakhs have repatriated to their former place of residence, which is also largely determined by complex internal socio-economic situations in the republic.

Since 2009, as requested by the head of State, the immigration quota for oralmans will be increased to 20 thousand families a year. This has marked a new stage in the development of migration policy in Kazakhstan. According to documents (Enbek, 2008/12), the funding will come from, and within the republican and state budgets, as well as other sources not prohibited by the laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The total of the program in 2009 - 2011 respectively will require 197 795.6 million tenge, in 2009 - 17 551.5 million tenge in 2010 - 85 267.3 million tenge, including an additional 53 338.1 million tenge, in 2011 - 76 737.7 million tenge, including 54 additional 580.1 million tenge from the local budgets (Enbek, 2008/12).

In recent years, the number of ethnic immigrants have increased. During the 2005- 2008 years, around 15 thousand families have arrived each year. This increasing trend is related to the improved economic condition in the country as compared to other countries.

Most ethnic immigrant families have had a positive impact on the demographic growth of the country, and contributed by replenishing the labor force. According to Mamashev, more than half (54, 1%) of arrived ethnic immigrants were people of working age. The share of children under age 18 accounts for 41, 2% and pensioners are about 5% of the total ethnic immigrants. My overall conclusion about ethnic

immigrants is consistent with prior researchers, who claim that migration occurs due to reasons such as: better job, access to the market and service, and better education for their children. Beside these reasons, immigrants have needs to maintain their tradition and native language, as well as to improve their quality of life.

I have concluded that the 2009- 2011 government for ethnic immigrants has drawbacks, because it centers on allocating arrivals to more rural areas with low population. It is important for migrants to reside near to necessary services and market supplies, to live close to their relatives, and to be able to choose sustainable environments, given their history in their host country. For example, during the recent years, ethnic Kazakhs of Mongolia have migrated to Kazakhstan one of the reasons for migrating was to live near connect to their relatives and children (Werner and Barcus 2009: 57). Therefore, allocating migrants without considering their own needs and desires seem to be a very disadvantageous migration policy in the long run.

Ethnic Changes and the Migration Process

In this section to discuss ethnic changes in Kazakhstan. Some scholars, including Alexander Diener (2005a: 329-330) demonstrates it, the new independent state of Kazakhstan is a community that has been created by ethnic Kazakhs and has been put into the hands of certain population within the nation because of their ethnicity. John Comaroff noted out that ethnic identity, “are not things but relations; that their content is wrought in the particularities of their ongoing historical construction.” (Comaroff 1996: 165-166)

Kazakhstan’s ethnic structure is divided into two groups. One of them is “Turkic groups” (Kazakh, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Uigur, Karakalpaks, and Tatar, etc), and the other groups its “Slavic or European ethnic groups.” (German, Belarus, Ukrainian, etc) (Dave and Peter 2002: 1) The Kazakhstan government has carefully cultivated an

image of preservation of “inter-ethnic relations.”(Sancak and Finke 2005:132) Thus, a presidential authority is justified for the maintenance of stability, mainly in ethnic relations involving population stability or lack of a public conflict or competition between ethnic group relations in Kazakhstan.

The majority of the latter population group was non- titular ethnic group. Kazakhstan has a multiethnic population structure and the ethnic groups hold relatively little negative attitude toward each other, living and working harmoniously. And yet, among the titular groups, Kazakhs, are generally favored in official policies such as the migration policies.

Common features of these Slavic ethnic groups are highly favorable cultural and linguistic situation and urbanization, which contributed to their achievement of sufficiently high social and professional status (Zhangutinn 2008: 4). At the same time, the ethnic Slavs have played an integral role in society, in the functioning and development of a single economic complex, and in education. For example, in 1989, “Russians were well represented in health, physical education, social welfare – 40.1%, Ukrainians – 5.9%, Kazakhs – 38.5%. In public education Russians – 36.3%, Ukrainians – 5.6%, Kazakhs 42.4%; in science and scientific services Russians –53.0%, Kazakhs– 25.4%, Ukrainians– 7.0%), and in management Russians– 47.6% , Ukrainians– 9.2%, Kazakhs -30.2%).” (Zhangutinn 2008: 4)

The ethnic composition of the ethnic population of Kazakhstan (16.860 million) in 1989 was as follows: Kazakhs - 39.7%, Russian - 37.4%, Ukrainians 5.4%, Uzbeks - 2.0%, Germans - 5.8%, Tatars - 2.0%, Uyghur and Belarusians, Koreans and Azeri’s, Poles, Turks and other ethnic groups- 4.5% (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Ethnic Composition of the Population 1959- 2009 (percentage)

Nationality	1959 %	1970 %	1979 %	1989 %	1999 %	2009 %
Kazakh	30.0	32.6	36.0	39.7	53.4	63.1
Russian	42.7	42.4	40.8	37.4	29.9	23.7
Ukrainian	8.2	7.2	6.1	5.4	3.7	2.1
German	7.1	6.6	6.1	5.8	2.4	1.1
Tatar	1.5	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.7	1.3
Uzbek	1.1	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.5	2.8
Belarusian	1.2	1.5	1.2	1.1	0.8	1.0

Source: Data 1959-1999 from Bhavna, Dave and Peter Sinnott, 2002. "Demographic and Language Politics in the 1999 Kazakhstan Census," p.22., Data 2009 from "Demographics Yearbook of Kazakhstan 2008," 2009. The Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, p. 31.

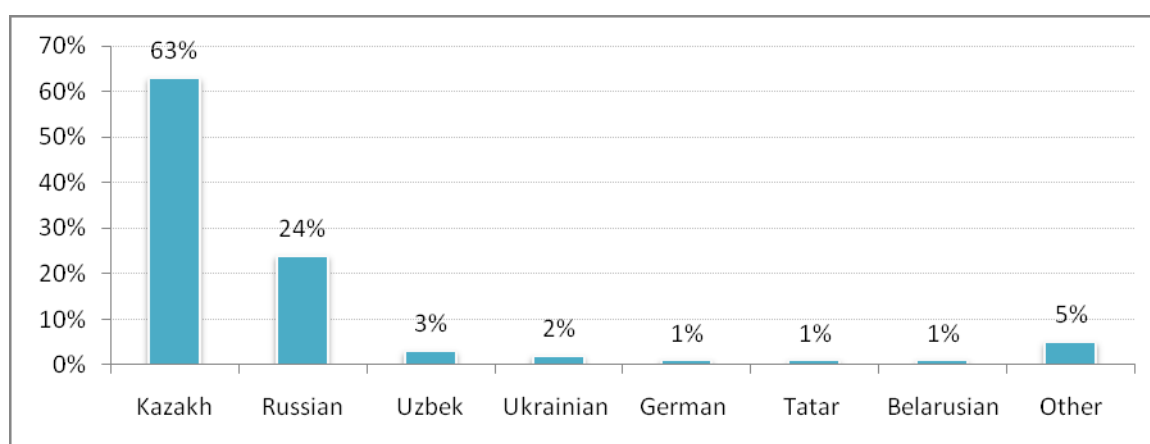
As shown from the above data only ethnic Kazakh groups have experienced a significant increase in population, at 23.4% (see Table 4.4).

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan's ethno-demographic landscape has changed significantly. As shown in the above table (Table 4.4) the ethnic structure in Kazakhstan has been changing rapidly since 1989. In the 1990s, there was a growth in the number of ethnic Kazakhs. The growth rate was low, but it has significantly increased the share of the Kazakh ethnics, from 1989s 39.7%, to 1999s 53.4%, to 2009 at 63.1% (Demographics Yearbook of Kazakhstan 2008: 31). Thus, departure to their historic homeland of Kazakhstan's Tatars, Germans, Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Jews has confirmed that, along with political factors, a share in the migration processes has been played by "ethno-cultural" factors.

Among the important factors in population change, one of the main reasons was the emigration, or outflow of population, including ethnic Slavic. The others are many

the difficult economic situation in the transition to a market economy, falling standards of living for the majority of the population, a sharp decline in social welfare from the state, etc (Sadovskaya 2002: 5-6) .

Figure 4.6 Ethnic component 2009 (percentage)



Source: Data from Chapter four, Table 4.4, p 72.

As shown in the above figure the ethnic composition of the population of Kazakhstan (total population 16.860 million) in 2009 was as follows: Kazakhs - 63%, Russian - 24%, Ukrainians 2.1%, Uzbeks - 2.8%, Germans - 1.1%, Tatars - 2.0%, Belarusians- 1%), Uyghur, Koreans, Poles, Turks and other ethnic groups- 5% (Figure 4.6).

The population of Slavic ethnic groups in Kazakhstan has significantly decreased since independence. In addition, there has been a downward trend in Germans, Ukrainians, Russians and other ethnic groups in the total population of the Kazakhstani State. Russian emigrants significantly increased from 1992-1995. Between the countries of Kazakhstan and Russia, there are long joint borders with a bilateral agreement and free visa regime. In this situation large diasporas and massive migrant have developed, as people travel for work trips and leisure trips to maintain social- economic or household contacts. The Russian ethnic groups' emigration process from Kazakhstan still continues today, but at a slower pace. Following the

1997 crisis reduced inflow to the region as a whole from the CIS and in particular from Kazakhstan, was due primarily to (push factor) economic reasons. According to the testimony of employees Migration Service of the field many migrants came from Kazakhstan to Russia and if there was even any real help in buying a home in employment. Even those who managed to get the status of forced boomer, receive a lump sum of 15,000 rubles per person. Of course, no dwelling can be bought with that money. Therefore, workers apply for Russian housing but wait it out in Kazakhstan in their unsold apartments. To sell makes no sense as difference in the prices of housing in the border territories of the two countries are very large. They use the proceeds to buy an apartment for the money in Kazakhstan Russia still does not. The only possibility for migrants to get low cost housing is to go to the north of the region, but there is the highest unemployment rates, and the least prospects for work.

Since mid 1940s the German government produced similar migration policy, which inspired the ethnic German diasporas from different parts of the world. The government encouraged the ethnic German diasporas, “through privileged migration and citizenship rights as well as providing special benefits to guarantee the social economic absorption of the ethnic German migrants.” (Kuscu 2008: 2-4) As a result after the independence Kazakhstan, large German ethnic groups left the country to return to their homeland.

Then, after independence of Kazakhstan, many large German ethnic groups returned to their home country. One factor that could weaken the emigration of ethnic Germans is the fulfillment of agreements signed by Kazakhstan and Germany, by the Intergovernmental Commission for the Germans living in Kazakhstan. These will address problems in education, culture, communications, and the development of small and medium-sized businesses in the areas densely populated by the German population in Kazakhstan.

In Kazakhstan, the present ethnic balance is much changed compared to 1989. This balance represents that this country is improving the country's national symbol, its ethnicity. Moreover, this ethnic balance has positive effects in all social spheres, including language culture, business, science, and administration.

The number of ethnic Kazakhs in the first decade of the 2000s has continued to grow rapidly. Compared with 1999, the number has increased by 25% and compared to 1989 by more than half. On the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union, there were 6.5 million Kazakhs in Kazakhstan. In late 1990s there were about 8 million, and in 2009 their number amounted to 9.5 million (see Table 4.5). Although the migration process of ethnic Kazakhs was a key factor in the population growth, another factor was the high birth rate (fertility) and low death rate (mortality) of the population of native Kazakh ethnics in Kazakhstan.

Table 4.5 Number of ethnic populations in Kazakhstan

Year	1979	1989	1999	2009
Total Population	14 684 283	16.199.154	14 955 106	15 776 492
Kazakh	5 289 349	6 534 616	7 971 618	9 540 806
Russia	5 991 205	6 227 549	4 489 705	3 869 661
Uzbek	263 295	332 017	369 816	463 381
Ukraine	897 694	896 240	549 494	422 680
Uyghur	147 943	185 301	210 062	241 946
Tatar	313 460	327982	249 357	226 803
German	900 207	957 518	356 439	220 975
Other groups	92 100	982 416	758 615	790 240

Source: Data 1979-1999 from Bhavna, Dave and Peter Sinnott, 2002. "Demographic and Language Politics in the 1999 Kazakhstan Census," p.2., Data 2009 from "Demographics Yearbook of Kazakhstan 2008," 2009. The Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, p.31.

The number of Kazakhs has increased because of positive immigration trends. This was one of the important a consequence of an active policy of repatriation of ethnic immigrants (of Kazakhs living in the CIS countries and from abroad). In addition, ethnic Kazakhs grew rapidly. The second in numbers on the demographic potential of the ethnic group in Kazakhstan were the Uzbeks. In 1989, there were 331 thousand; in 1999 - 371 thousand; in 2009- 457 thousand; and in 2010 - already 470 thousand (Table 4.5). Likewise, according to official estimates the levels of natural growth in recent years has advanced in the ethnic Kazakh groups.

Table 4.6 Birth death rate and natural increase by ethnic groups (per 1000 people)

Year	Birth		Death		Natural increase	
	1999	2008	1999	2008	1999	2008
Kazakh	17,77	27,06	6,62	6,63	11,15	20,43
Russia	8,84	12,68	14,28	15,35	-5,44	-2,67
Uzbek	25,54	33,02	6,04	6,30	19,50	26,72
Ukraine	9,56	12,37	21,55	25,06	-11,99	-12,69
Uyghur	16,72	25,34	5,70	6,35	11,02	18,99
Tatar	9,70	14,9	13,88	15,23	16,95	-0,33
German	13,97	21,81	10,49	11,90	3,48	9,91
Other group	13,79	22,23	11,66	11,87	2,13	10,36

Source: “Demographics Yearbook of Kazakhstan 2008,” 2009. The Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan, p.178.

First, the birth rate among Uzbeks in 2008 was 33 births to– 6 deaths, and the rate of natural increase was 27 people per 1000 population, which is 1/2 higher than the corresponding rates among the Slavic groups. Second, the birth rate among Kazakh in 2008 was 27 births to– 6 deaths, and the rate of natural increase was 20 people per 1000 population, which is also 1/2 higher than the corresponding rates among the Slavic groups. (see Table 4.6)

According to official data during the period of from 1992-2005, this country lost

more than more 200- 250 thousand emigrants of the Slavic, Germans and Koreans ethnic groups, like other groups (they lost many specialists engineers and higher educated peoples), this is negative effect for Kazakhstan's social economic environment (Tatimov 2005: 28-29).

I have concluded that Kazakhstan's ethnic and demographic changes since independence some reasons. First, ethnic Kazakhs have become the majority group of the total population, and since 1992, the migration policy of repatriation to the country should has brought back at least as many ethnic Kazakh immigrants. Thus, as the government's special repatriation program invites them into the country, every year more than 100 thousand ethnic migrants return from their host countries which are settled by more than 4.5 million Kazakhs (outside of Kazakhstan and abroad).

Second, the Slavic and other ethnic groups have low birth rates because of their emigration from Kazakhstan to their home countries (Russian, German, Korea and other ethnic groups). Finally, the 1992 government policy was focused solely on Kazakh ethnics, thus the other ethnic groups, whom were not precisely evaluated and included in policy program, have emigrated outside the country. As a result, the overall population has decreased and the ethnic structure has changed significantly.

In this section analyzed the migratory processes characteristic of the since 1992, but it is necessary to note that is analyzed not all decades of sovereign existence of Kazakhstan. Here explain about that migratory process and several motives. First, in the second-half of the 1990s, the motives of migration were substantially different than in the first. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the emigration was of an emotional and ethnic nature. Many non-titular citizens in particular Russian and German could not be subdued to the ethnically expressed initiatives of the newly independent state. A sharp worsening in the economic situation even more greatly stimulated emigratory moods. In the second-half of the 1990s, the sovereignty was

actually already perceived. Some problems are now examined through the prism of social and economic situations, which have been considerably stabilized. Migration became much more rational over time. This phenomenon is characteristic for Kazakhstan as a whole, with the required regional nuances. Second, the following motive is that reflects regional particular character. Eastern- Kazakhstan and Semipalatinsk regions were united in 1997. These united regions were characterized by economic (industrial in Eastern- Kazakhstan and agrarian in Semipalatinsk), ethno-demographical (the predominance of Russians in the Eastern Kazakhstan and Kazakhs in the Semipalatinsk) and migratory characteristics. From an economic point of view, East Kazakhstan was more Russian, than Kazakhstani. In they were more clearly expressed emigration for the limits of Kazakhstan and the migratory flow from village to city. In the external exchange migratory connections with the Altai edge are very active. In the Semipalatinsk region they had great significance and flow from inter-regional migration (with the negative balance). After the situation was averaged out, the united region lost both population externally and the external migratory exchange.

Impacts of Immigration Policy

Over the last 18 years the government policy has not provided clear details about the migration situation, influencing factors, or possible negative consequences but rather than outline what is ideal. However, section below will attempt to reflect on both the positive and negative impacts of these government policies.

Increasing migration can have both positive and negative impacts on the society. Among the negative consequences of migration, the most serious is to lose a large amount of skilled workforce. As a consequence, there is a lack of professional human resources which are, necessary for nations' future development. Indeed, much of the

valuable manpower has been migrating from Kazakhstan to other countries. Migration losses caused negative changes in the quality of the labour potential. For example, during the single year of 1999, more than 43 thousand people with higher education emigrated from Kazakhstan (Demographic Year Book 2009: 903).

The ethno-demographic situation in Kazakhstan is still determined by some factors. The clearest measure of that acted rapidly changing ethnic population structure. In order to identify migration trends is important mentioned earlier, to have ethnic in differentiation resettlement in Kazakhstan, as Kazakhs live mainly in rural areas, and Russians and Russian – speakers in the cities. To a large extent, the factors of emigration stemmed precisely from this situation. Some factors are expatriate economic and cultural (historical) factors. Reasons for emigration from Kazakhstan to their historical homeland include attractions such as economic and immigration policies. For example, German and Russian ethnics also attracted by government immigration policy (pull factor) that support their former citizens or diaspora people of highly skilled educated people from abroad. Other reasons for emigrating from Kazakhstan to abroad are the more effective areas with a high proportion of rural population and pronounced migration flow, given the “rural- urban” economic factor. The flow of this was caused by unfavorable socio-economic situations or economic factor in rural areas after independence.

Demographic pressure on the urban from the rural population and the loss of political and social stability has led to the emigration of Russian and German ethnics, which appeared in Kazakhstan for several years (cultural factor). In the early 1990s, emigration was more strongly expressed in Kazakhstan, in the large proportion of the Kazakh ethnic group, in predominantly rural areas and less explicitly in the regions of large concentration of European ethnic groups. For example, as a result of

expatriating ethnic groups such as Russian, Germans and Ukrainians, their ethnic proportion of Kazakhstan was to about 56% from 1989-2009. (Chapter 4. Table 4.5)

Under the scope of policy that aims to reduce the negative effects of emigration, there must be prescribed the ways to support and assist intellectual and professional human resources, as well as the ways that they can contribute to the development of their homeland. This means full inclusion of all ethnic people, including Slavic groups. Furthermore, the acclimatization issues are closely connected to those of migration. From the economical standpoint the migration process is beneficial, because it gathers workforce into more urbanized and productive areas, raising overall productivity. Because of limited job vacancies in rural areas, immigrants are largely moving to urban areas (Diener 2003: 303-304).

The migratory process has been one of the main sources of ethnic demographic changes and cultural changes in Kazakhstan since independence. Kazakhstan's migrant population has its own features and characteristics due to its geopolitical location (and remoteness from the centres of social tension) and, historical background. It is related to the exodus of the ethnic Kazakh diaspora people and the Kazakhstan government's immigration policy, which was influenced by political repression outside the country. It was also influenced by the uniqueness of the socio-economic and demographic development of the Republic in the transition economy, the stable political situation. The management of immigration processes, and particularly ethnic immigrants, has been done with the establishment of "economic and cultural incentives" (Werner & Barcus 2009: 55). It is one of the significant political contexts in the Kazakhstan (King & Melvin 2000: 131). It has an impact on the socio-economy, culture and ethnic demographic structure in Kazakhstan.

I have concluded that some factors that have affected and intensified migration

trends and formed specific movement patterns can be conceptualized into the following factors:

The political factor - since independence, the government has claimed to build a democratic society and made various political reforms in Kazakhstan (Massanov 1995: 6-8). These reforms have influenced the migration process greatly and are the most powerful factor in the migration process. A positive factor in the regulation of migration processes in Kazakhstan is its political stability. Currently, there are practically no cases where migrants leave the country for purely political reasons and thus today political stability in the country is a major factor in reducing out-migration of population from the country. At the same time, the existence of tensions in the CIS and other countries (as in Afghanistan), and as well as the emergence of various ethnic conflicts have significantly reduced the migration disposition of potential migrants in Kazakhstan.

The cultural factor - increased migration activity of the population is influenced by a cultural factor, which can be explained by the desire of formerly deported peoples in Kazakhstan to return and by the consolidation of nations in the historic homeland. The Kazakhstan government has proposed to change the ethnic balance supporting the return migration process and granting return migrants an automatic residency upon return. This large ethnic immigration process can help the country maintain its traditional Kazakh culture and language (UNDP 2006: 9).

The economic factor –government reduced living standards due to the lack of jobs has had a significant impact on the migration process (Mametkazyuly Kanat: 2010/06/18). This can be seen from comparing migration with rising unemployment, in a dependence that is almost directly proportional. According to the UNDP report, rates of employment were exceptionally low at just 32% in 2000 and they remained significantly lower than the employment rate amongst the general population, which

was 91.6 % in 2004 (UNDP 2006: 15). For example, in the beginning of the economic reforms there was an almost galloping rise in unemployment, as meanwhile immigration was also growing. Some factor influenced the rising unemployment rate of oralman immigrants. First, language barriers or lack of proficiency in Russian, second, differences in educational systems and quality of education in host countries that may “affect employability” (UNDP 2006: 15-16). In addition, oralmans arriving from foreign countries, such as from China, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan write in Ancient Kazakh (based on the Arabic alphabet), and those from Turkey write Kazakh in Latin alphabet. These immigrants lack modern Kazakh written language based on Cyrillic, and consequently have no opportunity to study in the higher educational institutions of the Kazakhstan.

Today, the question arises about the opening of special schools for children of oralmans. It is assumed that secondary education in Kazakhstan facilitates their admission to college, but it is clear that have to solve some problems. For example, one of the challenges of teaching immigrants is that different style of Kazakhs writing. Analysis of the educational level of oralmans shows that 33,100 people (9,2%) have arrived with higher education, and over than 5,200 people (1,4%) with incomplete higher education. One in five have special secondary education, or 233,700 people (65%), and about 14,000 people. (3, 9%) have no education (Zhangutinn 2008: 5-6). Low levels of education and resettlement mainly in rural areas have led to high unemployment among oralmans.

Addressing these issues is primarily the prerogative of the state. Because of the bulk language and educational problem, this makes it future difficult to adapt to the new comers. Oralman arriving from these countries face the difficulty of not being able to read or write Kazakh. In this situation, having insufficient skills in languages, oralmans find it impossible to find jobs. (UNDP 2006: 15-16). Thus the state budget

has come under increasing pressure in recent years, prompting the government to implement a series of economic crisis-prevention activities.

The environmental factor- this country located many climate zones because of its huge territory. Some region, especially southern Kazakhstan, have warm weather (pull factor) that is attracting many immigrants. However, some key factors in enhancing population migration flows is the deterioration of ecological environment. Today, apart from known areas of environmental pollution such as the zone of Semipalatinsk and the Aral Sea, new areas, such as the Western Kazakhstan region are developing with poor environmental parameters (Government Program 2001.10.29.N1371). In recent years, in regions with high pollution and difficult nature or climate, workers are stabilized via compensation in the social order (rates and allowances to wages, better housing, provision of childcare facilities). With the economic crisis, these compensatory measures have practically ceased to operate. And with the continuing trends of environmental degradation, environmental pollution is causing concern for the health, manifest in the “environmental migrant.” A lack of mechanisms to regulate these flows raises a number of socio- economic problems including the difficulties of employment and lack of housing in these new resettlement sites.

The migration policy should not only focus on increasing the population size, but also it should be directed toward problems and issues encountered by migrants and toward finding ways to minimize them. The Kazakh ethnics are growing significantly together with socio-economic, and political factors, as well as conditions that are changing ethnic, demographic, and cultural stereotypes.

There is still a need for improved migration policy and programs in order to effectively reduce the aforementioned negative impacts and consequences of migration processes. The Kazakh ethnic migration process which has started in 1991

has gained experience of 18-19 years. In these years 700,000, and even according to some data, 1 million Kazakh have moved back to their homeland (Kanat 2010/06/18). This migration has affected Kazakhstan's population's interior diversity, number and spiritual awakening very strongly.

The dissolution of the former Soviet Union who had powered the Kazakh SSR has ultimately made Kazakhs' dreams all over the world become more realistic. Thus, immediately after the independence of Kazakhstan, ethnic Kazakhs abroad gathered and started the Kazakh ethnic migration. This was the start of a new phenomenon named "The Migration" in Kazakhstan's social and political space.

I have concluded that this Kazakh migration process should not be only composed of promises and slogans but some serious activities should be undertaken. Kazakhstan is a multiethnic country whose members are all over the world, and is the only one country where the Kazakh nation can develop and increase. The solution to the future of this nation is deeply related to the migration process. Kazakhstan has an advantage in this since Kazakhs abroad mostly live in the countries which have borders with Kazakhstan. The results of immigration policies in this countries caused effects in ways:

1. There will be positive effects on ethnic structure changes and demographic future trend.
2. There will be the establishment of political relations between sending and receiving countries.
3. It helps to protect the national ethno-environment and gives moral support to the population.

In this case Kazakhstan shouldn't try to move back all Kazakhs abroad, but encouraged immigrants and help them solve problems related to migration.

After the dissolution of the former Soviet Union other nations composing they have become foreigners. Thus a new demographic strategy related to the post- Soviet nation was needed. According to the data recorded in 1990 there are approximately 30 million Russians, 8 million Ukrainians, 5 million Uzbeks, 4.5 million Kazakhs, 2 million Armenians, 2 million Russians (Qinaiatuly 2007: 192) living in other countries than their homeland. Also 2.5 million of 6 Mongolians all over the world live in Mongolia. However in above countries there were not many migration processes taken place, unlike in Kazakhstan which acted differently. Kazakhstan is a country which has had an ethno-demographic recession in times of the Soviet Union. When Kazakhstan declared its independence, only 38% of the population were ethnic Kazakhs nationally. This was an inconvenient situation for the country and it which was tried to establish an independent and sovereign country. The Government decided that the only solution for this matter is to move and settle Kazakhs abroad to Kazakhstan. By using opportunities left from the former Soviet Union, Kazakhstan immediately started the ethnic migration process and is successfully implementing in. For example, Russia started to invite Russians abroad only when it realized that the population increasing rate diminished in 2006.

The Kazakh ethnic migration in 1990s has not only changed the composition of Kazakh nation but also led to other nations migrations out of Kazakhstan. In the last 19 years, official data on the number of other ethnic groups who emigrated to outside is 4 times more than Kazakhs ethnic who have immigrated into the Kazakhstan. Consequently, starting from the years 1997-1998 the ethno-demographic situation of the Kazakh ethnicity inside of the Kazakhstan nation has started to receive a positive outcome. According to in President Nazarbayev's speeches (Astana September 29) was "pursuing a wise migration policy and encouraging the natural demographic

growth rates, has corrected the “ethno- demographic disproportions of the over time.”(Yermukanov 2005: 18)

In 2009, 61% of Kazakhstan’s population was ethnic Kazakh. Taking into consideration the birthrate it is expected in 10-15 years that it will become more than 70% Kazakh. Therefore, government immigration policies have resulted in change in the ethno-demographic structure of this country.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Conclusion and Suggestion

After Kazakhstan declared its independence, it has become a large performer in the worldwide international migration process. The attractions of social and economical stability (with an increase in the level of living standard), stable ethno-demographic and population growth, the inexistence of nation struggles as well as positive geopolitical situations, have lead to a huge flow of immigrants to Kazakhstan in the years since independence. But how has the Kazakhstan's responded in terms of policy? Then, how has that immigration policy affected the ethno-demographic structure of Kazakhstan? In this conclusion I have suggest that results of the ethnic immigration policy include strengthening the national identity, creating a positive effect on the ethno-demographic outcomes, and increasing the number of the population size over the last eighteen years.

The immigration policy changed many times by the Kazakhstan government between 1992-2009, mainly in response to the rise of new issues with migration over time, from the need for oralman to have citizenship, to the need for more and better benefits and social integration programs. The first change (1992-1997), on the Law on Immigration was to solve the problem of vague documents. The 1997 change as especially needed as, at the end of the five year labor contract for oralman, many desired permanent citizenship status for which there was no prior provision. The 1997 change and the 2002 amendment allowed for oralman immigrants to Kazakhstan to receive full citizenship status. In the first decade of the twenty- first century, from around 2000-2009 medium and long- term immigration policies were implemented to deal the problems of housing and unemployment of oralman immigrants. The latest policy, the 2009 advent of the "Blessed Migration"(Nurly Kosh) program dealt with

the provision of improved benefits to immigrants, and the structuring of population distribution across Kazakhstan, by offering benefits to oralman immigrants who settle in rural areas. The issues discussed in sections above have all factored into the changes to the immigration policies, as the Kazakhstan's government tried to use policy in response to both immigrants, former citizens and structural needs.

Government policy also positively affected the ethnic and demographic problems of the country by increasing the population size, and contributing to culture and language revitalization. This study shows that particular government policies, as implemented on ethnic migration, can be bring to a country a positive effect on its ethnic demographic picture. Statistical evidence from the 1992-2009 period shows that the Kazakhstani government has been successful in implementing ethnic demographic shifts through their ethnic migration programs. In 1989, the ethnic Kazakhs represented 39.7% of the Kazakh republic's population, but increased to over 63.1% of the population by 2009. This country has became home to more than one million new immigrants since 1992, of which over 700 thousand are ethnic Kazakhs or oralman immigrants. A change in demographic structure of a country, particularly in its ethnic component, can indeed influence future policies and the well-being of that country. But along with these changes come challenges, as seen in the native Kazakhstan resistance at times to new migrants. If such ethnic change is not welcomed by the existing population, it could result in a loss of national symbols and traditional cultural landscape, something that is dangerous to the symbols formation of a young country. In this case, results of the ethic immigration policy have include a strengthening of the national identity and increased numbers of population. In this sense, ethnic and traditional culture have served as most important elements for supporting national identity and achieving positive results from the Kazakhstan government's immigration policies.

Ethnic immigration policy in Kazakhstan is an example of a implementation of a complex ethnic migration and repatriation program. As consequence of the various policy changes, many ethnic immigrants were resettled in Kazakhstan. But, however much the ethnic immigration policies have been implemented, a large flow of immigrants always find themselves confronting some social hurdles and unexpected changes in lifestyle, in order to adapt to their living in new environment. While the latest policy change, Nurly Kosh, aims to direct attention to the need for culture and language training for new ethnic immigrants, it will remain to future research to investigate the results of this new policy change for the integration of ethnic immigrants in Kazakhstan.

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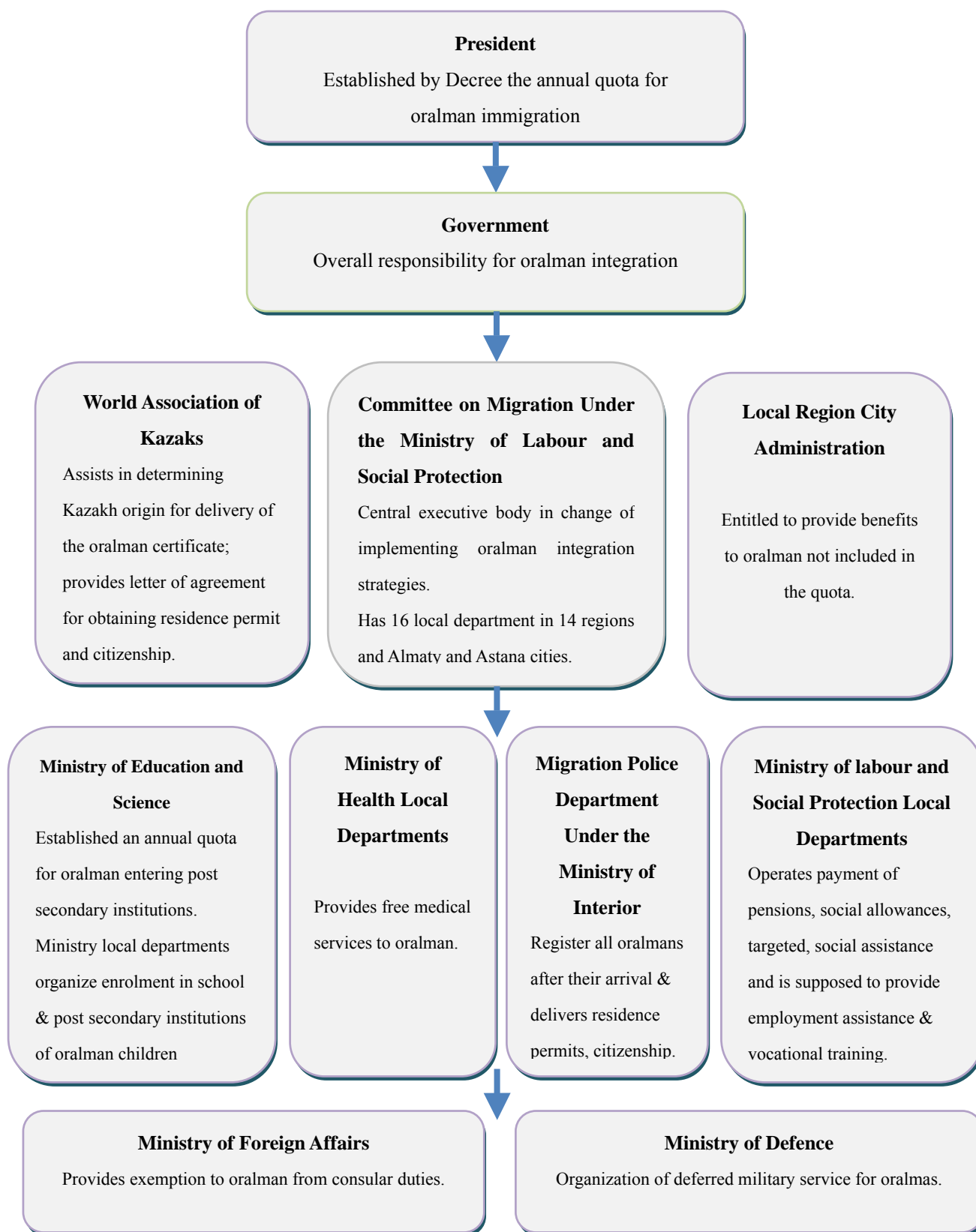
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Figure A-2. The Institutions responsibilities for Immigration Policies



Source: UNDP, 2006. "Status of Oralman in Kazakhstan," Kazakhstan, Astana p.12.