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1. Introduction

Kazakhstan is the ninth largest country by its territory in the world. On 2.72 million square kilometres of territory is, however, living only about 16 million inhabitants, i.e. less than 6 persons on a sq. kilometre. In the context of this fact and the developmental opportunities represented especially by its geographical location and rich natural resources, the country faces a particular shortage of human resources. It was recognized in the very initial stage of the independent Kazakhstan existence. Taking also into account that the titular nation was in minority at that time the political power decided to mobilize the ethnic Kazakhs living abroad and start the process of their repatriation.

1.1 Problem definition

Repatriation, the process of expatriates' return and adjustment to their home countries (Kamoche, 1997; Lazarova and Caligiuri 2001), has been the subject of many studies of the last decades. Research has clearly indicated that the repatriation process is important for a receiving society: bad repatriation leads to dissatisfaction and the risk of former repatriates quitting (Jassawalla and Sashittal, 2009; Kamoche, 1997, Mäkelä and Suutari, 2009).

Traditionally, international migration has been explained using economic and demographic theories. The causes of migration streams between countries have been interpreted to be the result of the differences in wages and living standards or in the population age structure (Zelinsky, 1971; Massey et al. 1993). Recently, however, there has been increasing interest in the impact of different institutions on the formation of migration streams, including (nation) states. At that, the importance of policy has been emphasized as a factor in both selecting out immigrants and inducing migration streams (Leitner, 1995; Seifert, 1997; Tesfahuney, 1998).

A phenomenon in which political factors have played a greater role than usual is the ethnic (return) migration in contemporary Europe. Here the post-WW II pioneers have been Germany and Israel. During the whole post-war period, these countries promoted the migration of ethnic Germans and Jews, respectively, from other countries (Groenendijk, 1997). The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the following political and economic changes in Central and East Europe yet brought a remarkable increase in the volume of ethnic migration since the late 1980s. In addition to Germany and Israel, Greece and Finland began to favour ethnic migration (Voutira, 1991; Kyntäjä, 1997). Also, the Central and East European transition countries, which previously had been points of departure for ethnic migrants, were now becoming the destination for those from their diasporas in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

As a Soviet republic, Kazakhstan was often referred to as "the laboratory of the friendship of peoples". With the break-up of the Soviet Union and the attainment of political independence in 1991, Kazakhstan emerged as a "multiethnic" state in which ethnic Kazakhs constituted less than fifty percent of

the population. Thus, as some scholars point out, the political elites in Kazakhstan have walked somewhat of a tightrope: trying not to alienate ethnic Russians and other non-Kazakh “Kazakhstanis” while at the same time fostering expectations of Kazakhstan as the Homeland of Kazakhs. Return migrants are caught in the resulting social and political ambivalences (Genina, 2007).

Since Kazakhstan became independent in 1991, its government has actively sponsored the return of ethnic Kazakhs living abroad, in particular from Mongolia, Uzbekistan, China, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan. Most of Kazakhs fled their native land in the 1920s and 1930s to escape the agricultural collectivization and other policies imposed by the Soviet government. This exodus, coupled with high Slav immigration throughout the Soviet period, meant that Kazakhstan on the threshold of independence found itself the only one of the fifteen former union republics in which the titular nationality was outnumbered by all other ethnic groups together. The government has therefore been keen to encourage as many ethnic Kazakhs to return as would.

If the Israelite and German repatriates are called *Aliyah* or *Aussiedler* respectively, then all repatriated Kazakhs are called *Oralman* (in plural *Oralmandar*), which means “people who came back.” The term “Oralman” appeared for the first time as a legal term for those who are arriving to Kazakhstan through the Program on the return migration of Kazakhs within the adopted quotas. However, many Kazakhs have been arriving in excess of quotas and they were also accepted as Oralman regardless the fact they cannot rely on the state. The later ones are called Oralmans as well, at least in the public discourse.

According to the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK) “on migration of population” the following notions were used: “Oralman is a person of indigenous nationality exiled outside the historic Homeland and denationalized by virtue of mass political repressions, illegal requisition, forced collectivization, other antihuman actions, and in-migrating to the Republic of Kazakhstan on a voluntary basis for permanent residence, and his/her offspring” offspring. (The law..., article 1, 1997).

Oralman have been coming to Kazakhstan since 1991, when the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev called for the return of diasporic Kazakhs to their “historical Homeland” (Kuscu, 2008). Although never officially acknowledged, the motivation of the President Nazarbayev’s policy of repatriation was a perceived need to increase the number of ethnic Kazakhs. This “demographic struggle” is exemplified in the formation of a quasi nongovernmental body (chaired by President Nazarbayev himself), The World Association of Kazakhs (WAK), which bears responsibility for developing and maintaining Kazakhstan’s amorphous diaspora policy. Through WAK, President Nursultan Nazarbaev appealed to ‘all Kazakhs to unite under a single flag on the soil of Kazakhstan (Janabel, 1996).

The promotion of “return migration” occurred not only through official and semi-official governmental channels, such as Kazakhstan’s embassies and WAK, but also through mass media, especially Kazakh language newspapers and radio, available to Kazakhs in different countries. Articles serving to promote ‘return migration’ circulated widely in Kazakh-language press in the early 1990’s and include titles such as: “Come to Our Homeland Saying “Homeland How Are You”; “Will All Kazakhs Return to Kazakhstan? Uniqueness of Our Nation is Our Language – Come Back to the Homeland

Kinsmen”; “Let the Great Migration Never Stop”; “It is Better to be a Common Person in Your Homeland than to be a Sultan in a Foreign Country” and etc.

Repatriation of ethnics Kazakhs is one of the most ambitious and oldest population programs of the RK. Increasing intensity of ethnic Kazakhs’ immigration to their Homeland is understood as one of the steps supporting directly population growth, and on the other hand, to raise the share of Kazakhs in the total population (Sancak, Finke, 2005). According to Ministry of Labor and Social Protection, for the period from 1991 to January 1, 2010 about 789,000 people officially arrived in the RK. There are more quantitative targets than qualitative ones, while building its ethnic return policy Kazakhstan faces issues of nation development. While much has been done from the top national management to encourage the Oralman to return to their ethnic Homeland, the economic and social integration of Oralman once resettled to the country remains a significant issue and principal challenge.

"The Oralman's matter" has not simple episodes of the ethnic migration process. Kazakhstan's model on regulation of ethnic migration often leads to contradictions among the parties involved. Two subjects are playing the crucial role in this matter. They are the Oralman and the Kazakh leaderships. Since the first days of implementing the Oralman project Kazakh leadership has been promised to ethnic Kazakhs in the world, that meet all commitments by resettlement in their Homeland. These include the rapid acquisition of citizenship, social security benefits, integration, adaptive learning and other things. Accordingly, in the first place, there was hope of Oralman to move to Kazakhstan. Moreover, the effectiveness of investments into this project is very much dependent on successful solutions of those questions. In this case, the President of Kazakhstan said: “Kazakhstan needs effective migration policy and like northern region of the country, in particular, North Kazakhstan and Kostanay oblasts observe depopulation while the southern regions are over-populated at present. Also, the number of people moving there increases. Therefore the issues with the repatriates must be solved properly, especially those regarding their accommodation. Fifty percent of the repatriates are living in over-populated areas (Nazarbayev, 2010).

Other kind of issues is related to the administration of repatriation process. Corruption of officials on the central and local levels of governance and the thefts of the state budget deeper and deeper penetrates into the various spheres of governance and distorts policy and strategy developments. As a result many Oralman are not receiving presupposed funds for their necessary expenses.

Despite high demands on the side of state, the management of migration (repatriation) process was initially inadequate. Migration in the early years of independence Kazakhstan was regulated by the decree of the President and the Government without specific and clear legal mechanisms for implementation (Jusupov, 2000). Only in late 1997 the existing legal vacuum was at least partially filled by the new law "on migration of population"(www.wikipedia.org, 2010). Its provisions to date are a fundamental right for the migration of Kazakhs from abroad.

A gesture of invitation of the Kazakh elite, many Kazakhs abroad understood as a call to move to their "historical Homeland". Moreover, the massive immigration of ethnic Kazakhs led not only to the growth of the Kazakh part of the population in Kazakhstan but also strengthen the Kazakh culture. In

parallel, however, it created a significant social problem of their integration into Kazakhstani society and set the stage for potential conflicts (Lapins and Alff, 2009).

1.2 Research objectives and background of the study

The overall objectives of thesis are as follows:

- To define “the question of Oralman's” in its real frameworks and complexity (reasons and expectations related to the history of repatriation, policy measures, legislative, role of executive and so on).
- To identify and order (hierarchize) issues (questions) related to the repatriation and integration of ethnic Kazakhs;
- To evaluate the current solution of these issues (and the effectiveness of utilization of human capital represented by Oralman's);
- To formulate recommendations for policy and other actions regarding Oralman's;
- To contribute to the increase of repatriation process effectiveness with a special regards to maximal utilization of Oralman's' human potential.

Following the objectives above, our research examines ethnic Kazakh returnees from abroad, their development in the "new place" and the overall effectiveness of repatriation process. It tries to consider all aspects of repatriation, from returning those people to their Homeland, through cultural and behavioral differences between them and Kazakhs from Kazakhstan, their spatial distribution on the territory of Kazakhstan, and finishing with the socio-demographic characteristics of this specific subpopulation, with a comprehensive description of Oralman's' life in Kazakhstan and the prospects of repatriation process.

1.3 Research questions

Based on the above-stated objectives, the following research questions have been formulated:

1. How many people belong to the Kazakh diaspora, where they are located and why they appeared in those countries? What is their political, economic and social status and cultural specificities?
2. Who is participating in the repatriation process? What is the scale and other basic parameters of the process? What are the historical roots, moving forces as well as policy and juridical context of their repatriation process? What are the perspectives of repatriation process?
3. Who are the Oralman's, what are their basic demographic characteristics? Where they are living in Kazakhstan and how they are stable or unstable in the space? How they reproduce themselves?

4. What is the level of their integration and which major issues they are face arriving to and living in Kazakhstan? How these problems could be solved? What are the current and prospective positions of Oralman in Kazakhstani society?

1.4 Initial hypotheses:

1. Ethnic Kazakhs living abroad form culturally original minority in particular countries. As such their political, social and economic position is weaker besides the fact that they are mostly located in countries with substantially lower standard of living than in their historical Homeland.
2. Process of repatriation consists of two major flows – official one, within the state program and its quotas, and “unofficial”, tolerated flow, outside this program and based on the personal initiative of its participants. The first flow is principal, the later one is associated with lower volumes of return migration but its role is comparably important. Organization and realization of repatriation process has its specific issues and substantial reserves. Regardless this fact it still has some perspectives.
3. Oralman are usually members of large multigenerational families rather than young individuals like in the case of other types of international migration. They are rather mobile after their arrival to Kazakhstan – the first, mostly appointed place of residence is not the final one. An intensive process of secondary territorial concentration of Oralman is often observed.
4. Integration of Oralman represents a crucial problem of the entire process or repatriation regardless the fact that ethnically they are representatives of the titular nation. These issues and their roots are similar to those which repatriated ethnic Germans met in Germany and Jews arriving to Israel.

1.5 Relevance of the research

This study aspires to contribute to understanding of the entire processes of ethnic Kazakhs repatriation being under way during past two decades. It highlights the importance and critically reviews and analyzes return migration of ethnic Kazakhs, the sizable and very costly state program of strategic importance. The relevance of the research is underlined by the fact that this process is not error and turbulence free in many respects. There also remain several important issues unsolved or solved only partially in this sphere. Moreover, this is the first attempt to embrace the repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs in its complexity, not only separately from demographic, sociological, economic, political, ethnographic or other partial point of view but together, in a wide context and interaction of all these aspects.

The specificity and partially also relevance of the diploma thesis theme is given by both symbolic and practical emplacement of people within larger contexts of the repatriation process, such as those

constituted by patterns of power and authority, citizenship, nationhood, and the state itself and its independence. Importance and size of ethnic Kazakhs repatriation and namely its official part is reflected by existence of special administrative structures responsible exclusively for management of this program and coordination of other participating bodies and activities. In the year 1997 the Agency on Demography and Migration of the RK was created to carry these functions and to take complex care for Oralman. Since 2004 the Agency was reorganized to the Committee on Migration of the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the RK¹. However, for realization of the repatriation policy or the migration policy incorporation of other governmental as well as non-governmental bodies has been important. For instance, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, the World Association of Kazakhs, and other agencies and public organizations have been either directly or indirectly involved into the project.

Relevance of the topic is also documented by the interest of government, mass media and public in the Oralman's matters. Repatriation represents a "hot topic" of many discussions between the government and non-governmental organizations on both official and unofficial forums. Newly also international organizations namely the UN agencies and IOM took initiative and have been trying to contribute the process itself and to support its effectiveness.

Other argument for the topical character of the problem is of a quantitative nature. Within past twenty years, repatriation personally experienced already about 6-7 per cent of total population of the country and over 10-11 per cent of Kazakhs living on the territory of Kazakhstan nowadays.²

The study of repatriation process and position of Oralman in the social structure of Kazakh society - is one of the important themes but very little has been studied and not yet given a specific score on the Kazakhstan project. Most of standard demographic characteristics of Oralman are unknown, knowledge is rather fragmental than does not corresponds with the overviewed character and societal importance of the topic. Practical problems in this sphere are mostly solved on a practical level without a sufficient theoretical and methodological background.

Last but not least argument is that repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs is a sizable and very costly state program of strategic importance – therefore it is twice as important to run it effectively as much as possible. Actually, about 45 billions of KZT equivalent approximately to 336 million USD were spent from the republican budget for reception and resettlement of Oralman only during a five-year period of highest prosperity of the country (2003-2007). In the year 2003 it was 3.4 billion KZT / 22.3 million USA dollars, in 2004 - 7.0 billion KZT / 49.2 million USA dollar, in 2005 - 11.4 billion KZT/ 87.6 million USA dollars, in 2006 - 11.1 billion KZT/ 83.4 million USA dollars, in 2007 - 12.1 billion KZT/ 96 million USA dollars³ (The Concept..., 2007).

¹ Decree of President of the RK on September 29, 2004 "On measures to further improve the system of government of the Republic of Kazakhstan"

² According to Committee on Migration of the RK, existing estimates and the 2008 Demographic Yearbook of the Republic of Kazakhstan

³ Average exchange rate of Kazakh tenge to the dollar USA in 2003 is 148.6 KZT, in 2004 is 133.3 KZT, in 2005 is 132 KZT, in 2006 is 127.3 KZT, in 2007 is 125 KZT, provided by the National Bank of Kazakhstan, available at <http://www.nationalbank.kz/index.cfm?docid=748>

This research engages with the broad themes by focusing on the role of nation-building on repatriation politics and complex view on repatriation ethnic Kazakhs, taking the perspective that issues demographic parity between Oralman and power in a given state. This case study of Kazakhstan's post-independence project on Oralman is thus developed as a means to shed light on its past, present and future development orientations.

These "Oralman's Matters" perform a complex view on ethnic Kazakhs repatriation based on works of demographers, economists, historian, policy makers and politicians. Addressing the issues of Oralman this work aspire to fill in a knowledge gap on the repatriation process as carried out by the Republic of Kazakhstan. It is providing the opportunity to ask new questions and give new answers to the key questions concerning ethnic migration viewed in a broad, complex context.

1.6 Basic structure of the study

This thesis consists of nine major chapters. In the very beginning, a brief introduction including problem and research aims specification, formulation of research questions and corresponding hypotheses introduced into the research plus discussion of the research relevance is provided. The following overview of the basic literature is directly related to repatriation and ethnic migration. It covers academic publications as well as the texts prepared by policymakers, journalists and the non-governmental organization (NGO) activists.

The chapter 3 is devoted to definitions of basic concepts reflecting existing terminological inconsistencies as well as unclear and incorrect interpretations of information on migration process. Also, in this part, theories and general concepts of international migration and migration of Oralman, their cultural differences and behaviour, description of mechanisms of repatriation, their behaviour after arrival to Kazakhstan, redistribution over the territory of the RK and integration issues are addressed.

The data on Oralman provided by official Kazakhstani and foreign statistics, their availability and quality, especially detail and reliability are discussed in the chapter 4.

The chapter 5 is methodological one. There the basic adopted approaches and particular methods are discussed and justified. These approaches and methods were selected to address especially the key issues in the fields of migration and population development and to assess accurately their consequences for development of Oralman within the population of Kazakhstan.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the basic characteristic of Kazakh Diaspora and the chapter 7 delve into the role of the Oralman in the social, cultural and political context of evolving Kazakhstan's nationalization process. Data pertaining to satisfaction with new venues of settlement are examined, as are the sentimental conceptions of Homeland among various elements of the Oralman community. Particular attention is given to governmental shortcomings in dealing with the returning members of Kazakhstani diaspora and the evidence of cultural disjuncture between the Oralman and their ethno-national kin on the territory of the "historic Homeland".

Chapter 8 focuses on demographic aspects of repatriation flows and sociodemographic characteristics, spatial distribution and territorial stability of Oralman, reproductive characteristics, model scenarios of Oralman's future population developments, international experience of other countries with repatriates and arisen problems potential solutions.

Chapter 9 concludes the master thesis by synthesizing the material from previous chapters. The interaction of satisfaction and sentiment frame the discussion on the perceptions of "Oralman's matters", as well as perspectives and suggestions for further management of the "Matters" developments.

2. Overview of literature

The most frequent theme in the current literature on return migrants is the experiences of repatriates with starting a new life in the Homeland. This literature often focuses on the social and economic challenges that return migrants face upon return. It stress that, despite policies and programs designed by Homeland governments to prevent such difficulties, the ethnic migrants experience the problems very similar to those experienced by labor migrants of other ethnic groups (Roll, 2003).

The book on Diaspora by Takeyuki Tsuda (Tsuda, 2009) and his collaborators has successfully opened up a new field of inquiry with this ethnographically rich, comparative work. This book called *Diasporic Homecomings* represents the first text providing a comparative overview of the major ethnic groups of returnees in Europe and East Asia reveals how the socio-cultural characteristics and national origins of the migrants influence their levels of marginalization in their ethnic Homelands, forcing many of them to redefine the meanings of home and Homeland. This book's comparative approach will help answer some issues of fundamental questions of Diaspora because it examines a wide variety of ethnic return migrant groups in different countries. Some groups have been living outside their ethnic Homelands for many generations (such as Jews and ethnic Germans), whereas others, such as Japanese Brazilians and Korean Chinese and Korean Americans, are only a couple of generations old. Some have retained their cultural heritage to a considerable extent, such as ethnic Hungarians in Romania and Finland Swedes in Finland, whereas others, such as Russian Jews and ethnic Germans, are quite assimilated and have lost much of their ancestral culture, despite retaining distinct ethnic identities. Although most diasporic returnees are labor migrants from poorer countries, the contributors to this book also consider the ethnic return migration of professionals and students from developed countries, because their different global positioning and higher socio-economic status in their ethnic Homelands seem to produce more positive ethnic outcomes. The comparative framework of this book therefore allows the contributors to analyze how the differing socio-cultural characteristics and national origins of ethnic return migrants influence their levels of social integration or marginalization in their ethnic Homelands and subsequent transformations in their ethno-national identities. The contributors also assess how differing migration patterns, Homeland immigration and nationality policies, and host society receptions affect the ethnic return migration experience.

This volume is a sweeping portrayal of one of the most intriguing population movements in the world today-migration across international borders driven by both economic need and ethnic affinity. The scholarship, by an international assemblage of top experts, is meticulous and rich in both empirical data and theoretical insights (Wayne, 2007).

The work "The Historical Destiny of the Kazakh Diaspora" by G. Mendikulova (Mendikulova, 2003) investigates the history of the Kazakh diaspora formation, the underlying factors and life of ethnic Kazakhs abroad. This book belongs to works in Diasporology, a new research direction in modern Kazakhstani social sciences, exploring issues of multi-ethnic population of Kazakhstan formation and development as well as historical, economic, demographic, ethno-psychological, socio-political, cultural and welfare and other aspects of development of Kazakh and irredentists diasporas in the world.

However, the data on the size of Kazakh diaspora abroad provided by Mendikulova does not match the data by other scientists and political figures as B. Zhanguttin, M. Tatimov or T. Mamashev. At the same time, Mendikulova argues that the data were received by the official request from the embassies of Kazakhstan in abroad and it is the exact number of Kazakhs in abroad.⁴

Regardless almost two decades of existence of independent Kazakhstan's and its repatriation programs, more significant theoretical literature on migration policy is still missing. Analysis of the repatriation policy, living conditions of Oralman when they returning to their historic Homeland, social and economic aspects of repatriation, adaptation and integration of ethnic Kazakhs, and other questions have not been studied yet. Since the beginning of 1990's, scientists and politicians have published only several articles addressing specific issues of repatriation as, for instance, positive aspects of migration policy, the number of repatriates and their legal status, social and economic statuses of Oralman and also some patriotic texts calling ethnic Kazakhs to return. In the current decade, a qualitatively new approach to problems of Oralman abroad appeared. Firstly, the texts prepared by the Project Oralman participants were published. Since scientists and professional journalists predominantly participated in the project, the texts presents mainly personal observations combined with analytical sketches of such authors as Alexeenko (Alexeenko, 2008). or E. Sadovskaya (Sadovskaya, 2001).. During the most recent period (2005-2009) a number of interesting newspaper and journal papers and conference abstracts devoted to the issues of repatriates appeared in Kazakhstan. Their analysis shows that the subject is very topical but requires further study. Among the authors returning regularly to the topic should be noted an independent journalist A. Sarym writing about life of ethnic Kazakhs in Kazakhstan as well as abroad.

Among the works of foreign authors, should be mentioned in the first place the doctoral dissertation of Isic Kuscü from Turkey defended at Indiana University (USA). Its author focused on the repatriation policy of Kazakhstan and the dissertation analyzes the public debate on the government's ethnic return migration policy in Kazakhstan. It also traces the discourse on Kazakh Oralman and demonstrates that discussion of these issues provided a forum for expression of divergent views on the nature of the identity that should be fostered in Kazakhstan. As the discourse on language and demography, the debate on ethnic migration served as an arena for public debate about whether identity of Kazakhstani inhabitants should stay on ethnic or civic basis. The analysis of the public debate in Kazakhstan performed by I. Kuscü is primarily based on analysis of the print media. This dissertation is rather polemical and written in a political manner. An important feature of the work is the fact that the work does not rely on a complex source base. The reason is that the data on Oralman were available neither domestic nor foreign researchers.

Other foreign authors are dealing with more specific questions, for example, how ethnicity and notions of a traditional Homeland do interact in shaping a community's values and images. As Alexander C. Diener shows in *One Homeland or Two? The answer, even in a diaspora, is far from a simple harking back to the "old country"* (Diener, 2005). Diener's research focuses on the complex case of the Kazakhs of Mongolia. Pushed out of the Soviet Union, then courted by the leaders of a new post-Soviet nation—the first-ever country named after them—and facing a newly urbanized, somewhat Russianized, and culturally

⁴ Fully discussed in chapter F

Sovietized Homeland, Mongolia's Kazakhs have had to figure out whether they can be better Kazakhs in Kazakhstan or in Mongolia, and then how much they identify as Kazakhstani and how much as Mongolians. Diener brings a battery of social science methodology to bear on this, especially intensive fieldwork in both Kazakhstan and Mongolia. In the end, he illustrates the complexity and dynamism of this multigenerational, diasporic community, while demonstrating that the link between identity and place, despite the effects of globalization, is far from eroding.

The title "Oralmans - ethnic Kazakhs in searching on identity" by Wolf Lappins and Henryk Alff from the University of Potsdam (Germany) collects materials examining different aspects of integration of Oralmans in the modern Kazakh society on the background of repatriation policy implementation (Lappins and Alff, 2009). The authors extensively discuss controversial aspects of the adopted migration management, issues of adaptation and integration to the society of their "historical Homeland". However, they do not consider the role of Kazakh diaspora abroad in this investigation and only marginally comment current repatriation policy of Kazakhstan. Important demographic aspects as well as positive developments in Oralmans focused policy is not discussed in their work at all.

The most recent and one of very valuable source of information on the "Oralmans Matters" is the UNDP's project "Promotion of social and economic integration of Oralmans" with rather significant impetus to Kazakh society. (UNDP Kazakhstan, 2006). The UNDP Kazakhstan is actively promoting the need for effective and rapid adaptation and integration of Oralmans in their new Homeland. The Project's paper provides insights into the country's migration policies focused on Oralmans as well as the analysis of the actual situation with their social, economic, and cultural integration. While focusing mainly on the findings of the survey, at the same time the report describes government activities and schemes pertaining to Oralmans. The importance of this paper is that it raises questions rather than provides answers or proposes remedies and invites academic and public debates on the raised problems.

3. Theoretical and empirical framework

Any academic work, any research should continue the earlier started process of cognition. The attained level of knowledge is reflected particularly by existing valid theories and theoretical concepts as well as by adopted terminology, terminological concepts and the entire discourse of the problem studied. Therefore the overview of these products characterizes not only the initial frontiers of space we are going to move when making research but also its starting point or “runway”.

3.1 Basic concepts

Within the framework of the migration concept, there is a number of principal conceptual and procedural questions. Change of residence or residential mobility, like mobility in general, varies along a distance continuum. Highly localized moves – from one apartment to another in the same building, from one house to another in the same neighbourhood or town – are clearly forms of mobility that should not be considered migrations (Bogue, Arriaga, Anderton, 1993).

The definitions given below are intended to be applicable to whatever kind of data are being analyzed, but they reflect to some degree the compromises that have to be made between the ideal and feasible in the real world empirical research. These concepts are: **“diaspora”, “repatriation”, “oralman”, “integration”, “assimilation”, and “return migration”**. It is not surprising that the modern scientific literature lacks clear definitions of some of these concepts. Therefore an important part of any research is their proper *a priori* specification.

The modern political science characterized the term **“diaspora”** as a group of ethnic minority and resettlement, living and operating in host country however, having the intense sentimental and material communication with country of origin (Mendikulova, 2006).

The term “diaspora” has two different meanings in this work. The first, quantitative is related to the population statistics of particular countries where ethnic Kazakhs are living. Since ethnicity is declaratory population characteristics, the numbers of ethnic Kazakhs provided by official statistics are undoubtedly covering also those Kazakhs who practically lost their ethnic roots except their genetic links. The second concept of diaspora can be labelled as a qualitative one and is going to cover only those ethnic Kazakhs who are using the Kazakh language and preserved basic values, traditions and customs in their life. Oralman are recruited namely from this wide, numerous “core” of Kazakhs diaspora since it is represented namely in the countries of their prevailing origin.

In some cases there is used another criteria for identification of a diaspora members the “generational distance” from the emigrating ancestor. Emigrants plus their offsprings in the first or second generation are usually taken as the diaspora members. In the case of the Kazakh diaspora this quantitative criteria, however, does not play a determining role. The reason is that Kazakhs living abroad in national community are usually not losing their ethnic identity without respect for how many generations their families are living there. On the other side two, maximally three generation are undoubtedly enough for losing ethnic identity if the family or even individuals are living separately in other cultural and ethnic

venue as it can be seen, for instance, among Kazakhs in Europe or North America. Therefore this concept and its criteria is not applied in the presented research.

Under the term “**repatriation**” is generally understood a permanent return of former emigrants or their offsprings back to the country of their origin. Migrants who come home for other purpose than permanent residence cannot be considered immigrants and repatriates. Repatriates can be classified on the basis of different characteristics, e.g. by sex, age, marital status, size or type of family within he/she migrated, attained education, country of origin, the cause of return, etc.

The term “repatriation” is also used but has tended to acquire the meaning of a movement sponsored by a public authority, for instance, when there is an exchange of populations or a frontier adjustment (UN, Multilingual demographic dictionary, 1958). Repatriation (“returning to the native land”) has the advantage of being equally applicable to the acquisition of cultural heritage items outside their country of origin by normal purchase without any activity on the part of the State in which they have been held. When talking about the return of cultural property to indigenous peoples, concerns two quite different legal situations. Because cultures are not co-extensive with nations, claims for repatriation to autochthonous peoples may be contained within one legal system, and thus become matters of internal or national law, or they may be claims against another state, and thus become matters of international law (Prott, 1995).

The recent term “**Oralman**” goes back to the Kazakh word *oralu* (to turn or return) and thus *oralman* means “returnee” in Kazakh language. According to the official definition, an *oralman* is a “foreign citizen or a stateless person of Kazakh origin who was permanently residing abroad at the moment when the Republic of Kazakhstan acquired its sovereignty and who repatriates to the RK in order to take up permanent residence in Kazakhstan” (The Law ..., 1997).

The majority of ethnic Kazakhs, potential Oralman lives in Afghanistan, China, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Russia, Tadjikistan, Turkey and Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan,. Immigrating to Kazakhstan these persons obtain the status of Oralman and a broad spectrum of benefits law “On migration of population” (The Law ..., 1997). one can find among the benefits:

- rendering employment assistance, in advanced training and mastering new profession;
- conditions for learning state and Russian languages;
- providing deferment from the ranks of armed services in order established by legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- allotment quota on entering the secondary professional and higher professional education institutions;
- providing the neediest by places in schools, pre school organizations ;
- pension and benefit payment;
- realization of rehabilitated persons' rights on benefits granted for the persons suffered from political mass repressions;
- exemption from consular fees for visa issue on entering in the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- getting secured extent of Medicare under the legislation;
- rendering state targeted social assistance provided for citizenry of the republic of Kazakhstan;

- moving through frontier without levying customs duties and taxes;
- free pass to the permanent place of residence and carriage of asset (including livestock);
- allotment of means for purchasing dwelling and payment of lump sum grants.

The generally adopted definition is, however, different from the juridical one. The term "Oralman" is spread on all immigrants of Kazakh ethnicity returning to Kazakhstan with past twenty years regardless they participate in the governmental program of repatriation (and receive the benefits listed above) or are immigrating on any other basis, mostly on their own and without direct support of the government of the RK and its bodies. In our work we are mostly going to refer to this wider concept of repatriate (Oralman). During the first decade of Kazakh independence, the distinction was blurred. As present, Oralman status officially designates those returning within Kazakhstan's migration quota system but has also emerged in common speech as a way of referring to any Kazakh who has migrated to Kazakhstan from outside the state's territory (Diener, 2005).

However, the concept "Oralman" has caused controversy in society. Since the using of this term, it is already 19 years, Kazakh society very often discusses and wants to find the most appropriate term. Basically there are two groups of view. The first set relates to Oralman themselves. According to them this concept affects the moral and psychological mind and humiliation of person. Feeling like not a full-fledged "Kazakh", Oralman argue that the nation "Kazakh" in the world, only one and not divided into different concepts (Kimizbayev, 2009).⁵ The second group is represented by scientists, statesmen, officials agree with the relevance of the previous concept.⁶

"The word "Oralman" appeared after the proclamation of independence, when the law on migration was accepted. There was a need for a legal term to describe this category of citizens. The word "Oralman" is mostly used in Kazakhstan. In the present situation, the other terms are used, like "Otandastar" (countrymen) or "Qandastar" (the blood relative). It was suggested to move away from the word "Oralman", which literally translates as "returnee"." (Nazarbayev, 2009).

The concept "Oralman" is used to identify repatriated Kazakhs to determine their legal status and the right for public assistance. In addition, the status of "Oralman" gives also the right to obtain citizenship of the Republic of Kazakhstan. However, in the year 2010 the Committee on migration sent to Parliament a draft of the law where the previous term "Oralman" is retained (Abishev, 2009).

The term integration - is used on two levels. Generally, the term is used to describe the process of introducing a new element into an existing system, for example, introducing migrants into a new host society. The term is also used to refer to the process of bringing people of different racial, ethnic, or cultural groups into unrestricted and equal association in a society. A number of models are used to describe this process of mutual adjustment by migrants and their new host community. They are based as a stability concept concerning relations among parts within a system-like whole, the borders of which clearly separate it from its environment; in such a state, the system is said to be integrated (IOM, 2004a).

⁶ Oralman from China

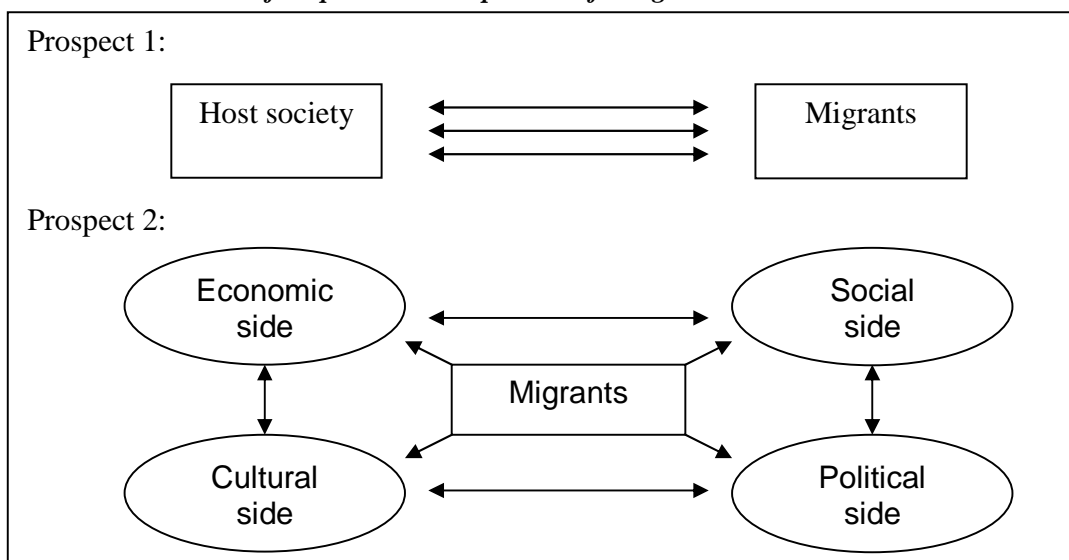
⁷ They are Zholdasbekov, Sabilyanov, Asankazykizy

Three other general meanings refer to processes of integration and the resulting degree of interconnectedness or quality of relations within the whole:

- the process of relating single elements to one another and, out of these, forming a new structure;
- adding single elements or partial structures to an existing structure, to form an interconnected whole;
- maintaining or improving relations within a system or structure.

These definitions are applicable to any area of study; they can, of course, be made more concrete by specifying the elements, the resulting structures and their particular properties. The process of repatriates' integration is a complex, continuous, long-term and bidirectional. The success of the process depends largely on how the new society will accept them. However, it depends on how immigrants want to participate in the life of the host society. This process includes the economic, political, social and cultural integration of immigrants into a new society (see table 1).

Table 1- Involvement of all parties in the process of integration



Source: Materials of the 84th session of the IOM, the International Dialogue on Migration, 2-4 December 2002

Although it is often difficult to calculate the exact indicators of success of integration, a number of key indicators may still be selected. Bearing in mind that integration is bi-directional process and indicators can be divided into two categories:

Table 2 - Indicators of integration

For immigrants:	For the host society:
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Knowledge of the language of the host society, writing and orally; 2. Access to education and the labor market in the host country; 3. Possibility of growth through education and work; 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tolerance and openness; 2. Willingness to accept immigrants; 3. Understanding the benefits and challenges of multi-cultural society; 4. Respect for human rights of migrants

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4. Equality before the law;
5. Freedom of religion and culture;
6. Compliance with laws and traditions of the host country. | 5. Access to objective information about the benefits of integration and understanding of the conditions, traditions and culture of immigrants |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Source: Materials of the 84th session of the IOM, the International Dialogue on Migration, 2-4 December 2002

Moreover, to estimate the amount of integration programs need to be applied, on the one hand, such objective factors as level of education, wages and participation in civil society organizations, and on the other hand, subjective factors such as "welfare" and psychological problems. Changes over time can be an indicator of the effectiveness of integration policies (see table 2).

The aim of the integration process is to find ways of social unity and community. Moreover, the one of the method in integration is a assimilation. **Assimilation** - the complete device in which the individual entirely abandoned its old values and takes the value system of the new environment. Widely used term "assimilation" in general terms means "assimilation", but in different areas of knowledge and sciences, its meaning is different, and even when it is directly on the ethnic processes, different authors contribute to its content nuances.

Assimilation has been understood as a one-sided process, in which immigrants and their descendants give up their culture and adapt completely to the society they have migrated to: "There is no doubt that the dominant norm in the United States through nearly all our history has been cultural assimilation. The dominant cultural group in the United States has been the so-called WASPs: White Anglo Saxon Protestants. Such has been the influence of this group on American culture that many social scientists describe the cultural pattern of the United States as Anglo-conformity: All other groups in America have been expected to adopt the language, culture, and social structure of the white northern Europeans..." (Farley, 1988).

The European experience sheds further light on the meaning of "assimilation". With the rise of nationalism in European societies in the late 19th and early 20th century, assimilation as a concept, and policies of assimilation as applied to national minorities, came to mean an attempt to create culturally homogenous nations. In the process, 'assimilation' became associated with ethnocentrism, cultural suppression and often with the use of violence to force minorities to conform. In the Jewish context, assimilation was initially a desirable goal; later, however, it became a loaded term, after assimilation 'failed' with the Nazi war crimes. After World War II, in reaction to the extremes of nationalism, fascism and the suppression and expulsion of minorities, with the increasing relevance of human rights, and with the rising confidence and cultural pride of minorities, 'assimilation' became a taboo concept.

Return migration. Return is often seen as a natural conclusion to the migration cycle. A large portion of migrants in fact intend to return to their home countries when the purpose of their stay abroad has been accomplished, whether that be at the conclusion of their job contracts, educational programmes, or when they have saved enough capital to start anew in their home country or simply retire comfortably. Skilled migrants who return home bring with them enhanced skills, ideas and knowledge acquired abroad, business contacts, accumulated savings and other human and capital assets thus making significant contributions to local economies (IOM, 2004). However, experience reveals that it is difficult to influence

a migrant's decision to return through policy intervention, and permanent return policies face many of the same challenges as those aiming at retention. If they are to be successful in the long run, developing countries need to create environments where the highly skilled are able to use their potential fruitfully. In other words, on some level, the professional opportunities offered by their home countries need to be equivalent to those migrants are forfeiting by moving away from their host countries (Prott, 1995).

3.2 Relevant theories and facts

Theories carry principal knowledge accumulated in the process of cognition, provide general information about particular phenomena, help us with orientation in more complex situations and guide us when understanding their nature, namely existing causalities. Theories also represent one of the backgrounds for further developments forecasting. One could find different kinds of theories (economic, social, geographic etc.) more or less relevant and applicable to ethnic Kazakhs repatriation process. However, probably the most relevant among them seem to be those dealing with general regularities of migration across international borders.

3.2.1 Theories of International Migration

The oldest and best-known theories explaining international migration are based on neoclassical economics. Economic theories were formed to explain the labour migration between countries. The logic here is as it follows: Migration between countries is generated by geographical differences in the supply of and demand for labour. Countries with a high ratio of labour to capital have low wages, but countries with a low ratio have high wages. The wage differential causes migration to higher wage countries (Wood, 1982; Massey et al., 1993). The number of migration theories based on neoclassical economics has increased in the course of time, but the differences in wages and living standards between countries have maintained their central role as factors explaining migration streams.

Demographic theories have also been widely used in explaining migration. The most well-known is the theory of mobility transition (Zelinsky, 1971). According to the theory, international migration is caused by the differences in population growth between countries which, in turn, is related to the different timing of demographic transition. In the course of history, all nations go through demographic transition that brings about fast population growth. As a result of 'overpopulation', a part of the population begins to look for the means of living elsewhere and leave the country. Population growth ceases and emigration stops as the demographic transition comes to an end. At the same time, population aging starts and the country becomes a destination for peoples with 'later demographic development' (Zelinsky, 1971). The theory of mobility transition supplements neoclassical economic theories. As a rule, the supply for labour is the largest in the countries where demographic transition is in full swing, but the smallest where the transition has come to an end. In respect of the capital, the situation is opposite. As demographic transition

is related to the socioeconomic modernization of society, most of the capital, in both absolute and relative terms, is found in the countries where the demographic development is more evolved.

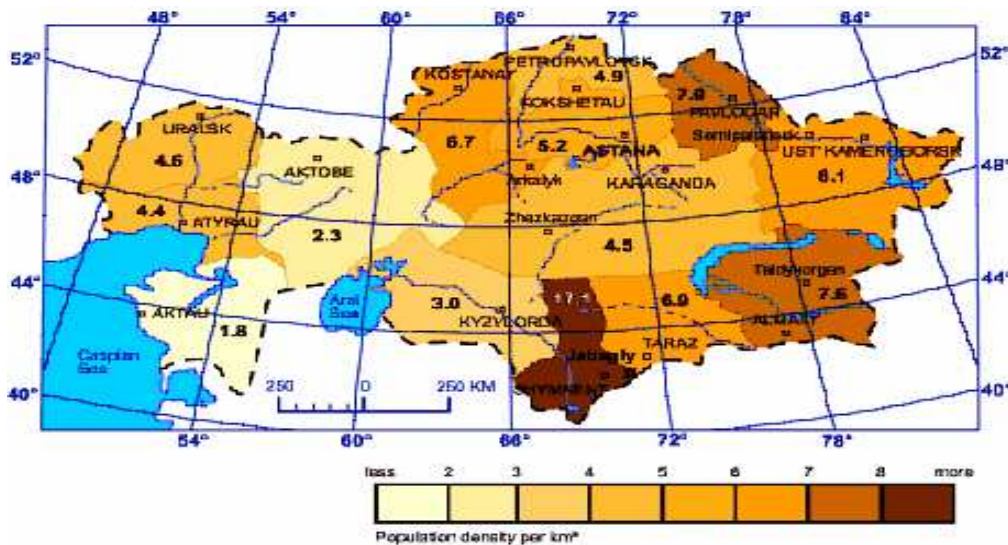
The theory of mobility transition has been criticized from several points of view. This has been seen as containing the ideas of both demographic determinism and the ideological imperialism characterizing modernization theories (Cadwallader, 1993; Woods, 1993). However, an important contribution of the theory in explaining migration is the simple argument that migration between countries, among other things, depends on the differences between population growth and structure.

The last decade is characterized by the growing popularity of political theories in explaining international migration. Traditionally, the state policy has been seen as an intermediate (although important) factor in modifying the migration streams caused by economic and/or demographic factors. Yet, recent attention has been given to how the policies of institutions at different levels induce and shape the migration streams. An important institution is the (nation) state. The migration policy of the (nation) state can be seen as a factor that largely determines whether immigration into the country is allowed, and who may immigrate (Leitner, 1995; Seifert, 1997). Thus, the migration streams and immigrants reflect the interests of the nation state (Teschfahuney, 1998). A good example here is the guest worker practice in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s, behind which has been seen the narrow economic interests of the West European countries (Leitner, 1995).

3.2.2 Kazakhstani model of the ethnic return migration policy

Actually, Kazakhstan is the ninth largest country in the world (after Russia, China, USA, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, India and Australia). It covers an area of 2.72 million square kilometers. However, Kazakhstan is one of the sparsely populated countries in the world - 5.6 people per square kilometer (see map 1).

Map 1- Kazakhstan's population density

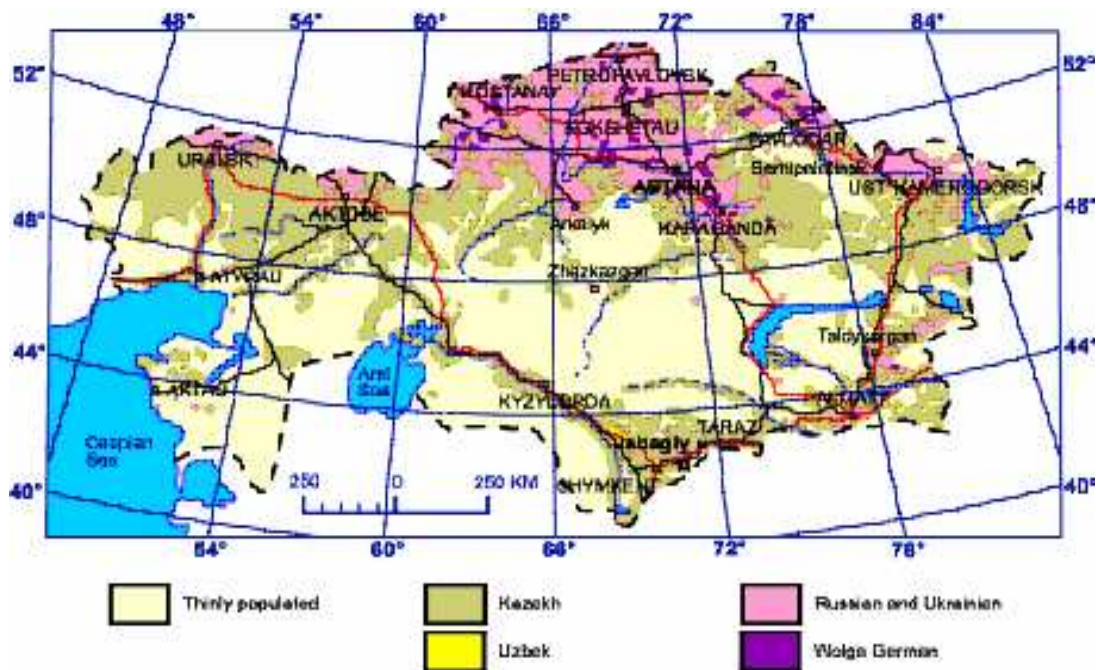


Source: www.wild-natures.com

The population of the country according to the 1989 Census reached 17.0 million. At that time, Kazakhs represented about 40 % of the total population, 36 % were Russians and 24 % belonged to other nationalities. Kazakhs have been living on the entire territory of the country; Russians have been prevailing in the Northern territories as well as in the former capital and the economic centre of the country, in Almaty (see map 2). Since then the ethnic composition of the population of Kazakhstan substantially changed due to mass migrations during entire 1990's and at the beginning of 2000's.

At the end of the 1990's it was clear that the country has lost a big part of its population and that its replacement will take many years. Migration of the given period strongly affected not only demographic but also economic and social situation in the country. Through emigration Kazakhstan lost not only a high number of its inhabitants, predominantly Russians, Germans and other members of European nations and ethnic groups but at the same time also many highly qualified professionals and a substantial part of the country's intellectual elite. However, it was not only migration what changed demographic situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan after the split of the Soviet Union. Besides migration, the observed depopulation and structural changes were the result of declining fertility and increasing or stagnation high mortality in almost all age groups.

Map 2 - Spatial distribution of major ethnic groups, Kazakhstan, 1990



Source: www.wild-natures.com

Taking into account very rare, unnatural and politically sensitive situation when titular nation is in a minority position to the remaining nations and ethnic groups in its national country as well as correctly expecting substantial outflow of inhabitants, the members of European nations, the political power decided to address Kazakh diaspora with an offer of repatriation immediately after gaining the

independence (see map 2). The Kazakhstani model of the ethnic return migration policy obtained its basic contours in the declaration of Nursultan Nazarbayev, the first President of the country: “In politics, they (Oralman) consist of the following. It is quite appropriate if in our state where, regardless of ethnic affiliation, the principle of equality of opportunities for all and equality before the law is valid, if in particular cases special provision is made for the interests of the native nation, the Kazakhs, as happens in many states. The relevant areas would be the revival of national culture and language; reestablishment of spiritual, cultural, and other links with the Kazakh diaspora; and the creation of the preconditions necessary for the return of those who were forced to leave Kazakhstan” (Nazarbayev, 2001, p.145) (see photo 1).

Photo 1 – President of the RK Nursultan Nazarbayev, 1992



Source: google.com

In that way, from the early days of acquiring independence, the Republic of Kazakhstan has declared the right of each Kazakh, found outside of his/her historical native land to come back and settle in the Republic, as a priority of its migration policy.

The most significant aspects of the Kazakhstan model of repatriation include the following:

- Marking the repatriation of Kazakhs to the native land as a main priority of the migration policy of RK, having influence on improvement of demographic situation in the country;
- Creation of adjusted mechanism of repatriation and state migration fund for financing of resettlement, benefits and compensations;
- The principle of annual quota of repatriates with a full reimbursement of costs, related to repatriation of Kazakhs and partial integration into the Kazakhstan society;
- Creation of a representative state body- the Agency on migration and demography and presently the Committee on migration of the Ministry of labor and social protection of population;
- Creation of the Commission on the issues of citizens living abroad as a consultative body of the government of RK;

- Establishment of the World association of Kazakhs as a non-governmental organization and its presidium as a coordinating body on the work with Kazakh Diaspora;
- Provision of state support and social assistance to Oralman, and representatives of Kazakh Diaspora.

While stating doubtless successes and rather understandable interest of the world to the Kazakhstan model of repatriation, it is important to point out the problematic side of the sphere. In particular, it is rather difficult to draw a direct line between repatriation of Kazakhs and the Diaspora.

There are many different factors influencing the involvement of the Diaspora into the process of repatriation. In a great extent it is a matter of ethno-politics and different interests of the actors of its scene. Harmonization of interest presupposes long-term interaction of the state with its natives living abroad and full recognition of their legal right to return to the land of their fathers. According to the data provided by the World association of Kazakhs, still about 3 million Kazakhs living abroad intend to return back to Kazakhstan (Kozybayev, 2007). In this context it is clear that first of all the government is responsible for provision of interests of Kazakh Diaspora and its individual members through staying in legal, informational and educational interactions with them.

The major conceptual message of this thesis likely is that the state has an extraordinary opportunity for resettlement of all its natives. Therefore it concentrates its efforts on provision of worthy conditions for resettlement of ethnic Kazakhs and integration of Oralman into Kazakhstani society. This context is why the state should look more pragmatically at the idea of promoting the prosperity of Kazakh Diaspora in the countries of their residence.

The issue of repatriation and Oralman is more or less being dealt with program documents. In practice, many political parties and movements in the Republic are following the aim to gain political dividends from the so-called ethno populism. Moreover, an array of views and approaches of pro-governmental parties on the issues of repatriation and adaptation of Oralman as the whole is not different from the official position.

4. Data on Oralman availability and quality

Statistical or survey data are the most valuable primary source of information about any mass phenomena including repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs and integration of Oralman. Unfortunately, immigrants after arrival to the country of destination are mostly dissolved in or “repatriated by” the autochthonous population and statistics except the population census is not more able to trace them. It is also a case of Oralman. It is why the data sources are very fragmental and quality of information discussable.

In the statistics of international migration Oralman remained relatively hidden since data on immigrants by ethnicity are not regularly published. The initial data solely on Oralman obtained through registration upon their arrival were collected by the Agency on Migration and Demography of the RK (AMD) since the year 2000. The Committee on Migration (CM) of Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the RK continued in the practice after its establishment in 2004.

For the first half of the period under the question, i.e. for the period 1991-2000 almost no data exist on Oralman arriving to the Kazakhstan. For instance, the numbers of repatriated families and their members were only ex-post estimated on the basis of other types of primary data including those obtained in sample surveys. The reason was that until 1997 there was no institution responsible for collecting data on Oralman. Only in 1997 the Agency on Migration and Demography (AMD) was established and started to work on Oralman's matters. However only in the autumn 2000 this institution was able to consolidate some very basic sectoral statistics. A. Zhaganova, the Ex-Chairwoman of AMD, said to this question the following: “Until September 2000, there were no elementary data by register on Oralman: how many families came, for what people need housing and jobs, their profession and education levels and other information was not available. For two years we have carried homestead bypass and questionnaires by 32 items and to this work we attracted a huge army of volunteers, in essence, a kind of census, in the result of which were created data base.”⁷ (Zhaganova, 2003).

The decision on assignment or denial of the status of Oralman adopted the CM no later than ten working days from the date of registration (the form please see in the appendix 3). Registration statements on the status of Oralman is done after provision of the data on applicant and members of his/her family in the electronic database "Oralman". Persons found Oralman obtain a certificate of Oralman (*Udostovereniye Oralmana*) in a standard form (see the appendix 4), registered in the logbook of issue a certificate of Oralman (*Zhurnal ucheta vydachi udostoverenia Oralmana*) – please see the appendix 5. All these form as well as the system of registration and certification is given by the Decree of the Minister of Labour and Social Protection of Kazakhstan N 224-p "On the Rules of the Oralman Status Approval " from September 27, 2007).

Data on Oralman has the format prescribed by the Form № O-4 based on the Decree of the Chairman of Committee on migration №92-p from 21December 2005. The resulting data set is called the

⁷ On the basis of reliable information we can accurately plan our actions to assist Oralman, including in issues of admission to the Kazakhstan citizenship and employment.

General Information about Oralman (Obshie svedeniya ob Oralmanakh). The data collected are sorted by the following characteristics:

- Family size
- Sex
- Age category (pre-productive, productive, post-productive)
- Education
- Occupation
- Social support provided
- Property received from the RK (land, house, etc.)

In the USSR including the Kazakh SSR the last all union population census was conducted in 1989. Since being a sovereign state, Kazakhstan carried out its second population census in 2009 under a much more extensive program than the first such a census being held in 1999.

According to critics of the scholars like A. Galy (2000), A. Elemesova (2000) or A. Alexeenko (2001b) any corrections or mismatch of census data with data of the current account of the population not least have been associated with the politicization of the first census and the general heading the Government wanted to expedite "Kazakhization" a country. Thus, the proportion of Kazakhs According to the current account was up 48.7 % and the census showed 53,4 %. Nevertheless, the last digit with a high degree of probability could be explained by the high level of unrecorded emigration of Russian-speaking population. Extremely intense emigration non-Kazakh groups identified the reduction of the population of Kazakhstan within the period 1989-1999. Russian Russians, Ukrainians and Tatars recorded natural population decline during that period. The natural increase of the Kazakhstani population was preserved, but its size has been insufficient to compensate the emigration. In the 1990's at least 150 000 Kazakh moved to Kazakhstan and become the Oralman (Alexeenko, 2001a). This process was accompanied by increasing inflow of Kazakhs from rural to urban areas. Apparently both internal and internal migrations contributed by its character to the outflow of Russian-speaking population.

The 2009 census results are not yet available and the previous census was conducted in 1999, more than ten years ago. Therefore, in this work vital statistics data are more useful. They originate in Demographic Yearbooks of Kazakhstan published in the period of 2005-2008.

The annual comprehensive collection of demographic statistics represents the Demographic Yearbook, prepared by the Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Statistics (ARKS) since 2005 and covering the period starting in the year 1999. The last Demographic Yearbook contains demographic statistics for the period 1999 through 2008. It presents tables of the main statistical indicators that reflect the demographic processes of Kazakhstan and its regions. The Demographic Yearbook contains data about administrative-territorial division, changing the overall size and age structure of the population, its location on the territory of Kazakhstan. It presents time series of population size, age, sex and urban/rural residence, fertility, mortality and nuptiality, divorces and migration processes. It also presents generalized demographics indicators that characterize the processes of reproduction of the population of Kazakhstan's

regions, total fertility rate, life expectancy at birth.⁸ In the part on migration there are data about an immigration and emigration. However, there are no data about returning ethnic Kazakhs (Oralman). The ARKS has not considered demographic indicators separately for repatriates. It is included to total parts of the indicators of Kazakhs. Therefore it is impossible to assess the levels of fertility, mortality and other processes among repatriates. In addition, the data on the general state of Oralman health do not exist as well.

The third kind of data originates in a sample survey. Between August 24 and September 4, 2009 an exit polling staff of UNDP Kazakhstan on 10 districts of East Kazakhstan oblast was conducted. The survey revealed the fact that there are substantial differences among actual data on the number of Oralman and data of UNDP. The following situation analysis revealed that the discrepancy has its roots in unregistered internal migration of Oralman. As a result only approximately 19 thousand out of almost 40 thousand Oralman are living where they were originally registered. In the table 3 are highlighted district or towns of the East Kazakhstan oblast where the survey was carried on and the expected and established numbers of Oralman. Column "statistics" shows the statistics which are provided by the local departments of migration. In the column "actually" the estimated number of Oralman living in the moment of the survey in these areas. Statistical data is much higher than the actual figures due to the reason mentioned above.

Table 3- Oralman total numbers by local departments on migration and UNDP Kazakhstan, 2009, selected districts of the East Kazakhstan region

	Districts of the EKR	Number of Oralman (persons)	
		Official statistics	UNDP KZ estimates
1	Urdzhar	6417	4000
2	Zaysan	7408	3000
3	Ulan	9374	3000
4	Kurchum	3446	2300
5	Glubokov	2246	1500
6	Kokpekty	2819	1200
7	Tarbagatay	2340	1000
8	Zharmy	3017	1000
9	Ayagoz	1556	500
11	Katon-Karagay	1036	500
	Total	39659	18000

Source: *The Project of UNDP Kazakhstan, "Promotion of economic and social integration Oralman", 2009*

For the purpose of the study have been used three types of data sources:

1. Published data sources – data of the 1999 Census of Kazakhstan and Demographic Yearbook published by the Agency on Statistics of the RK;
2. Unpublished data sources of the Committee on Migration
3. Survey data collected by K. Nurpeisova during her field research being held in Kazakhstan and Mongolia in 2009.

⁸ Available at <http://www.eng.stat.kz/publishing/Pages/Статистические сборники.aspx>

Unpublished data were obtained from the CM of Kazakhstan upon the agreement with the Commission. Data allowing to describe and to analyse repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs have been received in the paper form and covered the entire period from the beginning of the year 1991 to January 2010 for the analyses of. Unfortunately, the electronic version was not available but the data were processed with corresponding care and their recording was properly checked.

The data provided by the Committee on Migration cover only ethnic Kazakhs returning within the quota and those coming by other ways are not registered by this organization. According to those data about 789,000 Oralman's were repatriated until the January 2010. Researchers and other experts taking into account not only the "quota" Oralman's are estimating that more than one million ethnic Kazakhs returned to their historic Homeland during past 19 years (Zhaganova, Bulutai, 2010; Tarasova, 2006).

For the purpose of Oralman's fertility discussion the survey data kindly provided by my colleague K. Nurpeisova, PhD student of the Charles University in Prague, were used. Her data can be used only for general indicators construction. Data for detailed study of Oralman's fertility are unfortunately not available.

5. Methodology

Approaches and methods represent in our case a relatively wide set of cognition process instruments. Selecting them we looked for the most effective way of reaching the research aims.

The system approach was applied in the entire study to order information, i.e. to separate the important facts from unimportant ones. The below mentioned as well as all other adopted methods correspond to the principles of system approach and were applied within its framework. Those methods help us also to apply other important approach employed in this work - a phenomenological approach. Applications of its principles are crucial since repatriation of ethnical Kazakhs as any other repatriation process is among others also an important political matter and as such it is susceptible to politicization. The scientific cognition, however, must be objective and therefore requires to approach and examine all phenomena without a priori presuppositions and regardless any individual or group interests.

5.1 Basic approaches adopted

Selection of an appropriate approach was driven by the characteristic features of the theme. Relatively high level of theme's complexity had required application of a suitable ordering principle. Such principle is probably best contained in a system approach to reality. The system approach application leads to decomposition of a whole and classification of its parts and their attributes. Through the application of the principle of abstraction within the system approach we abstract away from unimportant or less important facts or phenomena and deal only with information important from a given point of view. The main task of such a simplification of reality is to provide the most simple picture (model) of reality with minimal losses of information important in the given context. Successful implementation of this task opens the door to application of other principles (e.g. principles of comparison/juxtaposition or analogy) and consequently to more effective cognitive process.

As demonstrated by the array of methods involved, this study endeavored to couple a rigorous different science approach with a phenomenological approach in an effort to lay bare the demographic, political, economic, cultural, and psychological factors and especially population policy playing into the questions of repatriation attachment and its effect on personal and community self-conception. With the fieldwork complete and the initial phases of analysis underway, I can state with great satisfaction that the project was a success and should facilitate a textured and well-rounded discussion of the core questions.

The dilemma relating to the level and unit of analysis is another issue that creates problem in understanding the process of migration. Whether a study would focus on a single community, or a cluster of communities, or the whole country is an important question. A study focusing on a single community or a number of communities has the advantage of being more in-depth and detailed. On the other hand, narrow focus on the interplay of individual and environmental factors affecting the decisions-making process, as well as the adaptation process sacrifices the degree to which findings can be generalized to all parts of the country (Goldstein, 1989).

Researchers generally consider individual persons as foci of interest, and take them as units of analyses. The individual as a unit of analysis does not help comprehend the whole dynamics of the problem, because the decisions to make a move involves more than one person. Even if we mitigate the issue of unit of analysis, a scientifically designed questionnaire may not bring out all the mechanisms underlying the process of migrations.

5. 2 Basic methods used

The theme of this diploma thesis requires comprehensive analysis of immigration and integration processes process staying on a real basis and facts. Therefore the methods such as SWOT analysis, case studies writing, and selected demographic methods are used in this study. They were selected to allow a clear identification of existing repatriation and integration policies or positions to these questions of Kazakhstani government and society and their changes during the time of observation.

5.2.1 SWOT analysis

SWOT analysis is a strategic planning method used to evaluate the *Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities* and *Threats* involved in a project or in a business venture. It involves specifying the objective of the business venture or project and identifying the internal and external factors that are favorable and unfavorable to achieve that objective. The technique is credited to Albert Humphrey, who led a convention at Stanford University in the 1960s and 1970s using data from Fortune 500 companies (www.wikipedia.org).

A SWOT analysis is starting with definition of a desired end state or objective. It is also very important to understand clearly what a content of the method individual key terms is:

- Strengths: attributes of the person or company that are helpful to achieving the objective(s)
- Weaknesses: attributes of the person or company that are harmful to achieving the objective(s)
- Opportunities: *external* conditions that are helpful to achieving the objective(s)
- Threats: *external* conditions which could cause damage to the objective(s).

SWOT analyze is used to produce a model that can serve to provide direction in the development, formulation, and assessment of project management plans. Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) Analysis is an important step in the planning process that is often undervalued and omitted in constructing the project management plan. This basic management tool is straightforward and easy to use (Armstrong, 2006). Basically, factors are divided into internal and external issues. Based on the analysis of the information provided by the model, project management can better decide if the information gathered is something that will assist in accomplishing its objectives. Conversely, Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) Analysis can also identify potential obstacles to success, as well as flaws in the plan that must be addressed, controlled, or eliminated if the desired results are to be achieved.

In order for the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) Analysis to be effective, project management must do more than simply identify the involved strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Risk management demands that it is necessary to avoid, eliminate, or at the very least, minimize identified weaknesses and threats. Weaknesses should be closely scrutinized in order to determine whether or not it is possible to convert them into assets. Similarly, threats should be closely examined for the opportunity of building strength in areas where they stood, once they have been eliminated. Strengths and opportunities should be closely studied as well in order to maximize their effectiveness. Project management would be well advised to take advantage of this simple, cost effective management tool and to make it a fundamental step in the planning process (Humphrey, 2004).

5.2.2 Case study writing

A case study is a research methodology common in social science. It is based on an in-depth investigation of a single individual, group, or event to explore causation in order to find underlying principles (Jon and Greene, 2003).

Rather than using samples and following a rigid protocol (strict set of rules) to examine limited number of variables, case study methods involve an in-depth, longitudinal (over a long period of time) examination of a single instance or event: a case. They provide a systematic way of looking at events, collecting data, analyzing information, and reporting the results. As a result the researcher may gain a sharpened understanding of why the instance happened as it did, and what might become important to look at more extensively in future research. Case studies lend themselves to both generating and testing hypotheses (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Another suggestion is that case study should be defined as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context. Case study research means single and multiple case studies, can include quantitative evidence, relies on multiple sources of evidence and benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions. Case studies should not be confused with qualitative research and they can be based on any mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence. Single-subject research provides the statistical framework for making inferences from quantitative case-study data (Yin, 2009).

When selecting a case for a case study, researchers often use information-oriented sampling, as opposed to random sampling (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This is because an average case is often not the richest in information. Extreme or atypical cases reveal more information because they activate more basic mechanisms and more actors in the situation studied. In addition, from both an understanding-oriented and an action-oriented perspective, it is often more important to clarify the deeper causes behind a given problem and its consequences than to describe the symptoms of the problem and how frequently they occur. Random samples emphasizing representativeness will seldom be able to produce this kind of insight; it is more appropriate to select some few cases chosen for their validity, but this isn't always the case.

Three types of information-oriented cases might be distinguished:

1. Extreme or deviant cases
2. Critical cases
3. Paradigmatic cases.

5.2.3 Demographic instruments

Lack of statistical data on Oralman, especially non-existence of Oralman specific registration of demographic events (births, deaths, migratory movements) differentiated at least by sex and age, and so impossibility to balance development of this sub-population, limits substantially application of standard demographic methods. The late shift from of interest from myths on life of Oralman to their real life expressed in collection of at least some data through a very basic registration and the first general surveys provide only a very limited basis for description, estimates and analysis which could be labeled as demographic ones.

Under these information conditions we have a room to apply even basic demographic methods almost solely on general demographic data concerning population development in the entire Kazakhstani/Kazakh population and only rarely on data obtained through surveys. Moreover the scope of applicable methods remains closely bounded.

Therefore the demographic methods employed start with the basic demographic equation differentiating growth of any population or its part by particular components:

$${}_{t+1}P = {}_tP + {}_{t,t+1}B - {}_{t,t+1}D + {}_{t,t+1}I - {}_{t,t+1}O$$

where ${}_{t+1}P$ is the population size after one unit of time which is dependent on the initial population size at time t (${}_tP$), the numbers of births (B), deaths (D), migratory movements in (I) and out (O) of the given population occurring between time t and $t+1$. The difference between the number of births and deaths is referred to as *natural growth or increase* and the difference between the number of in-migrations/immigrations and out-migrations/emigrations is labeled as *net migration*. The indicator of the difference between natural growth and net migration is called *total (population) growth*.

The population P, can be any size unit of interest, e.g. any specific sub-population, although usually demographers study nations since official statistics traditionally publish only national data in the required detail. The definition of migration in this equation depends on the definition of population, whether it covers only citizens or permanent residents or whether also long term residents or other categories of persons are included or taking solely in the account. Births and deaths occur within that unit and migration is something that happens *between* those units. Because of the focus on nation-states, immigration and emigration are defined strictly in international terms while the terms 'in-migration' and 'out-migration' are applied to internal movement (Newell, 1988). Anthropologists (including anthropological geneticists), in contrast to demographers, are much more likely to be interested in local

populations. Nonetheless, many of the same problems of definition and measurement occur at the local level as exist for nations.

The first point to notice about the demographic equation is that only the numbers of individuals migrating in and out of the population are specified. The structure of migration, either in terms of the usual demographic markers of age and gender or in terms of spatial location of migrants, is not frequently considered. Elaborate methods for more precisely characterizing births and deaths including age specific fertility rates and life tables have been devised by demographers. Migration, however, has not received such sophisticated treatment.

One reason for this relative neglect of migration by demographers is the intrinsic difficulty of measuring migration. Part of the problem is that of definition. Births are discrete events that occur to women of definable age. Likewise, deaths occur only once to everyone. Both events are recorded in national registries that provide data to demographers. In contrast, migration is less clearly marked, may occur repeatedly, may be reversed (return migration), and therefore is much harder to measure. National migration statistics may be available for some countries but they are not of the same degree of precision as birth and death statistics.

Extending the size unit of interest in the basic demographic equation for sex and age and seeing them not as separated equations but as a set of them one is getting to the very basic model of population growth – the cohort component model and to the corresponding method of population growth macro-simulation.

The cohort-component method is one of widely used analytical methods in demography which allows examining composite effects of population development components (fertility, mortality and migration) on the initial size and demographic structure of a given population. This method is especially appropriate if projections by age and sex are wanted in addition to totals. Carrying out component projections on an age-specific basis is recommended even when projections of only the total population are sought, because of the added specificity of the assumptions and the provision of data on the age-sex distribution of the population are sought, because of the added specificity of the assumptions and the provision of data on the age-sex distribution of the population as a by-product (Shryock and Siegel, 1973). The cohort-component method may be applied with various degrees of refinement and complexity, from a variation in which mortality and migration are handled jointly and a single assumptions is made for this joint component, to one in which migration is treated as three components, namely, net migration, gross in-migration, and gross out-migration, and several assumptions are made with respect to each component of change. In applying the cohort-component method, the choice of a specific procedure is suggested in large part by type and quality of data available and resources for developing the projections. The application procedures related to the discussed model are quite strictly determined except the introduction of migration component. Normally, migration assumptions are expressed in terms of net rather than partial migration rates by age. Net migrations is normally easier to estimate and great variability in migration by age makes it necessary to use an age breakdown at the very least (Newell, 1988).

As it was already mentioned earlier, one of main expectations, myths and recently also discussions concerning Oralman is related to their fertility and reproductive gains related to this sub-population. Focusing of these aspects of Oralman's life we going to use some basic indicators of fertility, namely crude births rate, age specific fertility rate and total fertility rate.

Crude birth rate (CBR) is a crude measure of childbearing because the denominator contains not only the population exposed to childbearing, i.e. females in fertile age, but also males, children and elderly persons. A major weakness of this measure is that it is not very sensitive to minor fertility changes and that its value can be strongly influenced by structural changes. It is calculated from the number of children born in a given year or any other time period divided by the mid-year/mid-period population, and it is expressed as the number of births per 1000 people:

$${}_{t,t+1}\text{CBR} = {}_{t,t+1}\text{B} / ({}_{(2t+1)/2}\text{P}) * 1000 ,$$

where:

${}_{t,t+1}\text{B}$ is the number of births that occur during a particular calendar year/the given period,
 ${}_{(2t+1)/2}\text{P}$ is the midyear/midperiod total population.

Age specific fertility rate (ASFR) describing the intensity of childbearing in particular age group is defined as the proportion of live births occurred to the mothers in particular age during the given year or period of time to the mid-year/mid-period number of potential mother, i.e. all females in the given age group recalculated usually on 1000 these females:

$${}_{t,t+1}\text{ASFR}_x = {}_{t,t+1}\text{B}_x / ({}_{(2t+1)/2}\text{P}_x^f) * 1000 ,$$

where:

${}_{t,t+1}\text{B}_x$ is the number of live births that occur during a particular calendar year/the given period to females in completed age x,
 ${}_{(2t+1)/2}\text{P}_x^f$ is the midyear/midperiod number of females in completed age x .

Total fertility rate (TFR) is the sum of the age-specific fertility rates from a cross-sectional perspective. It express the average number of children that would be born alive to a woman during her lifetime if she would pass through her childbearing years conforming to the age-specific fertility rates of a given year or period.

$${}_{t,t+1}\text{TFR} = \sum_{x=15}^{49} ({}_{t,t+1}\text{B}_x / ({}_{(2t+1)/2}\text{P}_x^f))$$

where:

${}_{t,t+1}\text{B}_x$ is the number of live births that occur during a particular calendar year/the given period to females in completed age x,
 ${}_{(2t+1)/2}\text{P}_x^f$ is the midyear/midperiod number of females in completed age x .

The total fertility rate is the most comprehensive indicator of fertility, a standard tool of fertility analysis in period (transversal) perspective. Its analog constructed in a cohort (longitudinal) perspective is labeled as completed fertility rate.

6. Kazakh diaspora

The estimates of the number of Kazakhs living outside the borders of the Republic of Kazakhstan are rather different. The highest ones expect that Kazakhs diaspora is represented by approximately 5 million of ethnic Kazakhs. If this number would be true, about one third of all Kazakhs would live abroad. Such estimations are uneasy since many of them are living in countries with unreliable or insufficient population statistics, some of them even in countries in the state of war or at least international isolation. Another obstacle can be adoption of distinct definitions of those belonging to the group of ethnic Kazakhs.

6.1 Where? Why? How many?

The modern Kazakh diaspora are still forming a constituent part of the united Kazakh nation. They speak the Kazakh language as a native one, maintain traditions and customs, and consider Kazakhstan as their historic Homeland. In many countries they even can get education in their native language, develop national culture and traditions with the support of the host country's government. As a result, diaspora have managed to preserve Kazakh culture, especially literature and art. The representatives of diaspora have carried out research on Kazakhs and Kazakh culture in many scientific and educational fields in different countries of the world.

Kazakh diaspora was established predominantly through politically motivated emigration of certain groups of population into neighboring countries. This emigration was intended to be temporary but later on turned into a permanent stay abroad. The process of emigration in its early stages was directed towards Asia and its central regions in particular. Besides the territory of post-Soviet Central Asia, ethnic Kazakhs communities can be found in China's autonomous region Xingjian (historically Eastern Turkestan), neighboring with Kazakhstan on the East, in Russia along entire long border from Altay to Volga region, in Afghanistan, Iran and even in Turkey (Zhanguttin, 2009). The conditions of each country where ethnic Kazakhs live somehow modify their community.

The principal difference is between those living in the republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), i.e. on the territory of the former Soviet Union, and those living in other above mentioned countries. The Kazakh communities in China, Mongolia, Turkey, and Afghanistan are categorized as existing within a context of "exile" due to their limited ability to return to their historical Homeland throughout the Soviet period. In contrast, those in Russia and new Central Asian states have come to face the reality of a real diaspora existence only in the last nineteen years. Under Soviet Union rules, the opportunities to free travel or resettlement between republics existed and were quite often utilized. Only with the recasting of these provincial borders as interstate boundaries, subject to the sovereignty of states, Kazakhs living in other former Soviet republics outside Kazakhstan appeared really abroad and have been confronted the difficult choice to migrate from the lands they have settled and known for several generations or to remain minorities there.

Behind settlement of Kazakhs in different countries or regions stay different histories. Formation of Kazakh diaspora was a result of different historical events of different nature: political incl. war,

economic, and those of natural, mostly climatic origin. The oldest history of this process is usually related to the Kazakh- Oirat war of the 18th century. In 1723, after invasion of Dzungars, members of several Mongolian-speaking Oirat tribes, from the North-East many Kazakhs fled to Pamir-Badakhshan region in Tajikistan and to Afganistan. The major part of Kazakhs diaspora, however, was formed during the first half of the 20th century. In the pre-revolutionary Russia, during the Stolypin agrarian reform realized during 1902-1913 almost 300 thousand Kazakhs or about ten per cent of their population left territory of today Kazakhstan to Upper Ili River Valley and Xingjian Altai.

According to Mendikulova (2003), all together about 225,000 Kazakhs were counted in those Chinese regions in 1911. In association with the national liberation movement in Central Asia (1916) as a response to the Russian punitive expeditions other approximately 300,000 Kazakhs and Kyrgyzs passed the Russian-Chinese borders to Kuldzhin and Kashkaria. Border regions of Eastern Turkestan like Taichen in the North, Ili in the west, Kashkaria and Aksu in the South became the centers of Kazakh refugees. Their numbers in 1916 are estimated as it follows: about 100,000 in Altai region, 60-70,000 in Tarbagatai region and over 100,000 in Ili region. About 160,000 out of these approximately 270,000 Kazakh refugees were repatriated in the end of May 1917 (Sarsambekova, 2009).

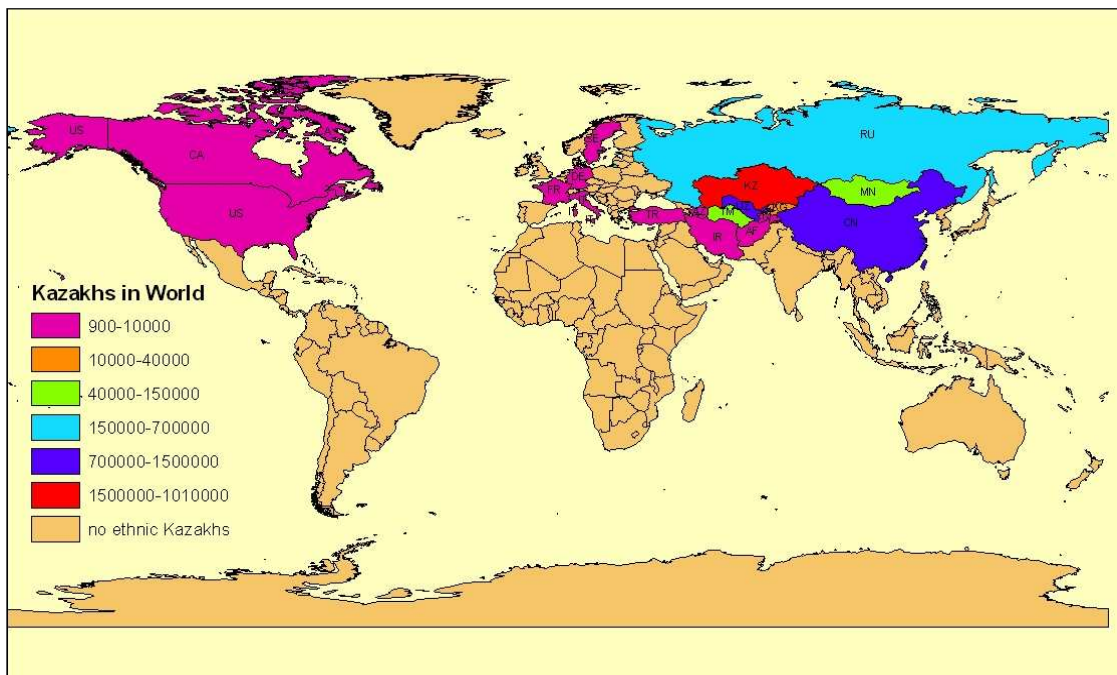
The Soviet power establishment, civil war and famine in the 1920s led to new waves of Kazakh emigration. The main direction of their migration was again regions of Western China as well as Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and Iran on the South. They crossed the borders in a small groups driving their cattle flocks mainly to border region of Kuldzin, across Tarbagatai Mountiens and through the Black Irtysh Valley. Most of them found their new home again in Xingjian Altai and Ili region.

Forced settlement of Kazakhs in early 1930s resulting in a new large scale famine completed the history of mass migration of Kazakhs to the surrounding countries. That time Kazakhs fled not only to China and Uzbekistan but created extensive ethnic communities also in Russia and Western Mongolia.

Between last wave of mass emigration of Kazakhs and the beginning of repatriation process in question passed sixty years. During this period Kazakh diaspora, its population size and structure developed mainly under the influence of natural reproduction. Regime of natural change during that period was in favor to higher population increases and therefore Kazakh diaspora substantially grew up namely during the second half of the 20th century. Nowadays reported or estimated numbers of ethnic Kazakhs living abroad are several times higher than the numbers of original emigrants presented above.

Referring to the number of ethnic Kazakhs living in particular countries we can determine three basic categories of countries. In the first category there are China, Uzbekistan and Russia where is still living approximately 90 % of all member of the Kazakh diaspora. The second category includes remaining countries of the post-Soviet Central Asia plus Mongolia, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey where between 10,000 and 100,000 members of the diaspora live. Other countries of the world where small communities counting less than 10,000 ethnic Kazakhs can be found (USA, Canada, Germany, France and Sweden) constitute the third group (see map 3).

Map 3- Kazakh diaspora



Source: Kuscu,(2008), Zhanguttin (2009), <http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazaxu>

China is a country hosting highest number of ethnic Kazakhs, about 1,500,000 persons. The similar population of Kazakhs should be present in Uzbekistan. Russian community of Kazakhs is approximately a half size, about 800,000, namely in the border regions with Kazakhstan. In Mongolia there should remain approximately 83,000 Kazakhs, in Afghanistan remained about 30,000 of them. There are also about 10,000 Kazakhs living in Turkey and Iran. Still notable contingents of them live in United States, Canada, Germany and France. Hundreds of them can be found, for instance, in Pakistan, Australia and some other countries. In total, size of the entire Kazakh diaspora is most frequently estimated at about 4 - 4,5 million persons. At the same time, we should not forget that in many countries the number of inhabitants of Kazakh nationality may be underestimated to some extent. It is probably the main reason why estimates of individual specialists substantially differ each to other. Some of these specialists (Mamashev, Tatimov, Bodaukhanuly) considered data on the Kazaks overestimated, others (e.g. Mendikulova) found them underestimated (see tab. 4).

Table 4 -Estimated Number of Kazakh Diaspora in Host States (for 2001-2003).

Countries	M. Tatimov (as in 2003)	G. Mendikulova (as in 2001)
China	1,296,000	1,500,000
Uzbekistan	870,000	1,500,000
The Russian Federation (RF)	660,000	800,000
Mongolia	157,000	83,000
CIS states (except for Uzbekistan and RF)	177,000	187,000

Afghanistan	45,000	30,000
Turkey	30,000	10,000
Iran	15,000	10,000
USA	10,000	1,000
Germany	7,000	2,000
Canada	5,000	7,000
France	4,000	2,000
Sweden	1,000	2,000
Total	3,277,000	4,134,000

Source: Kuscu, (2008).

Among the other estimates, the numbers provided by the first deputy chairman of the World Association of Kazakhs (WAK) Talgat Mamashev attract wider attention. In the year 2005 he publicly stated⁹: "We cannot trust the data of individual countries, as real numbers are often underestimated. For example, in Russia, according to our calculations, lives about a million of Kazakhs. Thus, the official institution¹⁰ of Russia comprises 870 thousand people. In Uzbekistan the number of our compatriots is over two million, meanwhile are only 1 million 300 thousand people officially indicated. Also, our data shows that more than two million ethnic Kazakhs live in China, although the authorities of this country gives understated numbers too – 1,300 thousand people. Accurate data lead the competent authority of Mongolia. At one time there were approximately 150 thousand ethnic Kazakhs, of which approximately 70 thousand in recent years have left the country. In Turkey, the number of our compatriots is approximately 15 thousand. In the countries of Europe the numbers of ethnic Kazakhs are very low: 2 or 3 thousand people in Germany, 3-4 thousand in France, in some states, there are only 20-30 families"

In our opinion the data of Mendikulova seem to be one of the most reliable. She systematically collected data by the letter of inquiry addressed to the embassies and consulates of Kazakhstan in foreign countries. Moreover, her estimates are in a good concordance with the estimates of other Kazakh scholars like B. Zhanguutin (2009), B. Rakisheva (2009), A. Sarym (2009) presenting the numbers based on their own their investigations.

⁹ Interview for "Kazinform", 2005, <http://www.assembly.kz/index.shtml?f=show&type=1&id=69500473426>

¹⁰ Statistical Agency of the Russian Federation

6. 2 Social, economic, cultural and political position

Almost entire Kazakh diaspora regardless time and a cause of departure of its members or their ancestors is an organic part of the Kazakh nation and its cultural heritage. Living mostly in communities, Kazakhs abroad are intensively preserving their language, traditions and other elements of culture. At the same time they promote them in the host country and its society.

According to data of World Kazakh Association almost every Kazakh diaspora have organized their national and cultural centers and non-institutional communities in their place of residence. These centers and communities are setting a variety of cultural events and measures in order to preserve ethnical identity of Kazakhs. For instance, by 2005 in 12 countries of the world the Kazakh cultural centers were functioning. The biggest centers were in the Russian Federation, Turkey, the U.K., Germany, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and People Republic of China, while in Austria, Sweden, Hungary, Ukraine and Mongolia there were the smaller centers, and there were small non-institutional communities in all-over the Central Asia, Middle East and Europe. (Chesnokov, 2008). In fact, the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey (see foto 2) organize cultural events related, for instance, to their holidays like “Nauryz” , the festivity of Spring, or traditional sport games (e.g. in Kazakhs wrestling or horse races “Kokpar”) to increase consciousness and in some respect also authority of Kazakh diaspora (see foto 2).

Photo 2 – Oralman's from Turkey



Source: [www. http://www.atameken-asar.com/](http://www.atameken-asar.com/)

In fact, in various countries of the world Kazakhs have different political and economical status and socio-cultural environment. A lot depends on history of diaspora formation and loyalty to policy in country of residence. However, there is a common important problem relating all Kazakhs abroad, this is the problem of native language learning, culture and tradition familiarizing and the issues of education. For example,

in case of Russia the Kazakhs are in no need of further using native language due to several subjective and objective reasons, since Russian language is completely satisfies all their communicative needs. (Rakisheva, 2006). On of the reasons, Russian language acts as the education language even in the areas where Kazakhs make up the majority of population. Kazakh language is taught as optional study in Russian schools, while in Uzbekistan more and more young Kazakhs have to study in Uzbek schools due to decline in numbers of Kazakh schools in the country. Moreover, the additional problems in education are caused by the fact that since 1996 formal schooling in Uzbekistan turned to Latin alphabet. Thus, these difficulties negatively affect the development Kazakh's native language in Uzbekistan.

Ethnic Kazakhs in China have the patriotic attitude, who prefer their children to receive higher education in Kazakh universities. However, continued growth of the population Xingjian by Han immigrants from China's interior areas is the reason for the expansion of Chinese educational institutions, collapse of the national schools, classes, groups, faculties and departments in universities, a reduction in production of periodicals in the Kazakh language. In addition, the Chinese authorities are trying to turn all the national minorities in the "Zhunguo zhemin", departing them from their native language and religious beliefs. However, with the expansion of the Internet the Kazakhs of China can have a remote support and education.

The situation of Kazakh diaspora in Mongolia differs, as almost all auls (village) of Bayan Ulgiy aimag have Kazak schools, but the further studies in universities of Ulaanbaatar are held in Mongolian language. During studies at universities in Kazakhstan, the Kazakh youth from Mongolia are facing difficulties due to the fact that education in most of Kazakhstan's higher education institutions is carried out in Russian (Kadir, 2010).

Social status decline of Kazakh diaspora, deteriorating of financial situation, high unemployment rates across countries and other important factors in many spheres of life are very painful process, but it can not be regarded as discrimination only of Kazakh population. The next questions are being raised among the Kazakh population in Uzbekistan. According to Kazakh Embassy in Uzbekistan, among Kazakh population in Uzbekistan, there remains a very high unemployment, especially among youth and women, where 50-60 % of people with secondary education are unemployed, for example, in Karakalpakstan living standards of ethnic Kazakhs are very low. More than 70 % of the diaspora's working population are unemployed, and as a result the ethnic Kazakhs are living in poverty. In this regard, ethnic Kazakhs prone to relocation of their home. (Seidin, 2003).

Other groups, such as the Kazakhs living in Turkey and Europe, have been disinclined to migrate to Kazakhstan because they regard the current living conditions to be superior to those they would encounter in Central Asia. In these cases, it appears that instrumentalism trumps primordial bonds to Homeland; although, given the cultural revival triggered by Kazakhstan's independence and the state's increasing oil wealth, the future of the diaspora is to be determined. In contrast to the opinion of many Kazakh nationalists (Zhaparuly, 1997; Toksanbai, 1998; Turysbekov, 1998; Bek Kaba, 2003; Rakhim, 2003; Balghabayev, 2004), it remains, nevertheless, highly unlikely that the alleged 4.1 to 5 million Kazakhs living outside Kazakhstan will migrate to the country at any point in the nearest future (Zhusupov, 2000).

Kazakh Diaspora - is an external resource of Kazakhstan. If in the early 1990's have been expectations that the Kazakh Diaspora will be one of the sources investment to Kazakhstan's economy, however, today it is clear these expectations have no one else. Kazakh Diaspora in Turkey and Europe - a strong middle class who are employed in small businesses or cooperates with Turkish business. Kazakh diaspora in China, Russia and Mongolia is about the same level, with comparing of Kazakhs living in Kazakhstan (Sarym, 2009).

6.3 Changing population size

We will describe the characteristics of members of Kazakh diaspora and their numbers at the national level and in regions where ethnic Kazakhs living. In addition, we will analyze of the dynamics of change in the size of Kazakh population of some years and compare the number of Kazakh population, with a population where they live.

On the other hand, the statistical data of Kazakh diaspora in the world are quite problematic. Unfortunately, some country's data are not published fully or not available, especially on the countries former Soviet Union. However, for the estimation the number of Kazakh diaspora some data are used in the below.

6.3.1 China

About 1,500,000 ethnic Kazakhs¹¹ live in Xingjian province in northwestern China, the region populated by Turkic Muslims. The areas of geographic concentration of Kazakhs are: Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture, Mori Kazak Autonomous County and Barkol Kazak Autonomous County in the Xingjian Uygur Autonomous Region. Many Kazakhs also reside in the Haixi Mongolian, Tibetan and Kazak Autonomous Prefecture in Qinghai Province and the Aksay Kazak Autonomous County in Gansu Province.¹²

Family planning is one of the main directions of social and population policy in China. Some demographic policy of China also has influenced for representatives of Kazakh diaspora. In practice, this means a combination of state regulation with a conscious choice of citizens. The central and local governments need to develop policies and administrative and legislative acts in the control of population growth, improving their health and improving the structure of the population, united in a national population plan. Under the patronage of the state the couples are granted necessary consultations, advice and services as required on all matters necessary - from medical and hygiene education to the children. Married couples in high age, as well as health, social and material situation of the family responsibly and systematically address issues of birth and the upbringing of children are take measures to prevent an unwanted pregnancy. The main content of the family are planning policies - encouraging later marriage

¹¹ Interview with chairman of Assembly of nations of Kazakhstan, 2005, <http://www.assembly.kz/index.shtml?f=show&type=1&id=69500473426>

¹² The Kazak ethnic minority, China.org, available at: www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/shao-2-kazak.htm

and late childbearing, limiting the number of births and the emphasis on improving the quality of the new generation, the call to have a family of only one child. The peasant families experiencing difficulties are allowed to have a second child with respect a certain interval after the birth of the first. Although the Chinese law in the family of Han people can have the only child, the Kazakh and Uyghur families can have two children. Family planning committees have been established in every city and village. They are raising and strictly enforce the law. If a family has decided to have an additional child, it has to pay a big government tax (Mahin, 2000). This led to a decline in natural growth of the Kazakh population (Seidin, 2003).

6.3.2 Uzbekistan

Kazakh diaspora in Uzbekistan is the largest in number in the CIS, and the second in the world after the Kazakh diaspora in China. The share of Kazakhs in the population of Uzbekistan according to the census years 1959-1989 and estimation of Statistical Agency of Uzbekistan in 2000 remained stable at around 4,0 % (see table 5). Perhaps, the statistics of Uzbekistan may underestimate the actual number of ethnic Kazakhs because they surely do not include many ethnic Kazakhs whose mother tongue is Uzbek, and, moreover, for a variety of reasons, some Kazakhs have declared themselves ethnic Uzbeks.

Table 5 – Major ethnic groups in Uzbekistan (%)

Major ethnic groups	1959	1970	1979	1989	2000 (estimation of Statistical Agency of Uzbekistan)
Total population (in thous.)	8,105.50	11,799.0	15,389.30	19,810.10	24,487.70
Uzbeks	62.2	65.4	68.7	71.4	78.0
Russians	13.5	12.5	10.8	8.3	4.9
Tajiks	3.8	3.8	3.9	4.7	4.8
Kazakhs	4.1	4.0	4.0	4.1	4.0
Tatars	5.5	4.9	4.2	3.3	1.4
Karakalpaks	2.1	1.9	1.9	2.1	2.0
Others	8.8	7.5	6.5	6.1	4.9

Source: <http://mansurovs.com/Umid/Main/Uzbekistan/Population/population.html>,
“Ethnic atlas of Uzbekistan” (2002), UNDP Uzbekistan (2010).

The Statistical Agency of Uzbekistan underestimated the number of Kazakhs, however, according to which in 1999 the number of Kazakhs accounted for 940,000 people or 3,8%. If we take the preservation of the proportion of Kazakhs at the level of 4,1% (excluding the repatriation of Kazakhs-Oralman in Kazakhstan) and the population of Uzbekistan in mid-2008 in the amount of 27.3 million people¹³, the number of Kazakhs in Uzbekistan amounted to about 1,100,000 people if the same applied assessment of

¹³ Statistical Review of Uzbekistan for 2008

the proportion of Kazakhs 3%, their number in the middle of 2008 amounted to approximately 800,000 thousand persons (Sadovskaya, 2001).

According to Musahanov (2006) the growth rate of the Uzbek population in Uzbekistan since 1979, on average about 400,000 people, or 3.8 % per year. If in period from 1979 to 1989 the annual growth averaged 3.4 %, then from 1989 to 2000 it declined to 3,1 %. Thus, increase of Uzbek's proportion in the population is connected both with their relatively high natural increase and emigration of Russian-speaking population after the collapse of the USSR.

Taking into account the census of Uzbekistan, conducted for the period 1959-1989, respectively, and assessment of the Statistics Agency of the Republic of Uzbekistan 2000, the share of Kazakh population is fairly stable. Correspondingly these figures indicate that a sharp increase in the share of Kazakhs in the population of Uzbekistan will not occur. According to the Statistics Agency of Uzbekistan in 2000, the Kazakhs were 990,000 people. Thus, considering the fact that the number of Kazakhs repatriated from 1991-2010 years 470,000 people and in compliance to assess the Statistics Agency of Uzbekistan can be assumed that the number of ethnic Kazakhs in Uzbekistan in 2010, is about 950,000 or 1,100,000 people.

The reasons for the move, besides the economic and environmental factors are called an "unhealthy" policy of the Uzbek authorities in the selection of personnel and the education of children in their native language. The size of the Kazakh population in Uzbekistan is the fourth largest, behind Uzbek, Russian and Tajik ethnicities. The share of the Kazakh diaspora is about 4 percent of the total population, which at the beginning of 2009 amounted to about 27.5 million people.¹⁴ Kazakh diaspora living in Uzbekistan is relatively compact, and is settled mainly on the territory along the borders with Kazakhstan. The highest proportion of Kazakhs is in Karakalpakstan¹⁵ (24,8 %), Tashkent oblast (13,7 %), Navoi oblast (10,2 %) and Djizak (6,6 %) regions (www.stat.uz).

6.3.3 Russia

The Kazakh ethnic groups living in Russia can be divided into two groups: the diaspora living in big cities (Moscow and St. Petersburg) and in regions (Astrakhan, Volgograd, Saratov, Samara, Orenburg, Kurgan , Omsk, Novosibirsk, Tyumen and Chelyabinsk regions). In 2005, according to various estimates in the Russian Federation, there are between 650,000 to 800,000 ethnic Kazakhs (Dzhamalov, 2006). Total number of Kazakhs in Russia by the 2002 census results is 660,000 people. According to the 1989 census there were 640,000 Kazakhs in the Russian Federation, in 13 years the number of Kazakhs increased by 18.100 people. The Kazakhs are the fourth largest Turkic ethnic group in Russia after the Tatars, Bashkir and Chuvash and the 11th among all ethnic groups of the country. (see table 6).

¹⁴ <http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Узбекистан>

¹⁵ Autonomous Republic of Uzbekistan

Table 6 – Ethnic groups in Russia

Ethnic groups	1989		2002	
	In thousand	In per cent	In thousand	In per cent
Total population	147021,9	100,00	145164,3	100,00
Russian	119865,9	81,54	115868,5	79,82
Tatars	5522,1	3,76	5558,0	3,83
Ukrainians	4362,9	2,97	2943,5	2,03
Bashkirians	1345,3	0,92	1673,8	1,15
Chuvashs	1773,6	1,21	1637,2	1,13
Chechens	899,0	0,61	1361,0	0,94
Armenians	532,4	0,36	1130,2	0,78
Mordovians	1072,9	0,73	844,5	0,58
Belarusians	1206,2	0,82	814,7	0,56
Avars	544,0	0,37	757,1	0,52
Kazakhs	635,9	0,43	655,1	0,45

Source: B. Rakisheva, *Kazakhs in Russia and Russian in Kazakhstan*, 2009

As for the regions of Russia compact residence of the Kazakh diaspora noted in the following districts of Russia: Volga Federal District (228,000 people) Southern Federal District (201.000 people), Astrakhan Oblast (143,000 people), Orenburg Oblast (126,000 people), Siberian Federal District (124,000 people), in Moscow, (8,000 people), in St. Petersburg (2,900 people) (Demographic Yearbook of Russia, 2004). The areas of their compact residence located in the border regions of Russia with Kazakhstan regions. In these areas Kazakhs identify themselves as indigenous population of that area. In the central European part of Russia the number of Kazakhs is relatively small and they live, mainly in large cities.

The Kazakh population of Russia is relatively young, the average age of 30.2 years (compared to a Russian - 37,6 years, the Chechens - 22,8 years). Most marriages among the Kazakhs in the countryside is within Kazakh ethnic group, while in cities there are many interethnic marriages (Rakisheva, 2007).

According to the Republic of Kazakhstan Agency for Statistics in 2008 more than 7,000 ethnic Kazakhs have left Russia, and about 2,000 Kazakhs moved to Russia from Kazakhstan. The immigration of Kazakhs from Russia could be increase due to the between agreement of Kazakhstan and Russia many of legal norms such as procedures of citizenship, registration and other issues is coordinated.

6.3.4 Mongolia

Total population of Mongolia reached 2,700,000.¹⁶ There are 29 ethnic groups in Mongolia and **Khalkh** Mongols constitute 86% of the total population. The other significant ethnic groups are **Kazakhs** which lives in the west of the country (see tab.8). Bayan-Olgii Aimag (province)¹⁷ in

¹⁶ "Mongolian population reaches 2.7 million," Mongolia-Web, February 23, 2009, available at: <http://www.mongolia-web.com/environment-news/2242-mongolian-population-reaches-27-million>

¹⁷ "About Mongolia: land and people," Embassy of Mongolia, Washington D.C., available at: http://www.mongolianembassy.us/eng_about_mongolia/land_and_people.php

extreme western Mongolia is a largely Kazakh (88.7 % of all population) administrative unit, where the Kazakh language is used in the primary schools and in local administrative offices.

According to the three censuses of Mongolia which were held in 1989, 2000 and 2007 the Kazakh population was in the second place according the size after the Mongolians. If in 1989 the number of Kazakhs was 120,600 people, then after eleven years it declined to the 103,000 people. It could be connected with crises and economical instability in the country. In 1990 the number of Kazakhs which left the Mongolia and went to Kazakhstan increased, however at the same time the size of Mongolian population increased approximately for 325,000 people. So, in 2007 the share of Kazakh population in Mongolia constituted 5.4% which means that in comparison with the census of 2000 the size of Kazakh population increased only to 1.0% or for 37,200 people (see tab 8).

Table 8 - Ethnic groups of Mongolia.

Ethnic groups	1989		2000		2007	
	In thousand	In per cent	In thousand	In per cent	In thousand	In per cent
Khalkha	1,610,424	81.04	1,934,674	81.80	2,134,493	82.04
Kazakh	120,506	6.06	102,983	4.35	140,152	5.40
Dorvod	55,208	2.78	66,706	2.82	70,252	2.70
Buryats	35,444	1.78	40,620	1.72	44,211	1.70
Bayid	39,233	1.97	50,824	2.15	53,246	2.05
Dariganga	29,040	1.46	31,909	1.35	34,680	1.33
Uriankhai	22,998	1.16	29,766	1.26	24,111	0.93
Zakhchin	23,478	1.18	25,183	1.06	31,196	1.20
Darkhad	14,757	0.74	19,019	0.80	20,060	0.77
Torguud	10,050	0.51	12,628	0.53	12,950	0.50
Oold	9,188	0.46	14,634	0.62	11,277	0.43
Khoton	6,076	0.31	9,014	0.38	6,904	0.27
Myangad	4,760	0.24	6,028	0.25	8,222	0.32
Barga	2,130	0.11	2,506	0.11	2,392	0.09
Uzemchin	2,086	0.10	2,386	0.1	1,995	0.08
Russians	140	0.01	158	0.01	1,345	0.05
Chinease	247	0.01	173	0.01	249	0.01
Other	1,509	0.08	8,128	0.34	1,140	0.04
Total	1,987,274	100	2,365,269	100	2,601,789	100

Source: National Statistical Office of Mongolia

Nowadays, Kazakh diaspora in Mongolia seriously discusses the possibility of resettlement of Kazakhs to Kazakhstan. However, there exist two opinions on this issue. Some people believe that the Kazakhs will stay in Mongolia while others think that it is connected with socio-economic conditions in the country. If the socio-economic conditions in Kazakhstan will continue to grow and will be better than in Mongolia, then it will be possible to complete resettlement of Kazakhs to the Kazakhstan. Also, attitude of Mongolia

government is calm and balanced for the resettlement of ethnic Kazakhs. The Mongolian government in the early 1990's has indicated that it does not intend to interfere with the process of resettlement to their historical homeland (Kadyr, 2008).

7. Repatriation of Kazakhs living abroad

Return migration has recently become increasingly attractive topic in diasporas - ethnic groups that have been territorially dispersed across different countries because of ethno-political persecution or for economic reasons and are united by a sense of linking to and longing for their country of ethnic origin, the ethnic Homeland (Cohen, 1997; Safran, 1991; Tölölyan, 1996; Hear, 1998). In general, there are two types of diasporic return. The first is the return migration of first-generation diaspora members who move back to their Homeland, country of birth (Gmelch, 1980; Long and Oxfeld, 2004; Markowitz and Stefansson, 2004). The second is ethnic return migration, which refers to later-generation descendants of diasporic members who “return” to their countries of ancestral origin after living outside their ethnic Homelands for generations. Kazakhstan is entirely facing the second type of the return migration of Kazakh diaspora members.

The current total population of Kazakhstan is slightly over sixteen million inhabitants. These people, however, live on a waste territory. For realization of its territory development potential the country objectively needs substantially higher numbers of economically active citizens today as well as in the future. Moreover, for stabilization of some territories Kazakhstani state needs to settle the favored ethnic group in a region dominated by the minorities in order to enhance the power and status of the favored group (McGarry, 1998). Under this circumstances every head counts and the Kazakh one twice. Therefore repatriation of Kazakhs has such economic potential and political importance.

7.1 Historical roots of the process

New political development that emerged after the disintegration of the Soviet Union went among others toward the adoption of “Homeland stances” by the newly independent states that emerged in the former Soviet space. The political and cultural elites in the new republic developed a Homeland discourse by emphasizing ethnic, historical, and cultural ties with “their” respective ethnic groups residing outside their political borders. Through the construction of the Homeland image, the states of the region claimed responsibility not only for their own citizens but also for a diaspora community residing in another state (Brubaker, 2004).

Kazakhstan became one of these states. Its leadership portrayed Kazakhstan as the Homeland of the Kazakh diaspora that lives both in the close neighboring countries as well as places as far as Turkey and Europe. Unlike many other republics of the former USSR, the discourse created by Kazakhshtan’s political and cultural elites was not limited to the protection of the diaspora. Already in the early years of independence, Kazakhstan’s leadership developed far more active Homeland rhetoric, inviting the diaspora to return to their “historical Homeland” and propagating this through public speeches and encouraging such a view in Kazakh-language newspapers (Diener, 2003).

As noted previously, Kazakhstan is unique among the former Soviet republics in terms of the titular nation being a minority at the time of independence. This situation weakened the Kazakh claims to the territory and made them less legitimate. Therefore, after Kazakhstan became a sovereign state, the country’s leadership considered achievement of a numerical majority an important factor needed to

underpin the legitimacy of Kazakh socio-cultural and political primacy. The nationalist Kazakh elite contributed much to the development of this idea that having a demographic majority would further ensure sustainable legitimacy for these claims. Demography is a frequently mentioned topic in the debates on nation-building: many Kazakh nationalists consider demographic dominance the single most important factor required to legitimize the ethnic form of nation-building.

In order to understand the debate, it is necessary to review the demographic trends in Kazakhstan since independence. According to the last Soviet census (1989) the republic had 6,535,000 inhabitants of the titular nation and 6,223,000 Russians, who composed the largest minority of the republic. The total population was 16,465,000. Kazakhs and Russians represented 39.7 % and 37.4 % respectively of the republic's population (see table 8).

Table 8- Ethnic composition of Kazakhstan's population (%), 1979-2009

Nationality	1979	1989	1999	2009
Kazakh	36.0	39.7	53.4	63.1
Russian	40.8	37.4	29.9	23.7
Ukrainian	6.1	5.4	3.7	2.1
German	6.1	5.8	2.4	1.1
Tatar	2.1	2.0	1.7	1.3
Uzbek	1.8	2.0	2.5	2.8
Belarusian	1.2	1.1	0.8	n/a
Uygur	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.5
Korean	0.6	0.6	0.7	n/a

Source: *www.demoscope.ru, www.stat.kz*

Note: n/a- not available

In this case, articles concerning minority of Kazakhs in their country written by the nationalists in the Kazakh language media often point to a security threat that the country will face if Kazakhs do not become demographically dominant. This seems to represent a great fear of China and its huge population, especially if Chinese come to Kazakhstan as labor migrants. This same dynamic also appears in narratives about what could happen if population from Uzbekistan flows into to Kazakhstan (Alimuly, 2007). Two prominent scholars who express concern about this are political scientist Azimbai Ghali and demographer Maqash Tatimov. While Galiev (2004) points to the fact that both legal and illegal immigration is increasing, Tatimov (2008) predicts more demographic pressure from the overpopulated countries of Central Asia and China.

The arguments of the nationalists cited above explain why many Kazakh nationalists view the policy of the repatriation of Kazakh diaspora as the miracle solution for a rapid increase in the Kazakh proportion of the total population. Articles on return migrants' likely contribution to the demographic development started appearing in Kazakh-language media in 1992 and continued throughout the entire decade; they popularized repatriation as the fastest way to reach the numerical majority.

The Kazakhstan's leadership's discourse and policies concerning the demographic increase indicate two concerns: economic concerns targeting a general increase of the population regardless of ethnicity and, nationalizing concerns which aim to increase the number of the titular nation. Moreover, public discuss of nationalists with the justifying claim that the Kazakh diaspora suffered a lot by being forced to live outside their Homeland due to the above mentioned historical conditions, Kazakhstan's leadership announced the policy of ethnic migration during the first *Qurultay* (congress) of the Union of World Kazakhs in 1992. As a result, following this meeting conclusions Kazakhstan signed bilateral agreements with the host states Afghanistan, Iran, Mongolia, and Turkey in order to ensure a smooth process of the migration of ethnic Kazakhs.

In his address to the *Qurultay* participants, President Nazarbayev underlined the importance of Kazakhstan's independence as an opportunity to extend the country's ability to serve as a Homeland not only for those living within its territorial limits but also for its diaspora living outside its borders. The spirit of Nazarbayev's speech which presented the *Qurultay* as the first step towards constructing Kazakhstan as an extended Homeland is embodied in these words: "We have only one Homeland in this world and that is independent Kazakhstan" (Nazarbayev, 1992).

Therefore, the first *Qurultay* served not only to declare independent Kazakhstan as the Homeland for the diaspora but also to announce the policy of ethnic return migration. This is captured in the words of president Nazarbayev's speech at the first *Qurultay*: "For those who had to leave their Homeland once and now wish to come back, the arms of independent Kazakhstan are wide open for you." (Nazarbayev, 1992). The political and cultural elite of the republic of Kazakhstan would reiterate the rhetoric of an open invitation to the diaspora quite often in the following years.

The Kazakhstan leadership has established the right of diaspora Kazakhs to migrate to Kazakhstan through a variety of legitimizing discourses. As emphasized in the introductory chapter, states often use justificatory claims for the policies promoting co-ethnics to migrate to Homeland. In the cases of Germany and Israel, Homeland states legitimized their policy of ethnic migration through a victimization rhetoric emphasizing the events that targeted ethnic Germans and Jews respectively. Through such legitimizing rhetoric Homeland governments also aim to promote public support for ethnic migration.

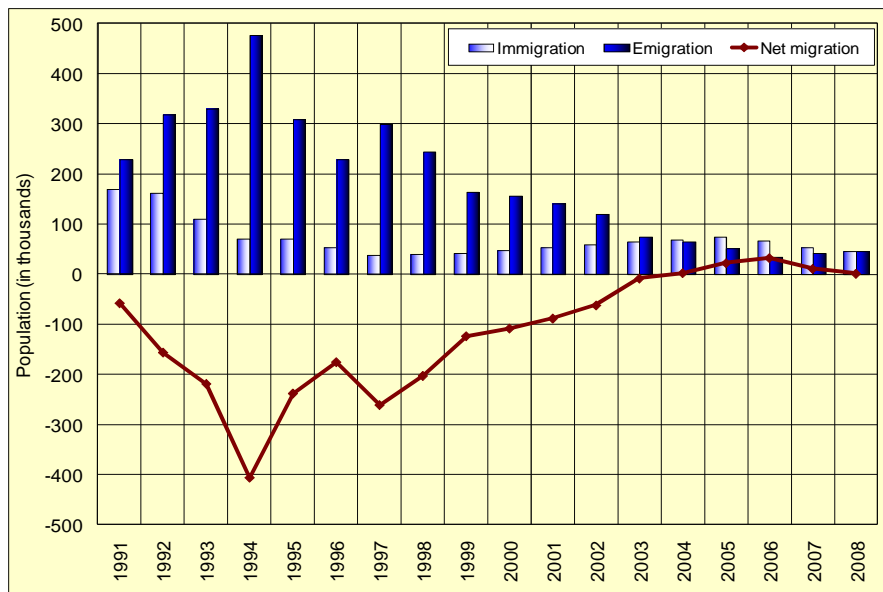
7.2 Moving forces of repatriation

Analysis of statements of political leaders like K. Aitahanov (2007) and D. Akhmetov (2000) of the State, eminent public figures M. Tatimov (2005) allows us to come to the following conclusions: the main purpose of immigration policy is to address the ethnic and demographic issues. Firstly, will be eliminated ethno-demographic disparities prevailing from the Soviet period and restored historical justice. Secondly, immigration will be able to fill the migration losses and stabilize the demographic situation. Finally, to solve the task set by President Nursultan Nazarbayev – to increase the number of population by 2015 under 20 million people.¹⁸

¹⁸ Presidential Address to the people of Kazakhstan in 2004

Thus, demographic issues have a prominent position in the development strategy of Kazakhstan. Population growth must be implemented at the expense of increasing total fertility rate, reduction of emigration and increasing immigration. Starting by 2006, attended all three components of the "demographic success". The population of the country has grown up both due to natural growth as well as positive net migration (see fig. 1).

Figure 1 - International migration, Kazakhstan, 1991-2008



Source: own calculations based on data from the Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Statistics

All of the three components is achieving demographic prosperity however for Kazakhstan seemed to be more manageable from the government immigration. Regulation process of fertility is very difficult in any case; the world practice knows few examples of successful ways to solve the problem. All in the near perspective quantitative length of the newborns will slow, and, quite possibly, will decrease as positive impact of the age structure of the population will soon be completed - in the reproductive age are entering small size generations of the 1990's (Alexeenko, 2008).

Thus, immigration is the key component of the successful implementation of demographic programs and it is understandable why its role is currently growing. It is noteworthy to say that traditionally Kazakhstan's society pays tribute and positively accept inflow of Oralman from those countries (mainly Uzbekistan) where large sized-families are held (Kurmashev, 2005). Despite this well-known fact, the Chairman of the Committee on Migration J. Abdiev's position to this issue is controversial: "Mostly unskilled immigrants arrives to Kazakhstan who do not own Kazakh nor Russian language and almost fifty per cent of them - are unemployed and sometimes the impression that

individuals strive to get in Kazakhstan only in order get money."¹⁹ Frequently Oralman receiving benefits, leaving the territory of Kazakhstan, or receive financial assistance a few times and moving from area to area.²⁰

7.3 Legal frameworks

The questions of legal security and effective implementation of repatriation programs are an important element of stability and development of national states. Analysis of the basic elements of repatriation - as a holistic and coherent process of integration are overseas compatriots in the state-legal, socio-economic and cultural field of the nation-state - highlights the sharp angles and possible ways of smoothing, which found international practice in this matter. Countries that are only at the beginning of the political and legal ways to design their own concepts and methods of implementation of the repatriation of compatriots could not ignore the international experience as collateral and illustrative examples for the adaptation of already known political and legal concepts and methods to own situation in all its dimensions (Agadzhanian, 2008).

Perhaps the most telling legislative shortcoming in Kazakhstan's management of the return migration of ethnic Kazakhs is the classification of in-migrants as "Oralman". In 1997 the term came into active use only after the formation of a new migration law, which is fraught with inconsistency and, as will be discussed in a subsequent subsection, has succeeded in further isolating formerly diasporic Kazakhs from their Kazakhstani kin.

In an attempt to provide a comprehensive piece of legislation pertaining to migration, the Kazakhstani Parliament adopted the law "On migration of population" on December 13, 1997 (The law..., 1997)²¹.

The Act provides full cooperation to the resettlement of Oralman to the Republic of Kazakhstan, to organize their resettlement, job creation, social security and social assistance. Regulation of population migration shall be based on the following principles (The Law..., Article 3):

- ensuring human rights to free choice of residence, freedom of labour, free choice of the kind of activity and profession, freedom of out-migration, freedom of movement fixed in the Constitution of the RK;
- inadmissibility of any form of discrimination on origin grounds, social, official or property status, sex,
- race, nationality, language, attitude to religion, beliefs, residence or any other circumstances; ensuring the compliance of migration legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan with international norms and recommendations of the International Organization for Migration with regard to

¹⁹ Kazakhstanskaya Pravda. On 28 July 2005

²⁰ Kazakhstanskaya Pravda. On 11 February 2005

²¹ The law consists of seven chapters and forty-one articles. Chapters 1, 3, and 4 define the legal status of repatriates and outline the ways and means of political, social, occupational, language, and cultural adaptation of Oralman to the new environment of an independent Kazakhstan. Chapter 6 defines the status and jurisdiction of the authorized government body responsible for developing national migration policy.

current socio-economic situation of the republic and its historic past and traditions, prospects of development;

- thorough assistance to repatriation of the Kazakh to their historic Homeland, settlement arrangement, making working places and fulfillment of a complex of other measures to ensure earmarking aid and social security of indigenous migrants;
- anticipation of spontaneous and unregulated processes both inside the country and outside its borders based on socio-economic stimuli in medium-term and long-term programmes actions based on prediction of potential migration and trends of migration flows in view of the changes in socio-economic and socio-political situation;
- participation of relevant state bodies in organization of putting migration processes in order;
 - personal participation of migrants in arrangement at a new domicile with earmarking state promotion of initiatives and spontaneous actions of each, firstly, the migrants from the areas of ecological and natural calamities;
- prohibition of eviction or forced return of refugees to the countries from where they arrived, except for the cases envisaged by international agreements;
- In co-operation with other countries, particularly those receiving immigrants in the sphere of reducing illegal migration, in the form of academic education, professional training, labour migration.

According to the Law, ethnic Kazakhs are entitled to a wide range of benefits include free movement across the border, travel to their place of residence and transportation equipment, assistance in finding employment, improving skills and learning the state language, education, health care, pensions and benefits allocation of land resources for housing and long-term ssud.²² However, not all benefits in practice have been implemented due to economic difficulties and abuses of the Agency on Migration and Demography, which is responsible for the repatriation.²³

Despite the weaknesses of the legal framework of migration policy, works in improving the regulatory framework by the responsibility relevant government authorities are going as the creation of perfect law of immigration policy requires a long time. At present, it is important that the legal documents identified key policy priorities for immigrants Republic of Kazakhstan. In this regard, the emphasis on improving the demographic situation is made to attract ethnic Kazakhs from other countries.

²² The Law "On migration of population", on 13 December 1997, №204

²³ Newspaper "Panorama", June, 1999, №22

7.4 Current repatriation policy

Nowadays the settlement planning and repatriation policy in Kazakhstan is understood as a fractured conglomeration of regulations pertaining to the number of Kazakhs permitted to migrate to Kazakhstan and policies related to the settlement and integration of the Oralman once they are in Kazakhstan. As has been suggested by many experts, the emergence of Kazakhstan as an independent country inspired a form of exuberant ethno nationalism among a faction of ethnic Kazakhs leaders. It is fair to argue that this exuberance may have overridden rationality in relation to the state's repatriation policy. Efforts to bolster the titular community of the new state took many forms,²⁴ but they were perhaps most apparent in the dissemination of a call for diasporic Kazakhs to join their ethno national kin within the "historic Homeland" of the Kazakhs people. The response to this call even not overwhelming viewed in relation to the alleged 4.0 to 4,5 million²⁵ Kazakhs living outside its borders, was substantial enough to put a strain on the Kazakhstani economy. Between 1991 and 1998, 176,960 people arrived within the set migration quotas. In addition to those "quoted-in," 375,378 people arrived in Kazakhstan outside the quota system, of which more than 250,000 are alleged to be either Russian returnees from failed emigrations or Russian migrants from other Central Asian states. Estimates put the number of CIS in-migrants from this group at 348,623 and non-CIS in-migrants at 26,756 (Zhusupov, 2000).

A policy foundation for the integration of these migrants into the economy and society of Kazakhstan was determined to be acutely necessary, because their dissatisfaction with settlement was increasingly viewed as a potential source of political and social instability. Though some of those considered "Oralman's matter" were provided with their promised benefits-in the form of housing and material support (social pensions, children allowances, free health care, and free education for children) – inconsistencies and occasional contracted Oralman. The first five years of Kazakhstan's independence were therefore a period of considerable hardship for those attempting to settle within its territory. This was particularly true for the non-CIS Kazakhs, such as the Mongolian-Kazakh Oralman, who were confronted with a radically different socioeconomic and socio-cultural environment than their venue of diasporic existence.

Migration situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan is characterized with the following processes:

1. In emigration prevails the departure of representatives of the Russian speaking part of the population, earlier exiled to Kazakhstan in time of Tsarism, deported during Stalin's regime, sent for developing of virgin and low-fallow lands;
2. In immigration the flow of ethnic Kazakhs is predominant, which is caused by the following circumstances:
 - desire to preserve their national identity;
 - consequences of military conflicts;
 - desire to return to the historical motherland.

²⁴ The Kazakh demographer M. Tatimov was among the most outspoken nationalists promoting government policies to enhance the Kazakh demographic position in Kazakhstan (Tatimov,1992).

²⁵ Considered in chapter 6.

3. In internal migration:

- population outflow from rural area as a result of decline in agrarian sector;
- people's departure from the small and middle sized cities because of the unfunctioning of hail growing enterprises and processing complexes;

The Conception of migration policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan (further referred as – Conception) constitutes the system of fundamental principles, priorities, mechanisms, tasks and methods of regulation and adjustment of migration processes. Under the regulation of migration processes in the present Conception, the complex of administrative and socio-economic measures, directed towards the stimulation or limitation of the movement of people in the directions, respondent to present and perspective needs of Kazakhstan and providing the realization of migrants' rights is understood.

As a rule, the Conception of Kazakhstan as a fundamental theoretical basis is implementing the policy of repatriation. This document represents a conceptual presentation of the state migration policy and considers the interests of different departments, often contradicting with each other. However, in my opinion, some things need to be improved. The concept should contain a conceptual view of the migration policy. Firstly, the Concept has poorly spelled mechanisms for implementing migration policy. It needs to be distributed the responsibilities of people, who is responsible for what, for real event or for some tasks which is necessary to be realized in the institutions. Secondly, the concept - a glimpse within what should be the policy of migration, however to implement it, we need some mechanisms and tools and this is the only document that clearly articulates a public policy in this sphere. Considering specifics of this document, we would say that it should be maintained, acceptable to all parties - public authorities, central and local authorities, and not provoke a conflict with non-governmental organizations. Finally, conception should align the interests of the individuals, society and state. The Concept approved by presidential decree is the document on which public authorities of Kazakhstan, in the first place, the bodies of executive power are built.

In regulating the migration process is particularly noteworthy new Government (appendix, figure 15) Program “Nurly Kosh” (“Bright migration”) ²⁶ for 2009-2011 years and during this time, to be resettled in Kazakhstan for more than 75,000 families. This program wants to correct errors made by the authorities and whose main goal is the rational resettlement and assistance in settling and integrating ethnic immigrants, the former citizens of Kazakhstan, which arrived to work on the territory of the RK, also to Kazakhstan's citizens living in disadvantaged areas of the country for the demographic and socio-economic development of regions.

The Program will streamline the processes of ethnic, internal and external migration, and subordinate them to the interests of socio-economic development of regions, improve the quality of life for much of the ethnic and internal migrants, to encourage the return of highly skilled professionals, who departed earlier from Kazakhstan to prevent the emergence of social risks associated with difficulties in adapting and integration of migrants, unemployment and irregular migration, to ensure further development of national consolidation, strengthening of social stability and harmony, improve the demographic situation in the country (Saktaganov, 2009).

²⁶ Approved by Government decision of December 2, 2008 № 1126

It should be noted, that the above Program has absorbed positive experience of migration and adaptation in the Homeland of ethnic Kazakhs. The impetus for developing this program served as a concrete example. Under the "Nurly Kosh" in 2009 were implemented three pilot projects in Shymkent city (foto 3) in South Kazakhstan Region, village of Krasny Yar in Akmola Region (North-Central part of Kazakhstan) and Kurchatov in East Kazakhstan Region.

Photo 3 – Micro region “Asar”, Shymkent city



Source: <http://www.atameken-asar.com/>

7.5 Prospects of repatriation process

The prospects of benefits for those returning under the quota system combined with the obvious expectations of titular advantage succeeded in drawing many Kazakhs from states experiencing economic turmoil in the early 1990s (e.g. Mongolia, Russia and some other post-Soviet republics). Other communities existing in less than favorable cultural or political circumstances (e.g. Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, China and Iran) saw Kazakhstan as their refuge²⁷ (Diener. 2009) (see tab. 9).

²⁷ Few Oralman's are willing to admit that they moved to Kazakhstan for instrumental reasons. Most prefer to couch their migration decision in nationalistic or primordialist terms.

Table 9 – Motivation to return to Kazakhstan, Oralman from Mongolia (positioning towards the statement: “The main reason I migrated to Kazakhstan was the promise of maternal benefits from the Kazakhstan government”)

Community	Strongly Agree		Agree somewhat		No response		Disagree somewhat		Strongly disagree		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Mongolian-Kazakh Oralman	92.0	14.6	66.0	10.5	72.0	11.4	80.0	12.7	319.0	50.7	629.0	100

Source: Diener, 2009.

The repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs from abroad influenced both the size and ethnic composition of the population of Kazakhstan. Generally, the dynamics of immigration is almost dependent on government decisions. In fact, the state directly manages these processes through the allocation of quotas of immigration. It is enough to compare the information on the allocation of quotas with the data on the net migration of external migration (see tab.10). For example, in 1993 the quota was 10,000 families - the net migration of external migration - 23,400 people; in 1995 - 5000 families – net migration of external migration - 8000; in 1997, 2,200 families - the balance of external migration - minus 0.2000 people. In the early 2000's immigration quota has increased sharply, reaching 15,000 families. As a result, number of Kazakhs and the balance of external migration have increased significantly (Alexeenko, 2008); (see tab.10).

Table 10 - Net migration of external migration in 1991-2005 (in thousands)

Year	Kazakhs	Russians	Total
1992	588	-1051	-46,3
1993	234	-1238	-100,4
1994	55	-2519	-246,4
1995	80	-1264	-118,4
1996	69	-964	-89,5
1997	-2,0	-1574	-157,6
1998	17	-1245	-122,8
1999	26	-714	-68,8
2000	107	-728	-62,1
2001	188	-650	-46,2
2002	257	-551	-29,4
2003	350	-260	9,0
2004	438	-267	17,1
2005	550	-227	32,3

Source: A. Alexeenko, 2008, *Immigration in Kazakhstan, CAMMIC working papers*

Large outflow of Russian and other ethnicities took place in 1999-2006. Huge repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs in Kazakhstan took place in the same period. Specifically, the positive trends related with gradual lowering of emigration from Kazakhstan reversed in 2007. Particularly it applied to emigration of the most educated (with higher education) and young population groups. Increase in outflow of the most mobile part of population in 2007 occurred. This fact proves the point that people in Kazakhstan adjust rapidly to economic incentives by migrating to country with relatively higher wages and better employment (Becker et al., 2005).

As outlined in the Concept, Kazakhstan is among the countries of the world where there is the strongest migration processes and their scale will grow, but the direction and influence on the political and socio-economic situation will become deeper (and the pressure of migratory flows republic already beginning to feel).

Large outflow of Russian and other ethnicities took place in 1999-2006. Huge repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs in Kazakhstan took place in the same period. Specifically, the positive trends related with gradual lowering of emigration from Kazakhstan reversed in 2007. Particularly it applied to emigration of the most educated (with higher education) and young population groups. Increase in outflow of the most mobile part of population in 2007 occurred. This fact proves the point that people in Kazakhstan adjust rapidly to economic incentives by migrating to country with relatively higher wages and better employment (Becker et al.2005).

Rightly notes that the strategy of migration policy, bear in mind, that in condition an increasingly integrated of Kazakhstan, in a world economical connections and country's competitiveness will largely determine the quantity and quality of human potential. Fundamentals of regulating migration processes in the near medium and long term with regard to universally recognized human rights to freedom of movement are defined in the context of realization general national interests.

Analyzing not only the demographic situation, but setting set meaningful, ambitious social, economic, and political development the Government of Kazakhstan has set one of the areas of strengthening the country's position in the geopolitical context of the implementation program for the return of ethnic compatriots to their historic Homeland. The repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs became one of the priorities of state migration policy declared by President N. Nazarbaev in the "Strategy of development 2030"

Since 1991 to 2010 Kazakhstan has adopted more than 789,000 ethnic Kazakhs. More than half of incoming Oralman - persons of working age 54 %, accounting Children under 18 years account for 41 % and retirees - about 5 % (The Program..., 2008).

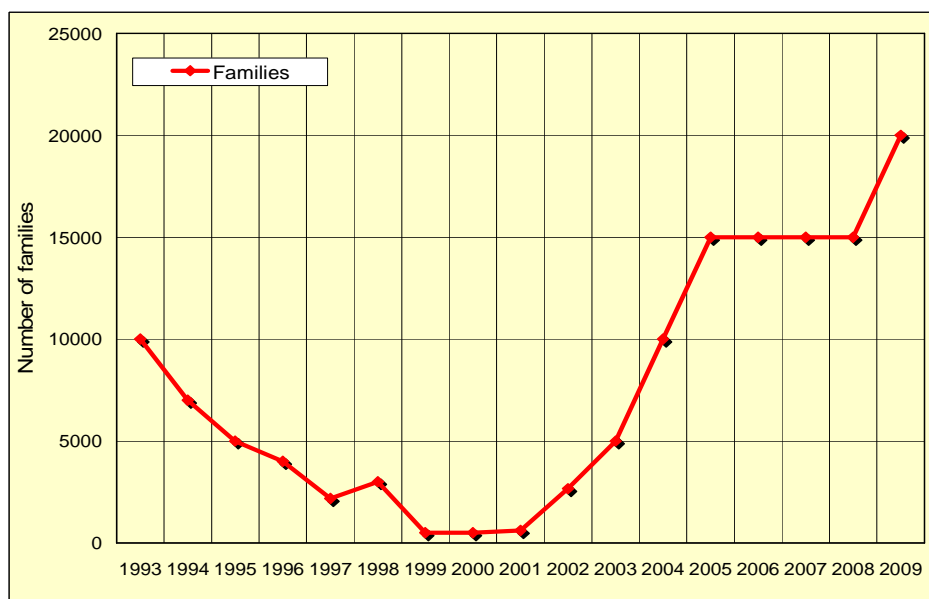
The level of education: 33.1 thousand people, moreover, 9.2 % have higher education, more than 5.2 thousand people. 1.4 % - incomplete higher education. One from five Oralman – have a special secondary education – 233.700 people and general secondary education have an about 65 % person and about 14 thousand people and unfortunately 3,9 % persons - have no education (The Program..., 2008).

Since 1993, the resettlement of ethnic immigrants is controlled by adjusting immigration quota. Quota of Immigration Oralman in recent years (2005-2008) amounted to 15 thousand families each year.

Since 2009, according to as requested by the Head of State, immigration quota of Oralman was increased to 20 thousand families a year.

In as much as the quota is determined for a set number of families (not individuals), the definition of “family” is very important. According to the Article 27 of the Law “On Migration of population”, family includes the children and spouse of the Oralman, as well as his/her parents and siblings, grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the Oralman. In the case of siblings this definition applies only in cases when siblings do not have a family of their own. The table below refers to the annual quota divided to return migrants since 1993. While in 1993, 10,000 families were invited to migrate within quota, this number gradually dropped reaching to its lowest level in the period 1999-2001 with only 500 families. The visible drop in the number of quota in the period 1999-2001 can be explained with the economic crisis the country was experiencing at the time. The allocated quota increased in subsequent years reaching to its highest level in 2005-2007 periods with 15,000 families given quota. Since 2009, according to as requested by the Head of State, immigration quota of Oralman has increased to 20 thousand families a year (see fig.2)

Figure 2 - The number of Oralman's families, 1993-2009



Source: Unpublished data based on Committee on migration RK

Since the establishment of a quota system does not terminate by the requirements for its reform and even abolition. Critics do not see it as a tool for effective management of migration processes and blamed inadequate guidelines for quotas,²⁸ which came into force in early 2008, which in reality do not address

²⁸ A government statement named the three criteria for admission quota: professional specialization and expertise, education level and number of minor children (RK 2007)

problems the real-life of returnee. Also, criticized the exposure of corruption of officials at all levels.²⁹ Despite these serious objections, the quota system is likely to continue in the near future will remain a part of migration policy (Kazieva, 2009).

In President's speeches and annual speech to the Head of State attaches great importance to the return of the Kazakhs to their historic Homeland and the creation of necessary conditions for this. He has also emphasized that one of the performance of Akims (heads of regional governments) should be the task to increase the size of population in the territories entrusted to them.³⁰ For example, in his address to the people of Kazakhstan in 2004, President N. Nazarbayev has set the task to increase the population of the republic till the twenty-million people by 2015 year. Each year, experts Committee on Migration, referring to the scientist's predictions, optimistically claim that the task set by the Head of State is possible. However, actually, this task is not real, even with the increasing fertility in the country as it is known as a temporary effect which is occurring due to improved economic situation in the country and recuperation of fertility in generations postponing the parenthood during 1990's and the beginning of 2000's. It is why nowadays many older mothers especially, women aged over thirty deliver births.

Is it possible that the population is going to reach 20 million in 2015, if Kazakhstan has reached about 16.1 million inhabitants in 2009?³¹ The target value can be reached only if completely all ethnic Kazakhs living abroad are repatriated and become Oralman. This is quite unrealistic idea regardless the fact it should be accomplished within five-year time.

The policy on the return of Oralman and its prospects can be currently evaluated only through scenarios which realization is depending on the attained level of socio-economic and political development. The first scenario means stabilization with unchanged borders of Kazakhstan. Stabilizing the socio-economic growth and political situation in Kazakhstan there will continue more or less steady influx of returnees, associated with the existence of significant etno-migration potentials in the former Soviet republics. The second variant is based on the assumption of constant crisis with unchanged boundaries. Its influence on the policy of returnees is contradictory and unpredictable, as unpredictable neither socio-economic nor political processes. The most important factor within such a scenario would be a massive bankruptcy of industrial enterprises and mass unemployment. It would reduce intensity of migration oriented towards Kazakhstan. The third scenario assumes restoration, i.e. expects that Kazakhstan will overcome the world financial crisis and will be able to protect effectively their interests and nationality. It also expects full integration in the wide region trough already existing unions³².

²⁹ Migrants are often noted failure of legal provisions at the local level by local authorities.

³⁰ Newspaper, *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, on 14 March, 2008

³¹ According to the Agency of Statistics of the RK

³² The Kazakhstan member of CIS, Shanghai's organisation, Custom Union between Russia and Belarus, and other Unions.

8. Oralman's

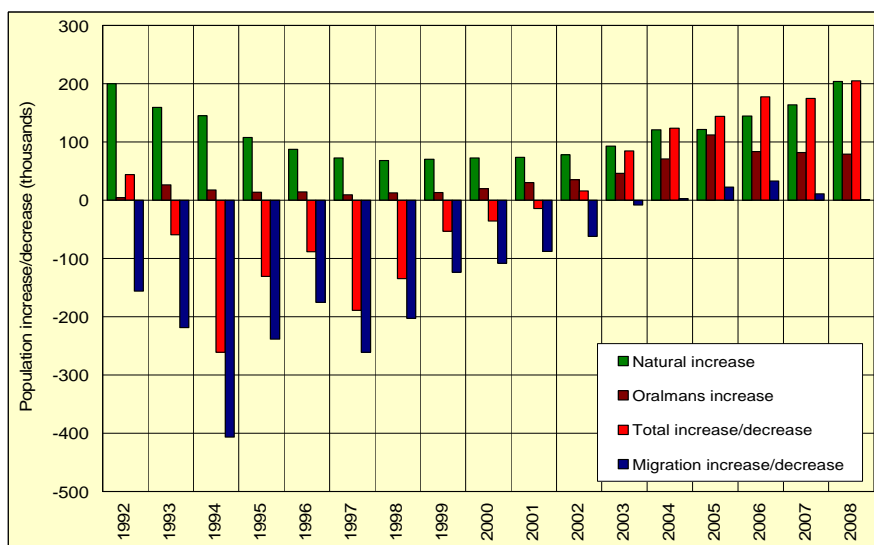
According to Committee on migration of RK in the period of 1991-2010 Kazakhstan has become home to more than 1.1 million immigrants, of which over 789,000 are ethnic Kazakhs or "Oralman's". Similar to ethnic-based immigration policies in other countries, for example Germany and Israel, the repatriation of Oralman's has been an important way to reconcile past injustices, increase internal stability and conserve national identity.

While much has been done to encourage Oralman's to return to their ethnic Homeland, the economic and social integration of Oralman's once resettled in the country remains a significant challenge. Despite relatively high economic growth experienced in Kazakhstan, Oralman's face considerable challenges as one of the country's most vulnerable groups. This discussion paper attempts to provide the first view of the current situation faced by Oralman's and problems faced in their integration process.

8.1 Socio-demographic characteristics

The situation of 1990's in Kazakhstan retrieved the existing demographic situation which was characterized by depopulation trends: declining overall fertility levels, increased mortality and emigration of Kazakhstan's populations. To cope with this alarming situation further formation of effective long-term population policy was necessary. Kazakhstan being aware of the importance of socio-demographic problems has began to regulate key processes in the natural and mechanical movement of the population such as fertility, mortality and migration through measures which aimed to improve reproductive health and promote fertility, reduce mortality and maintain migration outflow. An attention was given to the restoration the place of emigrants (mostly Russians, European ethnical groups) and Government of Kazakhstan has started to invite repatriants from abroad to return their historical Homeland. (see fig.3).

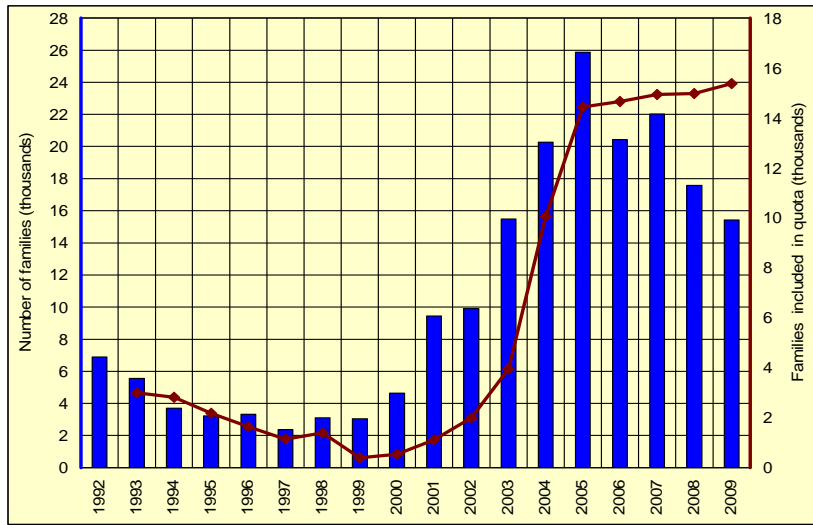
Figure 3 - Dynamics of population change in Kazakhstan, 1992-2008



Source: Unpublished data based on Committee on Migration, Demographic Yearbook- 2009 of Kazakhstan.

According to the Committee on Migration of the RK in the period of 1991 to 2010 Kazakhstan welcomed at about 789,000 Oralman, (approximately 201,400 families). Total number of arrived Oralman is highly sensitive indicator in the sense of its estimation by quotas and without quotas. Unofficially approximate number of arrived Oralman may be at or above a 1,000.000 people (see figure 4 and 5).

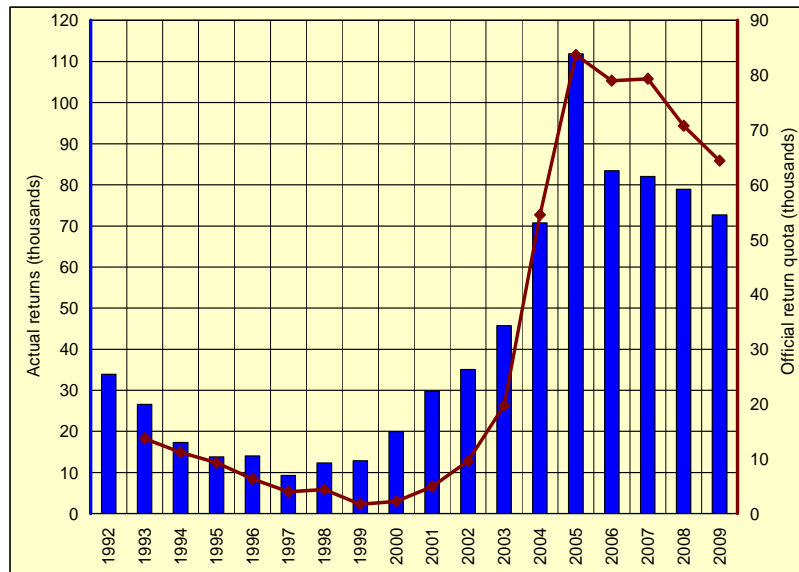
Figure 4 - Oralman returns by families, 1992-2009



Note: The quota system started to work since 1993

Source: Unpublished data based on Committee on Migration of RK

Figure 5 - Number of Oralman, 1992-2009



Note: The quota system started to work since 1993

Source: Unpublished data based on Committee on Migration of RK

In 1993 and 1994 the loss associated with migration had absorbed the natural increase values and moreover exceeded it by 1.4 and 2.8 times correspondingly. The outflows of migration has started in 1990, 1992 and was accelerating in 1994 and 1997 (Sadovskaya, 2001). Nevertheless the fact that in 1991-1992 the first group of ethnic Kazakhs has arrived from the Mongolia to the Kazakhstan. The number of ethnic Kazakhs who arrived among the first group was equal to relatively large 61,000 people. The Mongolian Kazakhs wanted to get the citizenship of Kazakhstan using as an opportunity employment contracts, they could not get the citizenship immediately thus most of them had stayed further in order to apply for citizenship.

This inflow of them was initiated by the concern that Russian-speaking population of Kazakhstan started to leave the country. The high activity of emigrants was observed during 1992-1998 (81.4 % of the total negative net migration), then this process started to slow down, and with each subsequent year the slowdown became more pronounced. The peak of emigration was observed in 1994, when the number of emigrants was equal to 481,000 people (24.6%) (Jumasultanov, 2005).

Another country is where the Kazakhs coming from neighboring Uzbekistan, in particular disastrous regions of Aral Sea (Karakalpakistan and Navoy oblasts). This creates a situation in which two groups of Oralman exist: those included in the quotas and those arriving independently.

Besides, as overall information we could say that from the 1993 to 1999 the inflow of Oralman gradually declined. It was supplemented by introducing the limited quotas for settlement as of 10,000 Oralman families per annum. This process of validating the Oralman' families through the establishing quotas had tendency to further decline e.g. in 1997 declined to 2,200 families, in 1999 up to 500 families. This can be explained from the position of economic instability in Kazakhstan in 1997-1999 when the realization process of returning Oralman were not possible due to weakened social sphere and not yet abated legislation procedures for returnees when the main issue was to receive citizenship. With the improved economic conditions in Kazakhstan beginning in 2002, the quotas was gradually increased, reaching 15,000 families in 2005.

As can be seen from the above graph, the number of Oralman arriving in the country before 1995 did not even fill the quotas. Moreover, as seen in the figure 4 and 5 from 1993 to 1999 the inflow of Oralman gradually declined. It is associated with the Asian financial crisis of 1997-1998 and followed after the crisis in Russia and hit hard by the economic development of Kazakhstan. In 1997 GDP per capita was 1445.9 USA dollars and by the World Bank classification, Kazakhstan was in the bottom group of middle-income countries (Danenova, 2003).

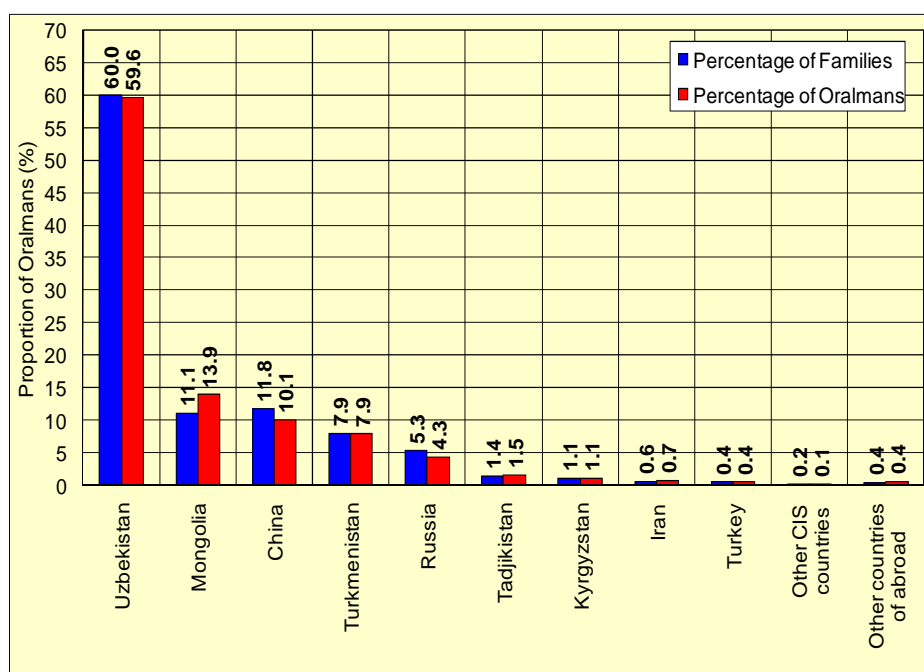
Kazakhstan was supporting the returning process of ethnic Kazakhs to Kazakhstan recognizing that it was not only an improving the demographic situation but same time the restoration of historical justice and an attempt to increase the number of the Kazakhs. Moreover, Kazakhstan among the few countries in the world (along with Germany and Israel) has an active policy of returnees, which aims to preserve ethnic identity within the country using it as the state strategy. This repatriation policy of states significantly affects the total population of the country.

However, starting in 1996, the number of Oralman arriving surpassed quotas allowances and, by 2001, the total number of returnees exceeded the quotas by 15,000 people Even in 2004, when the quotas had been raised to 10,000 families, total immigration still exceeded the quotas by 86 %. Besides, many Kazakhs came over the quotas, particularly from the CIS countries. They also accepted as Oralman, but can not rely helping from the state (Kuscu, 2008).

In 2009 the government has adopted a new program for settlement of ethnic Kazakhs "Nurly Kosh" (2008) extended the number of specified quotas for Oralman since 2009 has increased to 20,000 families a year. However, in 2009 the established quotas for immigration of Oralman did not exceed specified level for the immigration. The Committee on Migration interpretes this situation with the respect of the unconfidence of Oralman for providing them housing and financial aid and other reasons. (Abishev, 2010).

The major source countries of Oralman are varied and extend from East Asia to the Europe. During the period 1991-2009, the main countries of origin for Oralman were Uzbekistan (59.6 %), Mongolia (13.9 %), China (10.1 %), Turkmenistan (7.9 %) and Russia (4.3 %). Other significant countries of origin are Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Iran, Turkey with marginal numbers from other CIS and European countries (see fig. 6).

Figure 6 - Main countries of origin of Oralman, 1991-2009

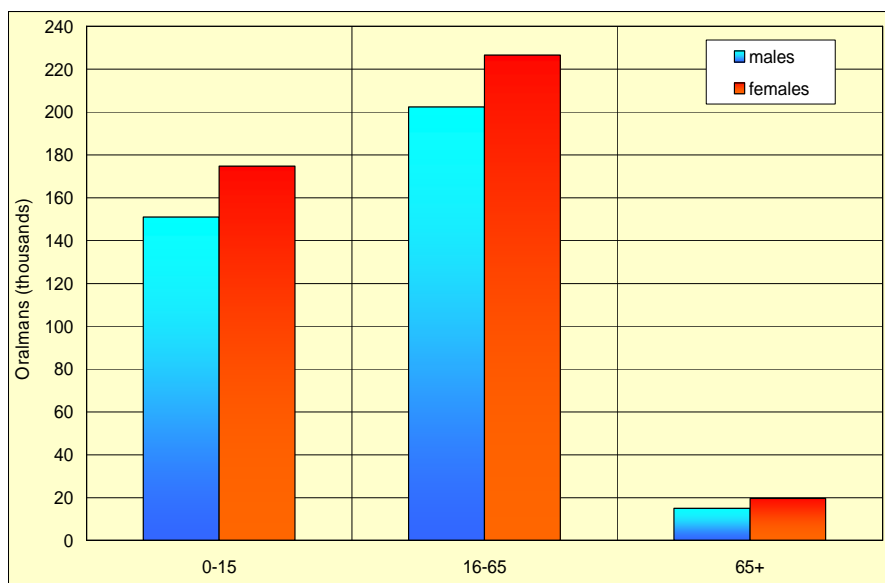


Source: Unpublished data of the Committee on Migration

Actually, the Committee on migration of the RK divided the age structure of Oralman into main three groups: pre-productive (0-15), productive (16-65) and post-productive (65+). According to the Committee on Migration of the RK on January 1, 2010, the age structure of Oralman consisted more than 41.3% of

young people (those who did not reach working age), from this under school age 41 % (at age 0-7) and secondary school age 59 % (at age 7-16), more than half of them of working age 54.3 %. The number of pensioners (65+)³³ is small - about 4.4 %. Indeed, Oralman's of working and studying age groups are the most mobile group of the population than people of retired age and children moreover; the proportion of women among them is growing over time.

Figure 7 - Age structure of Oralman's, 1991-2009



Source: Unpublished data based on Committee on Migration of RK

Comparing to the age structure of population of Kazakhstan, Oralman's has a slightly different picture imprinting to the age composition. According to the census of Kazakhstan in 1999, the age structure of population was formed as follows: children and adolescents accounted for 4,276.000 people (28,6 % of total), those aged 15 to 59 years – 9,100.000 people (60,7 %), elderly (60 years and older) – 1,610.000 people (10,7 %)³⁴.

The sex ratio of Oralman's is similar to the Kazakh population with males accounting for 46.7 percent and females accounting for 53.3 %. This is compared to the 48 percent males and 51 percent females ratio found in the total population³⁵. According to the Committee on Migration, 164,000 or 35 % are married³⁶ (see fig.7).

Also, in this regard, sex composition of population of Kazakhstan draws the trend of a declining share of the males' population; And the predominance of the females' population over the males'. Thus, the number of males, compared with 1989, decreased by 8,2 % and amounted to 7,200.000 women,

³³ The official retirement age in Kazakhstan is 58 for women and 63 for men

³⁴ Available at Demographic Yearbook-2005 of Kazakhstan

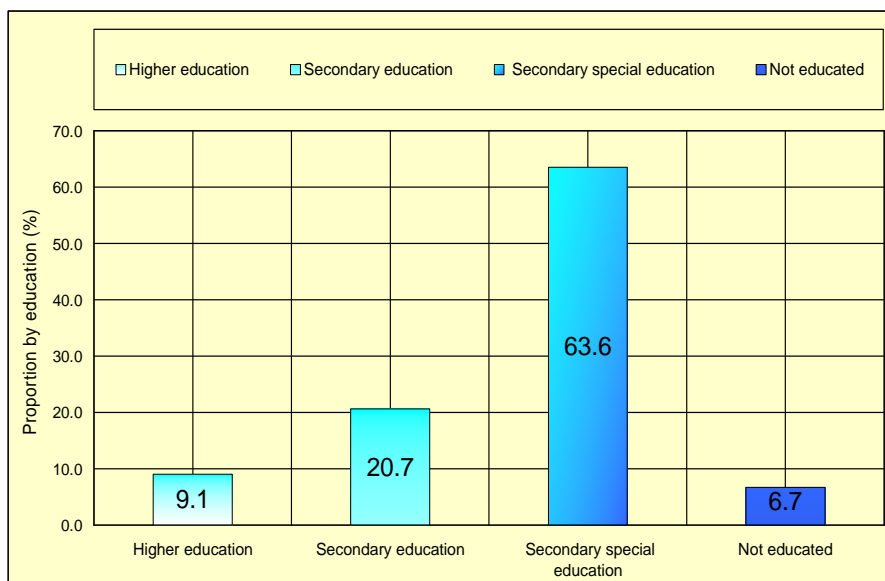
³⁵ The data is for initial total population, "Demographic Yearbook 2008"

³⁶ Statistics gathered by the Committee on Migration as of 01 October 2005

respectively, by 7,2 % to 7,752.000 people. Moreover, if in 1989 men accounted for 48,4 %, in 1999 - 48,2 %. If the in Kazakhstan in 1989, 1000 females accounted 939 men in 1999, only 929 (Diener, 2009)..

Taking into account the educational attainment level, we have explored that the Oralman with higher education 9.1 %, secondary special education 20.7 %, the secondary education 63.6 %, without education 6.7 % people (see fig.8).

Figure 8 - Educational level of Oralman, 1991-2009



Source: Unpublished data based on Committee on Migration

According to the Action Plan for the period 2006-2008 to implement the Conception Migration Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2001-2010, approved by Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on September 27, 2006 № 925, to ensure Constitutional rights for education and to meet the educational needs of returnees (Oralman), aiming to educate children in basic schools.

In the 2006/2007 academic year, secondary schools of the Republic was educated 47,841 pupil - repatriants, including 16,518 - in the primary level education, 25,101 - basic education, 6205 - upper level of secondary schools, 17 children with disabilities. The largest number of pupil repatriants lives in the South Kazakhstan (8,180), Almaty oblast (8027), Karaganda oblast (5,498), Akmola (6,622), Zhambyl oblast (4,685), Pavlodar (1,301). According to the Regional Departments of Education, all children of school-age repatriants (47,841) covered by the education, including the 17 children who are disabled children (Committee of UN on elimination of racial discrimination, 2008).

Upon arrival in Kazakhstan Oralman families generally face few problems enrolling their children in schools. Preference is generally given to Kazakh language schools as opposed to Russian language schools. Although high majorities speak Kazakh, reading and writing problems do arise as a result of not knowing the Cyrillic alphabet. In both Russian and Kazakh schools, Oralman initially find significant differences in the educational system in Kazakhstan compared to that of their countries of origin. The

problem Oralman not only in the fact that among them are little skilled specialists, in particular, from Russia does not know the state language, and those who come from Uzbekistan and other Asian countries - do not know Russian. Therefore, they automatically lose even in comparison with the ordinary workers. Those, at least, can explain to each other and with the employer. Unfortunately English and PC skills in generally they do not know nothing. All this, greatly complicates the possibility to find a work.

Photo 4 – Low level Russian language of Oralman



Source: Diener, 2009.

According the legislation of Kazakhstan, the number of quotas for entering the secondary vocational and higher vocational education for Oralman is determined by the Government of Kazakhstan. Each year the Ministry of Science of Kazakhstan determines quotas for the priority specialties and equal conditions with Kazakh citizens young Oralman can enter any institutions of higher education (Salembayev, 2009). However, this reveals the following issue related to the adaptation to the educational system, host countries usually has different study programs which complicates the adaptation process of the young Oralman in their historical Homeland. It is true in general, and in case of Kazakhstan in particular that some of those Oralman children have low educational level, some of them do not know Kazakh writing. This aggravates the possibilities of entering to the university. Among the other issues, enrollment to the University demands sufficient level of language and the history of Kazakhstan knowledge.

According to investigation in 2006 conducted by public fund "Agency of Public Technology Epicenter", the desire to find employment is Oralman in second place as a motive moving to Kazakhstan, ahead of the intention to improve their own financial position and yielding only a desire to return to his Homeland of their ancestors (Salembayev, 2009).

The low professional activity of Oralman negatively affects the participation in labor market of Kazakhstan. Indeed, citizens of Kazakhstan who has even two diploma can not find a job. The unemployed Oralman lead to a double hurdle to the state in the sense of pressure to the economical sector once they are registered as welfare receivers. Thus, Oralman have no other choice but to be hired for the seasonal works which is very low paid jobs. As the speech of the Minister of Labour and Social Protection (2006): "The high unemployment rate remains among the youth, women and ethnic migrants." (Salembayev, 2009).

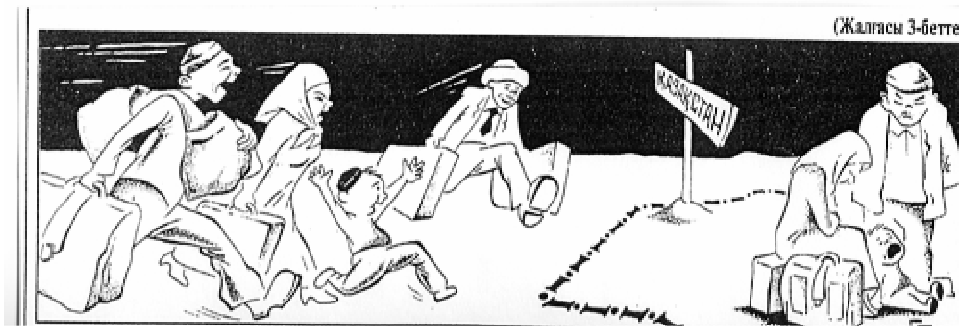
8.2 Spatial distribution and territorial stability

The quotas for Oralman need to settle in the assigned territories when they firstly migrate. There is a tendency among Oralman given quotas to re-migrate to the south if they are settled in the North. While some non-quota given immigrants have chosen to settle in the north, most have chosen to live elsewhere, particularly in the South. Diener argues that there is a 'climatic determinism' in return migrants' choice of settlement. He maintains that while Oralman from Iran, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Karakalpakistan (Figure 6) mostly settled in the South, those from Mongolia, China, and Russia settled in the North (Kasymbayev, 2005)

Although the law "On migration of population" arriving under immigration quotas states that the Government shall allocate funds to purchase accommodation and lump-sum benefits³⁷, Oralman point out that they are poorly advised of how to move to Kazakhstan and how to included in the quotas as there are no written criteria it is difficult for them to evaluate their chances. As a rule, Oralman move from poor countries and need different support: healthcare, accommodation, language, qualifications etc. Usually, Oralman are predominantly the young and the elderly. The majority of them move from Uzbekistan, Mongolia, China, Turkmenistan and Russia with a minority from Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Iran and Turkey. Owing to rich kindred relations they tend to have relatives abroad, most of whom are elderly as they are less mobile. It is expected that Oralman will be eager to bring their elderly relatives to Kazakhstan. Before moving to Kazakhstan, Oralman have generally lived in rural areas (see photo 4).

³⁷ Governmental regulation #1194 "On Approving Statement on Target Use of National Allocations for Oralman" of 18 August 1999 (as amended on 28 February 2004).

Photo 4 Oralman's returning to "historical Homeland"



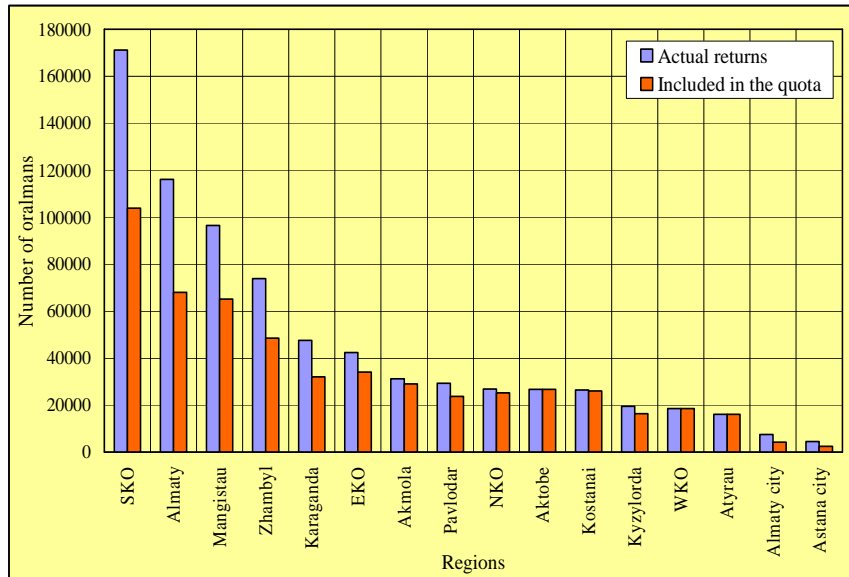
Source: Zhaparuly, 1997.

As indicated above, though the returned migrants have a choice with regard to where to settle (though for quotas immigrants not immediately), the government, especially in recent years (2008-2010), has encouraged them to go to northern oblasts. While the goal was not clearly stated as “Kazakhsize” of these regions, a close reading of the political elite’s discourse reveals this as a main objective (Aitzhanbaiqyzy, 2007). President of the RK N. Nazarbayev also clearly revealed preference for settlement in the North when he said at the third *Qurultay*³⁸: “Our brothers choose to settle mostly in the South but they should also settle in the North; this is good for our nation for a variety of reasons and you know them well” (Kuscu, 2008).

Oralmans are found in all regions in Kazakhstan. The region with the highest number of Oralman's is South Kazakhstan oblast with a total of 171,300 individuals. This represents approximately 23 % of all Oralman's currently settled in Kazakhstan. Almaty oblast is the second largest with 116,200 people or 16 % of the Oralman population, followed by Mangistau and Zhambyl oblasts with 96,600 and 73,900 Oralman's respectively. Among regions with fewer Oralman's are Western Kazakhstan and Atyrau oblasts and the cities of Almaty and Astana (see fig.10).

³⁸ Assembly of Kazakhs

Figure 10 – Settlement of Oralman's by oblast, 1991- 2009



Source: Unpublished data based on Committee on migration of RK

Settlement patterns are determined by a number of factors. Firstly, the quotas serves to structure regional distribution of Oralmans and therefore inclusion under the quotas system limits individual choice of residence. In the early 1990's, the quotas were primarily allocated in northern Kazakhstan. This was done in order to counter massive emigration flows resulting in significant population loss in the northern and central regions. Reflecting changing migration patterns, the quotas more recently has focused on southern regions in order to reflect the actual settlement patterns of arriving Oralmans. For instance, in 2005, nearly 73 percent of Oralmans included in the quotas (10,885 out of 15,000 families) were from Uzbekistan and resettled in South Kazakhstan oblast (UNDP Kazakhstan, 2006).

While applicants to the quotas system can specify their preferred region, regional committees responsible for the selection make the final decision on applications, taking into consideration quotas limitations. However, an Oralman who has applied to be included in the quotas of a particular region cannot then be settled under the quotas in another region. If he is not included in one region, he is left out of quotas altogether that year. In such cases, those who are not successful in being included in the quotas must wait until the subsequent year to make another request.

The variables affecting geographic resettlement for Oralmans not included in the quotas: proximity to country of origin, language, climate and employment opportunities. For example, many Oralmans in southern Kazakhstan arrive from bordering areas in Uzbekistan. Similarly, Southern Kazakhstan receives Oralmans from Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Turkey, due in part to a warmer climate and closeness to previous communities. Non-Russian speaking Oralmans may also prefer areas

where the Kazakh language is widespread, such as southern Kazakhstan. Additional reasons for settlement are also found in historical linkages and the presence of relatives.

Almaty oblast with the second largest Oralman population mostly attracts populations from China and Uzbekistan Oralman. The main reasons for such settlement patterns are proximity to China and Almaty city and historical roots. This Region occupies the whole southeast of the Republic. There are distinct economic specializations: mainly engineering construction (machine tool construction, electronics, food processing, trade and catering equipment) and also tobacco, wine making and agriculture products. Moreover, in Almaty oblast an unemployment is very low and relatively high salaries.

The figure 10 reveals that in the same period the northern oblasts received the lowest numbers of return migrants. While climatic determinism can be an important factor in defining the settlement choice of the migrants, other factors influence their decision as well. The low settlement in northern oblasts where the majority of the population is Russian points out the Oralman's disinclination to settle in the regions where their social, economic, and linguistic adaptation would be more difficult than in the south.

Secondary migration, or relocation to a different region or area, is frequent among Oralman. According to the survey results, some 24 % of respondents have changed their place or residence at least one time. The most frequent secondary migration was reported by those Oralman settled under the quotas in rural areas. Relocation from northern to southern regions, a phenomenon that was particularly evident during the 1990s, has subsided as a result of changes made to the quota's geographical distribution of Oralman (UNDP Kazakhstan, 2006).

However, rural-urban migration still continues to be widespread. The main factors contributing to high rates of rural-urban migration are: insufficient employment in rural areas resulting in part from the collapse of *kolkhozy*³⁹ or collective farms; lack of schools, educational opportunities and hospitals in some rural areas; high transportation costs between rural areas and nearby cities; and poor rural infrastructure. Oralman in central and northern regions are more likely to migrate between rural and urban areas. Conversely, quite a few respondents in South Kazakhstan and Almaty oblasts reported changing their initial places of residence.

8.3 Demographic reproduction

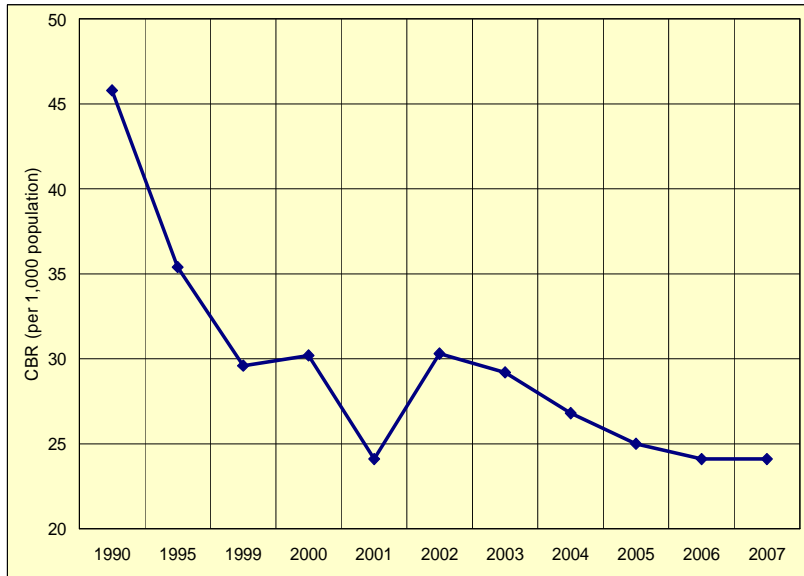
The reproductive behavior of Oralman and their level of fertility rates are very important as their impact could be very significant in increasing the number of population in Kazakhstan. To see the reproductive behavior of Oralman and their level of fertility there were taken as a sample the Mongolian Kazakhs which is living in Bayan-Olgii aimag.⁴⁰

Measure which is most easily and often used measure CBR was used to see how many births per 1,000 population in this aimag are born over during the period of 1990-2007 (see fig.11).

³⁹ Kolkhoz (kolkhoz, plural kolkhozy) was a form of collective farming in the Soviet Union that existed along with state farms. The word is a contraction of collective economy, or "collective farm".

⁴⁰ Administrative- territorial subject

Figure 11 – Birth rate of ethnic Kazakhs in Bayan-Olgii aimag, 1990-2007

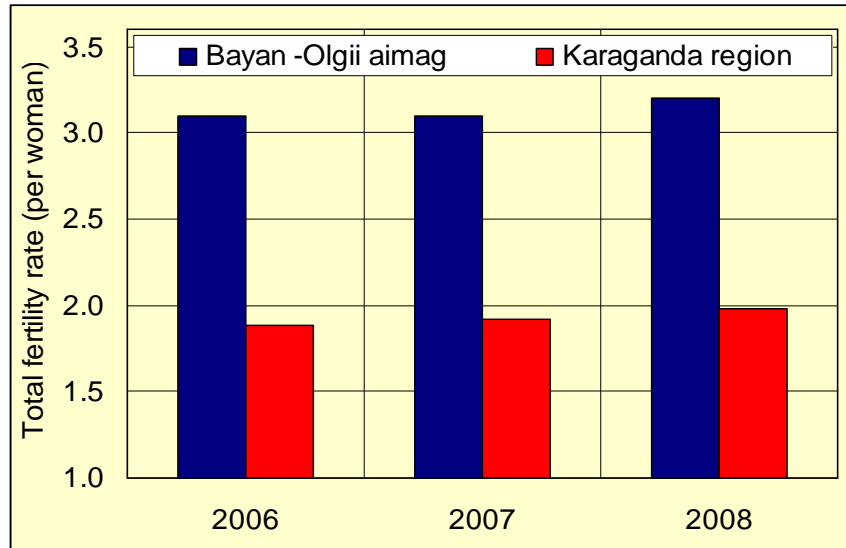


Source: Unpublished data of K. Nurpeisova

Observing the graph we can see that CBR per 1,000 populations was very high during 1990s and rapidly decreasing in further years. So in 2007 the level of this measure is declined to 24.1 births per 1,000 population. However, CBR is a measure that can be influenced by age and sex structure of a population. The crucial factor is the percentage of young women of reproductive age, because these women produce the babies. Thus, a population with a relatively high proportion of young people will have a higher CBR than a population with a large proportion of older people. To see how many children women are currently having we used one of the most useful indicators TFR.

To see the reproductive behavior of Oralman and their level of fertility there was taken as a sample the Mongolian Kazakhs. Bayan-Olgii aimag and Karaganda regions' total fertility rate was taken as a sample (see fig.12).

Figure 12 -Fertility rate in Bayan-Olgii aimag and Karaganda region, 2006-2008



Source: Unpublished estimates of K. Nurpeisova

The main reasons: 90% of population living in Bayan-Olgii aimag are Kazakhs and most of Kazakhs coming from this aimag is settling in Karaganda region. So, as we can see the total fertility rate of Bayan-Olgii aimag is over 3.1 children per woman while TFR of Karaganda region is 1.9 children per woman in 2006-2008. Thus, we can see that reproductive behavior of Kazakhs residing in this aimag shows that culture and traditions plays an important role in the reproductive behavior of population regardless of place and country of residence. Thus, tradition to high number of children which is typical since the past and common for Kazakh population is still remained even in a far from the home country which is explained with living them separately in one aimag. Therefore, it is considered that this kind of reproductive behavior will be continued after their returning to Kazakhstan and will make its own impact to the size of the population.

Of course, the reproductive behavior of Kazakhs in other countries could be different or influenced by surrounding society. However, it is believed that the features of traditional big sized families will remain still and continued in their home countries.

8.4 Model scenarios of future population developments

Defining the model scenarios of Oralman's future population development in the first place depend on national policy of the country and to what extent external and internal aspects of the foreign policy faced by Kazakhstan is influencing to the model scenarios. The answer for this question also means receiving an answer to the question on what kind of state Kazakhstan will be within the XXI century.

The long-term development strategy of Kazakhstan "Kazakhstan 2030" fully answer the above question and the President of Kazakhstan identified the following mission: "I, as the Head of State suggest the following as the mission of our country: to build an independent, prosperous and politically stable Kazakhstan with its inherent national unity, social justice and economic well-being of the entire population. Prosperity, security and raising the living standards of all the Kazakhstan-such are key words to characterize Kazakhstan we all want to build. During the process of our advancement into the XXI century they must remain our guides" (Tilabayev, 2009).

Also, in this strategy, noted that rated among leading priorities of national security of country is to develop comprehensive and descriptive demographic and migration policy. Kazakhstan is not able to build a powerful state and its armed forces aiming to solve demographic, ecological and social problems, to raise the living standards of each and every person in a country. If Kazakhstan fails in shaping up a healthy, prosperous economy achieving high rates of economic growth demands political stability, energetic and purposeful reforms this in its turn will lead to disruption of economical balance and inconsistency of political reforms.

In addition, there is a question on the scenarios of all process of the repatriation ethnic Kazakhs, what type of social connectedness will dominate the space of historic Kazakhstan? Answers to these questions are keys to solving many problems, including population development, and ultimately should determine state policy on immigration policies to ethnic Kazakhs.

Thus, further development of the policy of repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs could be considered according to three assumed scenarios:

The first scenario (positive views). The demographic factor plays an important role in the development of country. Kazakhstan has a large territory and small population. The natural growth while preserving the positive mark could quickly fall Demographic tendencies are such that Kazakhstan could get into a situation of "demographic cross" (the death will exceed the birth rate), as mentioned in a long term strategy "Kazakhstan 2030". In this case, the number of population may be diminishes under the influence of a negative balance of external migration and depopulation (Nazarbayev, 1992) However, since 2004 the net migration of external migration was the sign "plus". The main reasons to reduce the emigration was a social and economic stabilization, loyalty to the national language policy of the state, reducing the migration potential capacity of representatives of European ethnic groups (Alexeenko, 2008).

Thus, demographic issues are far from last place in the development strategy of Kazakhstan. Population growth must be due to increasing of fertility, reducing emigration and increasing immigration. Since, immigration of Kazakhs had been able to replace the outflow of Russian, Germans, Ukrainians and

other ethnic groups. As a result, in all regions of Kazakhstan the titular population was increased significantly (see table 11). By 2006, all three components of demographic process were changed significantly and achieved the "demographic success". The population increased due to natural growth and positive balance of foreign migration. The executive power held a process under control (Belgibayev, 2008). President of the RK N. Nazarbayev emphasized that one of the tasks of Akims⁴¹ should be directed to increase the population in the territory entrusted to them⁴².

Table 11 - Dynamics of Kazakh ethnic group by region, 1999-2005

Oblasts	1999, Absolute numbers	Percentage of Kazakhs	2002, Absolute numbers	Percentage of Kazakhs	2005, Absolute numbers	Percentage of Kazakhs
Akmola	829,300	37.0	755,000	39.0	747,200	42.0
Aktobe	682,600	71.0	668,200	74.0	678,700	76.0
Almaty	1,556.600	59.0	1,554.600	61.0	1,589.800	62.0
Atyrau	439,400	89.0	447,700	90.0	463,500	91.0
WKO	617,400	65.0	600,400	67.0	606,600	69.0
Zhambyl	988,900	65.0	979,200	67.0	992,100	68.0
Karaganda	1,411.400	37.0	1,344.300	39.0	1,331.800	41.0
Kostanai	1,020.500	31.0	935,700	32.0	907,400	34.0
Kizylorda	595,500	94.0	600,970	95.0	612,100	95.0
Mangistau	314,000	79.0	328,300	82.0	361,800	84.0
SKO	1,975.600	68.0	2,079.500	68.0	2,193.600	69.0
Pavlodar	808,400	39.0	758,200	41.0	743,900	44.0
NKO	727,000	30.0	691,300	31.0	665,000	32.0
EKO	1,533.000	48.0	1,482.600	50.0	1,442.100	52.0
Astana city	326,939	41.0	493,000	54.0	529,400	57.0
Almaty city	1,129.000	38.0	1,132.500	41.0	1,209.500	45.0

Source: *Demographic Yearbook 2005 of Kazakhstan*

From the government's point of view demographic prosperity could be achieved through immigration. Thus, the above-mentioned population development processes explains why Kazakhstan pays special attention to population dynamics. Continuation of such kind of strategy, the demographic situation can be saved in this trend and further development could be dependent on immigration. In this case, repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs will play an important role in the repatriation policy of the RK and could increase its prestige in the population policy. Especially coming of Oralman from those countries where large family still held in high esteem (Alexeenko, 2008). Moreover, the age structure of Oralman is very promising in terms of demography: the proportion of children is 41.3 %, people of working age are 54.3 % and proportion of older people is only 4.4 %.⁴³

⁴¹ Head of oblast

⁴² *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, on October 8, 2005

⁴³ The data taken from Comette on migration

It lies on the repatriation of the main task of the successful implementation of population policy of the RK. And apparently its prestige will increase. Especially coming Oralman of those countries where large family still held in high esteem (Alexeenko, 2008). Age structure of living in the country Oralman is very promising in terms of demography: the proportion of children is 41.3% of working age is 54.3%, older - only 4.4%.

In Nazarbayev's address to the people of Kazakhstan in 2004, was been set ambitious task: to increase the population of the country to 20 million people by 2015⁴⁴. According to Conception on migration policy for 2007-2015 is doing all possible assistance, arrangements and supporting in the adaptation of Oralman in the settling and integrating into the local social environment. Moreover, the state is trying to do everything to return ethnic Kazakhs from abroad to the historical homeland and their arrangement on the ground. As a result, the number of ethnic immigrants was increased through immigration quotas of Oralman (see tab.12).

Table 12 -Origin countries of Oralman and stocks of ethnic Kazakhs abroad

Country	Returned persons	%	Stocks of Kazakhs
Uzbekistan	470,300	59.6	0,8-1,1 mln.
Mongolia	110,000	13.9	140,000-160,000
China	79,400	10.1	1,4-1,5 mln.
Turkmenistan	62,300	7.9	40,000-90,000
Russia	34,400	4.3	650,000-700,000
Tadjikistan	11,700	1.5	900-1,200
Kyrgyzstan	8,400	1.1	39,000-50,000
Iran	5,900	0.7	12,000-15,000
Turkey	3,400	0.4	15,000-18,000
Other country of CIS	929	0.1	n/a
Other country of abroad	3,400	0.4	France-10,000; Germany-7,000; Italy-4000; USA - 10,000

Source: Unpublished data based on Committee on Migration, wikipedia.org

Note: no available

The second scenario (neutral views). The role of repatriation and its importance will increase by weakening positive effects of natural growth and the growth of emigration. At the same time, the increasing role of immigration before the leadership of RK has a many challenges such as integration, adaptation of Oralman, problems with languages and getting citizenship of the RK. However, management and control of immigration processes started to improve since 2009. If, earlier, attention was mainly directed to the quantity characteristics of Oralman then, since 2009 it has changed to the criteria of quality characteristics due to adaptation of new ethnic Kazakh Program which is called “Nurly Kosh”. Consequently, leadership changed rules for inclusion in the immigration quotas of Oralman. As a result, main criteria considering the immigration quotas are following:

⁴⁴ According to Agency of statistics of the RK in 2004 the total population was 14,951,200

- 1) the presence of specialty and qualification;
- 2) the level of education;
- 3) the number of minors.

In response to the argument that Oralman make a contribution to Kazakhstan's demographic growth, civic-statists said that the quality of the immigrants is more important than their number. In this regard, they point of view to the low educational levels of most Oralman is negative and they says that their arrival gives no benefit for Kazakhstan's economy (Kuscu, 2008).

On the other hand, according to the new Program "Nurly Kosh" for the participation with ethnic Kazakhs, government still calls former citizens of Kazakhstan, who arrived for work to the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the main attention is directed on:⁴⁵

- Improving quality of life for the ethnic and internal migrants;
- Promoting the return of highly skilled professionals, who departed earlier from Kazakhstan;
- Prevention the occurrence of social risks associated with the difficulties of adaptation and integration of migrants, unemployment and irregular migration;

The governmental project "Nurly Kosh" is a many promising project. First of all, new approach of the control of migration is to rationally allocate labor resources and migrants across the country. In this way, if during the second *Qurultay* of the World Association of Kazakhs in 2003, President of the RK N. Nazarbayev addressed to his audience his encouragement of migration of the Diaspora to his homeland, then already during the third *Qurultay* of World Kazakhs in 2005, Nazarbayev stated "Our brother who is migrating to his historical homeland should not think in terms of what might Kazakhstan give him but what can he give to his Kazakhstan". So, as it was seen from this speech, demand from Oralman for contribution to the socio-economic development of the country was required.

The third scenario (negative views). Actually, government expected high political benefits from the relocation of Oralman. While Oralman or entrant sides expected that the state will create the necessary conditions and will assist in the implementation of State-guaranteed fundamental rights and freedoms, promotion of employment and retraining for the unemployed people for adaptation to the local settlement and integration into the local social milieu and psychological rehabilitation of people. However, not all interests of the host and entrant parties were coincided. Interest of the host country is not only to increase the size of population and refill of territory but also to consider the quality of the people, as it was mentioned before. The politicians and the public figure was not satisfied with Oralman's level of education and professional skills as they were very low and their adaptation to society was very difficult (Abishev, 2010; Jumadilov, 2007; Alexeenko, 2008; Tarasova, 2006).

Even a well-known writer K. Jumadilov believes that repatriation should be completed in the coming years and quotas should be cancelled because after 20 years "foreign Kazakhs will not seek homeland"⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ The Program "Nurly Kosh", on December 2, 2008 (№1126)

⁴⁶ Available at <http://kisi.kz/site.html?id=4524>

According to Chairman of the Committee on Migration RK J. Abdiev (2005),⁴⁷ " Sometimes we are feeling the impression that individuals come to their homeland only to receive money. Moreover, Oralman frequently moves from area to area for receiving money several times. According to unofficial data, most of these were among the immigrants from Mongolia, Russia and Uzbekistan (Muhammedov, 2006). At the same time legislation of Kazakhstan does not require the return of benefits received by quotas.

The developers of the concept on migration policy of the RK for 2007-2015 started from the assumption that all ethnic Kazakhs living abroad have the right to return to their historic homeland. However, it is not understandable basing on what it was concluded that a significant proportion of the Kazakh Diaspora willing to return to Kazakhstan (Tarasova, 2006).

Naturally, there are exists discrepancy in the opinion about the massive bring of immigrants from abroad and Kazakh society is configured not unanimously. Some of them believe that resettlement will bring to the poverty and others feel that it will bring to the increase of crime provoked by new arrivals. Also there are exists opinions that the mass arrival of repatriants to Kazakhstan will lead to a loss of national identity, the fourth predicts that country will face inevitable downfall - "the end of Kazakhstan". The public opinion⁴⁸ polls and a simple list of events occurring in the Kazakh society shows decrease of tolerance and the growth of xenophobia in society.

8.5 Level of integration

Indeed, the public opinion of the country has seen Kazakh diaspora as a resource of population. From this point of view (depending on the ethnicity of Kazakhstani) Oralman domestically considered either as a source of ethno-demographic revival (by increasing the proportion of Kazakh population), or as a threat. Some citizens of Kazakhstan consider Oralman as a threat, because they are mistakenly believed to destroy the established communication patterns and relational attitudes, since Oralman are perceived as representatives of other cultures who speak different Kazakh, do not speak Russian, have no experience of living in a "Soviet communal apartment", and have grown up in other specific market relations. This category of people considered Oralman as unpleasant misunderstanding, it was unclear how they have appeared and how they can claim for state resources and services (public finance, purchasing, construction of houses). Among the local Kazakhs there is unworthy attitude to Oralman, which they prefer to call "Mongols", "Chinese", "Uzbeks", "Russian" or any other state of origin where the Oralman came, despite the fact that these people are Kazakhs too. (Sarym, 2009). This situation naturally causes the dissatisfaction among Kazakh abroad. Seeing and feeling such an attitude, many Kazakhs are not eager to return to their historical Homeland. Among some of the Kazakhs Oralman perceived as "alien people" who are competing in the labor market.

In rural areas, where most of people are unemployed, the government support for Oralman becomes the object of jealousy. For example, in Pavlodar Oblast there was an outrageous case where the

⁴⁷ Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, February 11, 2005

⁴⁸ Interview by independent analytical structure "Center of Social Technologies"

local Kazakhs destroyed Oralman's homes and property. It is a sad that this is not the first incident, which occurred in this region. Oralman themselves poorly organized. Most of them still are occupied by the survival and adaptation in new conditions and circumstances.

Cultural differences were not found to be a source of tension between Oralman and the local population. The attitude of the local population towards Oralman is however not always so tolerable. According to a survey conducted by the independent analytical Center for Social Technologies (CST) in 2005, the attitude of the general population towards Oralman is divided as follows⁴⁹ (see tab.13):

Table 13 - Attitudes of the Kazakhstani population towards Oralman

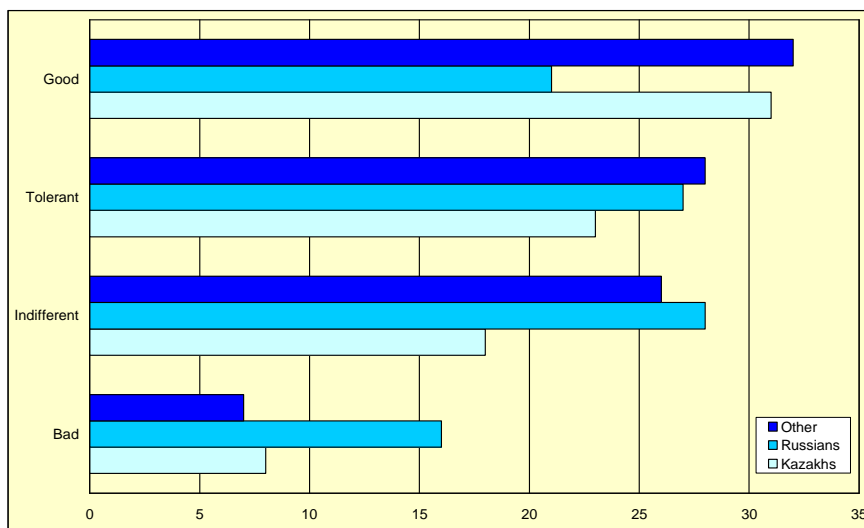
Good	Tolerably	Indifferent	Bad
36.3	25.3	24.2	14.2

Source: Publication of the CST "Oralman: realities, problems and perspectives"

The perception of Oralman by the Kazakhstani population is also found to be controversial. On the one hand, considerable respect is expressed for Oralman wishing to return to their ethnic roots, and obvious benefits brought to the receiving country are recognized. However, suspicion is also high, particularly with regard to abuses of social welfare programs and targeted benefits (UNDP Kazakhstan, 2006).

Local population attitude towards Oralman by nationality breakdown is as follows (see fig.13):

Figure 13- What is your attitude towards Oralman? (%)



Source: CST survey: total number of surveyed local population is 1800 in 60 regions.

The Kazakhs and representative of other non-Russian ethnic groups expressed a more or less supportive attitude towards Oralman. However, a negative attitude among Russians (the second largest ethnic group in the country) was expressed by 16%, or every sixth respondent. The survey by CST also has showed,

⁴⁹ Survey was conducted in 6 sub regions of the country: North, South, East, West, Center, Almaty city

however, that this negative attitude is not necessarily an expression of complete disapproval, but rather of caution towards potential threats in terms of employment and housing. Research done by CST also has showed that respondents in the higher income brackets had more tolerance towards Oralman, whereas people in the lower income brackets had more negative attitudes.

Local population attitude by geographic location breakdown is as follows:

Table 14 - Local population attitude by region, %

Regions	Good	Tolerant	Indifferent	Bad
North	28.8	34.6	24.2	5.6
South	42.5	19.7	15.4	7.4
West	46.4	13.7	23.7	4.8
East	26.2	18.4	24.6	17.2
Central				
Kazakhstan	31.0	28.4	29.0	10.6
Almaty city	28.2	33.6	18.1	16.1
National figure	34	25	22.5	10.1

Source: Publication of the CST "Oralman: realities, problems and perspectives"

8. 6 Oralman related issues

Kazakhstan ambitiously declaring the Program on repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs seriously stated that the historical homeland for the whole Kazakhs is the only one. Moreover, it took all the organizational measures on the movement and creating suitable conditions for living in the places of residents. However, Kazakhs who willed to come to Kazakhstan face the set of problems which are chronically and have the common source. First of all, the problems concern with the provision of living arrangements and resettlement, employment and integration of Oralman.

The results of the research show that the level of success in decision of the above mentioned problems still remain low.

8. 6. 1 Housing and resettlement

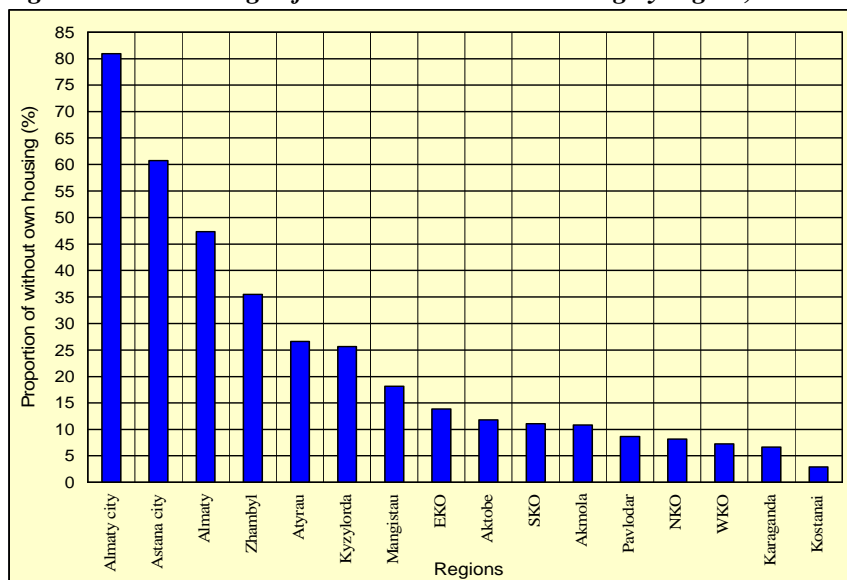
The initial indicators countering the idea of an "overt dilution" derived from interviews in the homes of the Oralman. In various urban and rural settings – including large cities (Pavlodar, Astana, Karaganda, Almaty), small cities (Temirtau, Aktau, Ekibastuz), and a number of villages in several oblasts – Oralman respondents informed me that many of the houses and apartments in which they were residing were in fact the former homes of Germans and other nontitular peoples who had emigrated from Kazakhstan. The "abandonment issue" is quite significant when taken in the context of the limited resources available for building new homes for the Oralman (Diener, 2009).

The issue of housing has been a consistent challenge for government agencies dealing with the integration of Oralman. As entrance into the quota includes the provision of state funded housing, fiscal and logistical difficulties are considerable, particularly with the increase of quota Oralman. To date, the

majority of government allocation for Oralman integration has been spent on housing for those included in the quota. Conversely, those not included in the quota receive no assistance in finding temporary or permanent accommodation.

As Table 3.5 shows, the problem of inadequate housing is the most visible in regions with the highest density of oralmans: Almaty city about 80% and Astana city 60%, and Almaty oblast 45% Karaganda and Kostanai regions of Kazakhstan attract high numbers of Oralmans not included in the quota system as well as secondary migrants. Moreover, these regions have also become receiving regions for greater numbers of oralmans covered under the quota.

Figure 14 - Percentage of Oralman without housing by region, 1991-2010



Source: Unpublished data based on Committee on migration

In February 2004, the initial mechanism providing housing assistance to Oralman included under the quota system was replaced⁵⁰. According to the new procedures, the local department of the Committee on Migration no longer buys flats for Oralman but instead provides a fixed sum to each family member, which represents 100 times the monthly rate index (MCR), or approximately KZT 97,200 (approximately USD 730). Oralman must now find and arrange their own accommodations, negotiating with the seller and signing the contract independently. No government assistance is provided during this process⁵¹.

⁵⁰ Previously, local departments of the AMD were responsible for purchasing and allocating housing to arriving Oralman. In partial reaction to mismanagement and as a result of rising housing prices and the growing numbers of Oralman, the Decree on Targeted Spending of the Funds Allocated from the Budget of the RK to Oralman was amended on 25 February 2004.

⁵¹ Funds are transferred to the Oralman once he brings a notarized copy of the sales contract and has provided proof that he has opened a bank account.

However, in the starting 2010 the Government of Kazakhstan differentiated benefit Oralman involved in the resettlement program⁵² and has made changes to the rules of the reimbursement expenses by travel to their permanent residence and on transportation property, including livestock, the allocation of funds for purchasing housing the place by arrival and payment of lump sum benefits Oralman and their families, who arrived on the immigration quota. According to the decision of the Government, for Oralman that are members of the new resettlement program “Nurly Kosh”, allocates to the head of the family the amount of 100 times the monthly calculation index⁵³ (approximately KZT 141,300 / USD 968), but for each member of family differentiated according to the resettlement of the axes of territorial development. In North axis included Akmola, Aktobe, East Kazakhstan, West Kazakhstan, Kostanai, Pavlodar and North Kazakhstan oblasts at 75 times the monthly calculation index. Central axis included Atyrau, Karaganda, Kyzylorda and Mangistau oblasts at 65 times the monthly calculation index and South axis are Almaty, Zhambyl and South Kazakhstan oblasts of 55 times the monthly calculation index. The amount of lump sum Oralman with their resettlement in the North axis is multiplied by a step-up coefficient of 2 and in the central axis - in 1,7. In addition, for the construction or reconstruction or acquisition of Oralman's housing and those who member of the resettlement program provides a preferential credit loans.

Whereas those included under the quota system receive some assistance, those arriving outside the quota must arrange housing independently. Local authorities (*akimats*) can provide them with some financial assistance; however, resources are largely insufficient. Local authorities in some regions have in the past provided land plots for the construction of Oralman houses (e.g., in Almaty city, South Kazakhstan oblast and Mangistau oblast). In some cases Oralman have built houses without receiving permission from local authorities.

Housing or at least temporary housing is doubtless the first problem Oralman face upon their arrival in Kazakhstan. According to the Law on Population Migration and other legal acts, Oralman should be placed in “temporary settlement” or adaptation centers upon their arrival. However, as shown through IOM monitoring conducted in spring 2004 the majority of these centers are not functioning properly. Oralman often do not know of the existence of these centers. There are no criteria as to who can gain assistance from or accommodations in these centres. There is a limit of 20 days for those using the centres; however, these often become permanent dwellings for some Oralman (UNDP Kazakhstan, 2006).

Among the more prominent factors compelling the Oralman to settle in particular regions of Kazakhstan is the existence of social networks into which Oralman family can find security and be provided employment opportunities. Culturally, Kazakhs are highly inclined to function within extended family networks. In their sites of diasporic residence, it is not uncommon for Kazakhs to have a vast knowledge of the family networks. In their sites of diasporic residence, it is not uncommon for Kazakhs to have a vast knowledge of the family history of most of the community. Although intertribal marriages have become more prominent among diasporic Kazakh communities than among Kazakhstani-

⁵² Available at <http://www.zakon.kz/166165-pravitelstvo-rk-differencirovalo.html>

⁵³ For 2010 in Kazakhstan the MCR is KZT 1413, available at <http://www.zakon.kz/158643-mrp-v-kazakhstane-s-1-janvarja.html>

kazakhs, degrees of separation are maintained by patrilineal endogamy taboos (to the seventh historical generation). As noted in the previous chapter, among the chief complaints of the Oralman is the dispersal of their diasporic community in Kazakhstan (i.e., the distances between themselves and their relatives) (Mendikulova, 2004; Ismatullaev, 2005).

Proposals for the creation of “areas of compact living” for Kazakhs from particular countries (e.g., a Mongolian-Kazakh area, an Iranian Kazakh area) have been one means of addressing the issue of dispersal (Karzhaubai, 1992). Others have strongly opposed such concentrations of returnees on the basis of the need to integrate the Oralman into the more broadly defined Kazakhstani society and in the interests of avoiding a precedent for “autonomous area” construction that could be utilized for similar purposes by other ethnic minority community.

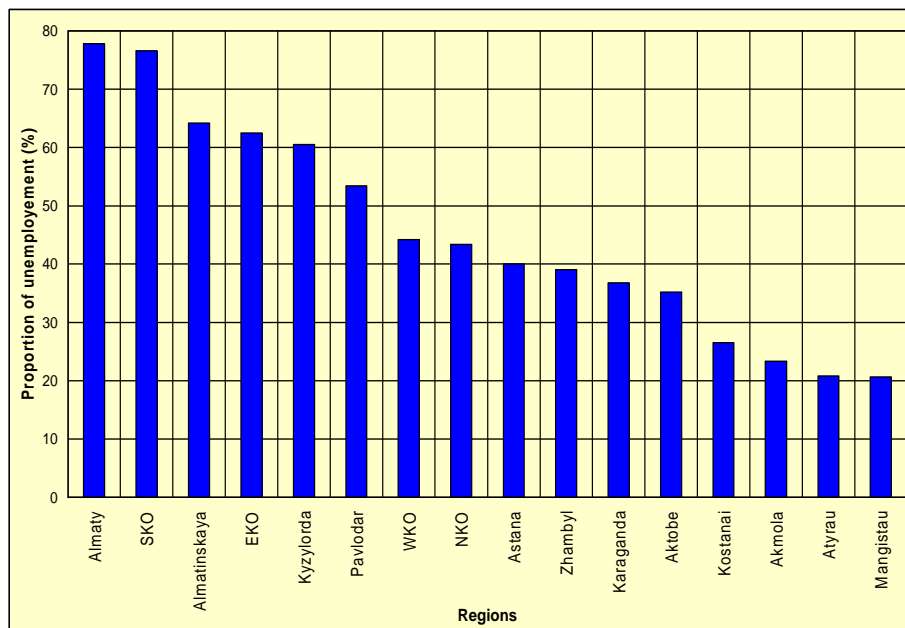
8. 6. 2 Employment

As a key element of general integration into the new society, participation in the labour market is a fundamental indicator. The results of the study show that the degree to which Oralman have achieved economic integration in Kazakhstan remains low. According to official statistics of the Committee on Migration, only 50.4 % of Oralman of working age are actively employed⁵⁴. While this represents an increase from 2000, when the employment rate was only 32 percent, it remains significantly lower than the employment rate amongst the general population, which was 91.6 percent in 2004.

Considerable regional differences are noted in Oralman employment levels. For example, in Western region of Kazakhstan like Mangistau oblast, roughly 80 percent, Atirau oblast 79 percent of Oralman are employed. However, the rate of employment is significantly lower in southern regions, only 23 percent in Almaty city and 24 percent in South Kazakhstan of Oralman were found to be employed (see fig.15).

⁵⁴ Data gathered by the Committee on Migration taken January 1, 2010.

Figure 15- Unemployment of Oralman, 1991-2009



Source: Unpublished data based on Committee on Migration of Kazakhstan

The high level of unemployment experienced by Oralman can be explained by a number of variables. Firstly, legal obstacles have an impact on Oralman's ability to gain employment. Although the Law on Population Migration does provide a definition of Oralman status, it does not define the rights or responsibilities entitled through such distinction, thus precluding the application of other laws. For example, the Labour Code of Kazakhstan distinguishes between two categories of workers: residents and non-residents. As no special legal regime exists for Oralman, Oralman who have not yet received citizenship are generally classified under the latter category. Non-resident status requires that a special license be acquired by the employer from the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection. This procedure is highly complicated and can take a significant amount of time, thereby deterring employers from hiring Oralman lacking citizenship status.

A similar legal obstacle relates to proof residency. In order to be legally employed in Kazakhstan, Oralman must receive citizenship, or at least residency, in order to receive equal rights of Kazakhstani citizens. However, in order to receive citizenship or a residence permit, proof of residence must be obtained. Those who do not have temporary or permanent accommodations must find someone who will accept to register him.

As noted in Nazarbayev's speech, the northern oblasts are also "high-unemployment zones" targeted for industrial development. With the agricultural sector of Kazakhstan's economy suffering greatly during the 1990s, improving economic conditions in these regions would be commensurate with the nationalization of social space. By improving economic conditions in the northern oblasts, it is hoped that the non-Kazakh populations will be more integrated into the country, with a secondary benefit to the state of "kazakhizing" the region as part of the process of improving the industrial base (Diener, 2009).

A second factor in low economic integration relates to language barriers. Oralman who do not speak Russian or have a limited command of Russian may face challenges finding employment, particular in northern regions. In southern regions where the Kazakh language is more widely used, linguistic barriers may be less prohibiting. However, in these areas linguistic difficulties may still arise. For example, Oralman from China, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan write in Ancient Kazakh (which is based on the Arabic alphabet) and in Turkey Kazakh is written using the Latin alphabet. Oralman arriving from these countries face the difficulty of not being able to read or write Kazakh. In this way, having insufficient skills in both languages creates a situation in which it is nearly impossible to find employment (UNDP Kazakhstan, 2006).

Differences in education systems in source countries also may affect employability. An Oralman who possesses a diploma from an institute of higher education may have difficulties gaining employment if his previous credentials are not recognized⁵⁵. In some cases, Oralman are unable to find employment in their field of proficiency. This is true for both Oralman with higher education (engineers, technology specialists, doctors, economists) and those with technical backgrounds (i.e., tradesmen).

8. 6. 3 Integration

Migrants' adaptation and socialization opportunities should be considered when studying migration in terms of ageing. This issue is related to such migrants' groups as Oralman, immigrants and in-country migrants. In terms of adaptation and socialization, political, economic and cultural aspects should also be kept in mind.

Political adaptation includes interest and direct involvement of migrants in the political life of the country. As the main migration stimulus for all groups is economic, their interest in the political life of the country is unlikely to be high. Thus, among migrants living in the capital, Astana, just 50.7% are interested in the political life of the country. Immigrants are less interested in political life (28.3%), although this index is higher among in-country migrants (59.6%) and Oralman (63.8%)⁵⁶. The high level of interest in political life among Oralman may be attributed to the patriotic feelings that made them return to Kazakhstan.

Of course the **economic adaptation** of migrants is more important in terms of ageing. Regular wages, job type and wage size may serve as its indicators. As a rule Oralman are less well economically adapted. A large number of unemployed, housewives and retirees can be found among in the Oralman population and the welfare of most Oralman after arriving in Kazakhstan gets worse. A considerable part (around 11%) of Oralman refer to themselves as low-income groups when comparing their situation to that before their move to Kazakhstan⁵⁷. Pension contributions are important for economic adaptation but unfortunately the majority of immigrants do not make such payments. **Cultural adaptation** and integration of Oralman varies among different migrant groups. The main barriers to the adaptation of in-country

⁵⁵ For example, Chinese diplomas are not recognized in Kazakhstan.

⁵⁶ Migrants in the new capital of Kazakhstan. Almaty: International Organization for Migration Kazakhstan, 2005. P. 69-70.

⁵⁷ Migrants in the new capital of Kazakhstan. Almaty: International Organization for Migration Kazakhstan, 2005. P. 89.

migrants are obstacles of everyday life, while for immigrants and Oralman the main problems involve language (not sufficient speaking skills in Kazakh and/or Russian) and cultural barriers.

Moreover, language is fundamental for any interaction to occur and therefore language integration is among the first deemed to be necessary. The proficiency of migrants in the language of the receiving country, in oral and written form, is an important indicator of their successful integration. A sufficient knowledge of the language of the receiving country is also an essential precondition for integration into labour, social and cultural domains. All migrant receiving states make language a central focus of their integration agendas, although states have different views on the level of choice granted to immigrants in their process of language acquisition.

One of the main motivations of individuals choosing to immigrate to Kazakhstan is the desire to preserve Kazakh identity, language, culture and traditions. Once in Kazakhstan, they often face difficulties adapting to the public use of both Kazakh and Russian. Given the status of Russian as an officially recognized language and its wide use throughout the country, Oralman may have difficulty in successfully integrating into the labour market. The integration into social and cultural domains is also hampered by insufficient Russian language skills, which still prevails since the country is multiethnic and is needed for everyday communication.

Differences in written Kazakh can also be a major obstacle. Currently three Kazakh alphabets are in use around the world: Cyrillic in Kazakhstan, Russia and some other CIS countries; Latin in Turkey and Western Europe; and Ancient Kazakh (based on the Arabic alphabet) in China, Iran and Pakistan. As a result Oralman from China, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkey cannot read or write Kazakh once in Kazakhstan. Upon their arrival they almost immediately face problems in not being able to complete needed processes, for example, to apply for Oralman status. Despite the above-mentioned challenges, there are no measures currently in place to provide Oralman with language training. School and university administrations usually organize Kazakh and Russian language courses independently since no government programmes are in operation.

As part of the Kazakh diaspora, Oralman for the most part have conserved traditional aspects of Kazakh culture, traditions and lifestyle. This situation may or may not foster cultural integration. Two variables are particularly noteworthy in this respect: country of origin and region of resettlement. This is evident for example in southern Kazakhstan (South Kazakhstan, Zhambyl, Kyzylorda and Manghystau oblasts), which demonstrates a greater adherence to national Kazakh culture and traditions. In these regions, Oralman's socio-cultural adaptation appears to occur more easily than in northern and central regions. Oralman are found to face greater difficulties integrating into northern and central regions. This can be explained by the more pluralistic cultural landscape. Dating from the Soviet period, Kazakh culture in these areas was significantly impacted by the presence of other cultural and ethnic groups. In particular, the prevalence of the Russian language and culture in these regions means that Oralman who are settled in general require more time to adapt to the local environment. While Oralman do share the same cultural roots as Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, differences in cultural practices and norms do exist. This stems from the fact that Oralman have conserved the traditional Kazakh culture and lifestyle whereas Kazakhs in Kazakhstan have adapted, first to influences brought about during the Soviet period, and more recently to

changes occurring through the transition to a market economy. Oralman, particularly those coming from non-CIS countries, are for the most part more religious than local Kazakhs.

8.7 International experience

Germany and Israel are two Homelands that have been conducting ethnic return migration policies for over a half century. Since the mid-1940s, both countries actively promoted the ingathering of their diaspora through privileged migration and citizenship rights as well as providing special benefits to ensure the social and economic absorption of the immigrants. The end of the USSR brought many more Jews and Germans from the former Soviet territories than the previous waves of migration to their respective Homelands. As a result, the two countries faced economic and social challenges in dealing with this large migration wave. The public debate on the policy of ethnic migration had always existed in Germany and Israel; however with the impact of this last migration felt more in the domestic society together with the demise of the Cold War conditions, the public debate in both countries reached a higher level than before. Along with the debates in the public and political realm, changes took place in the ethnic return migration policy in both countries.

While Kazakhstan's ethnic return migration policy carries similarities to those of Israel and Germany, it is also a unique case as a newly independent state that adopted an ethnic return migration policy immediately after independence and during a critical transition period. Fifteen years since the initiation of the Kazakhstan's policy of repatriation, return migrants have been experiencing many economic and social problems of integration due to the gap between the government's policy and the implementation of it. Since this return migration policy privileges the titular ethnic group in a multiethnic state, over the years the policy of ethnic return migration has become an issue of debate over an ethnic state versus a civic one.

As in the cases of Israel and Germany, by counting all individuals of the titular ethnic group as future members of the state, the Kazakhstani leadership reveals a definition of national belonging and membership based not on territorial affiliation but through blood ties. This policy is justified through the discourse about victimization of the ancestors of the Kazakh diaspora who were forced to emigrate from their "historical Homeland." This discourse is further strengthened by emphasizing the current condition of the Kazakh diaspora that has to live in host states where they may not live freely "as Kazakhs." (Ibid, 1996). This argument resonates with the argument put forward in the Israeli and German cases.

The design of Kazakhstan's ethnic return migration policy is parallel to the German and Israeli migration regimes both in terms of the justificatory claims and the legal and administrative mechanisms for providing citizenship and privileged rights to ensure the smooth integration of the return migrants. Nevertheless, the Kazakhstan case is unique as a newly independent, multiethnic state in which the titular nationality has only recently emerged from a status of ethnic minority within its own state. According to Cummings, "Kazakh policy of selective repatriation has reflected the peculiar tensions inherent in recent Kazakhstani history. This tension expresses the dichotomy between a civic state identity and an ethnic one." (Sally,1998). Kazakhstan is also unique among the post-Soviet republics (though similar to Israel

and Germany) in its active promotion of the return migration of the diaspora and the legal and administrative institutions for this purpose. However, as a newly independent state, Kazakhstan has been simultaneously dealing with the social and economic problems of the state and nation-building process. The policy of ethnic return migration placed an additional burden on the already existing problems and therefore made the issue a major topic for public debates.

In Israel, the question “Who is a Jew” has been anything but clear, and the eligibility criteria of the Law of Return have been the stake of permanent conflict between secular and religious understandings of Jewishness. In Germany, the most recent emphasis on language in determining ethnic Germanness is entirely the result of political exigency. It responds to the oddity of sociological non-Germans entering as official co-ethnics, which had brought up the public against the policy and has found concrete manifestation in obvious problems in socially integrating the latest wave of *Spaetaussiedler*, particularly from ex-Soviet Eurasia (e.g., Dietz and Hikes, 1994). If the government still insists that its language test is (a non-repeatable) determination of a status, and thus reflective of (its view of) ethnic Germanness, it also admits that this status is more the result of its own policy than of primordial ethnic Germanness.

The full scale of Germany’s turn away from ethnic-German immigration, and Israel’s continued commitment to Jewish immigration, may be illustrated by two contemporary vignettes. Just about the time when the German government went about to restrict the admission of ethnic Germans, it opened the doors widely for Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Since the passing of the 1991 Quota Refugee Law, some 115.000 Russian Jews have seized the opportunity of immigrating freely (without numerical restrictions and without individual screening) to Germany, quadrupling the size of the small Jewish community in the *Land der Taeter* (Laurence, 2000). In a delicate twist, the Israeli government has repeatedly urged the German government not to grant automatic refugee status to Russian Jews, claiming the latter for its own nation-building purposes. Already in 1987, the same conservative government that would soon restrict the entry of ethnic Germans refused such pressure by Israel: “In view of her historical past, Germany does not want to close her borders for Jews from the Soviet Union,” said a government official (quoted in Harris. 1998). Admitting Jewish immigrants is the latest instance in this country’s politics of *Wiedergutmachung* (reparations), in which Jews obviously take a higher order of priority than co ethnics.

A partial structural equivalent on the Israeli side would be restrictions on Jewish immigration, and an open-door policy for Palestinians. The “right of return” for the 3.5 million Palestinian refugees actually was a central stake in the recent aborted peace negotiations between the late Prime, Minister Barak and the Palestinian leadership. It was overwhelmingly rejected by liberal Israeli intellectuals and peace activists. An open letter “to the Palestinian leadership” by Amos Oz and other leading Israeli intellectuals declares that “we shall never be able to agree to return of refugees to within the borders of Israel. The meaning of such a return would be the elimination of the state of Israel.”⁵⁸ Should Israel acknowledge the “right of return” for Palestinians, worries another liberal intellectual, they might become “the biggest population group in a state whose essence and symbols they had always rejected, and whose

⁵⁸ The Hebrew original appeared in Haaretz, 2 January 2001. Quoted in “The Palestinian right of return,” The Economist, 6 January 2001, p.32.

extinction had been their highest aim”: “Therefore— no thank you, I do not want to be a Jewish minority in Israel.”⁵⁹

This wholesale rejection of the Palestinian “right of return” invokes the demographic imperative not to be outnumbered by Arabs, which has been a central element in the resilience of Jewish-priority immigration in Israel. It also shows that the definition of Israel as a Jewish state prevails; no “civic” transformation of Jewish-Israeli nationhood is in the making. By contrast, the decline of ethnic German immigration is closely linked to the rise of a new civic-territorial identity in postwar Germany (Levy, 1999). If there still is an “ethno cultural idiom of nationhood” (Brubaker, 1992) in Germany, it is not readily visible in the disparate treatment of ethnic Germans and Jews for immigration purposes, and at best has taken on strangely inverted forms.

8.8 Potential solutions of repatriation issues

Given the complexity and diversity of return migration, also the narrow realm of responsibility relevant government institutions as well as lack of coordination of their activities is advisable to establish a common link to coordinate the activities of all agencies responsible for the process and conduct monitoring.

In order to control the development of repatriation process, thus creating the necessary preconditions for the implementation of an integrated approach to state regulation of repatriation processes of ethnic Kazakhs, necessary:

- to increase in all oblasts (already opened in Shymkent, Aktau, Semey) of the regional centers to adapt and integration of Oralman, it could contribute to rapid adaptation and integration Oralman in Homeland;
- establishment of objective criteria for inclusion in the immigration quota Oralman, including level of education and training, availability of professional experience;
- save the quota for the former citizens of Kazakhstan to attract high qualification specialists;
- simplified procedures by obtaining citizenship and status Oralman;
- toughening responsibility of Oralman those who after receiving the status leave back where they came;
- the allocation of benefits and compensation for ethnic Kazakhs, arriving in outside the quota, but independently, providing to move their property across the border without paying customs duties;
- state support for private entrepreneurs from the ethnic Kazakhs.

⁵⁹ David Grossman, “No right of return” (Kein Recht auf Rueckkehr), Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 10 January 2001, p.43.

Generally, in migration policy would be important measures by the helping repatriants any real support in dealing with social and living problems, to create conditions for rapid integration of immigrants into the social and economic system in Kazakhstan.

Additionally, one of the solution of housing problems might be the mentioned in previous chapter new project "Nurly Kosh" that is addressed through the following three key questions. The first is to oblige the executive authorities to give for Oralman a land for individual housing construction (IHC). The second - to increase the credit terms, while lower interest rates on loans of commercial banks to Oralman. Funding scheme can be used already present - through the Kazakhstan Mortgage Company (KMC), which is funded through government housing programs. Third - the state must assume responsibility to allocate the amount of down payment which is Bank required from Oralman to obtain credit. Moreover, it need to create an effective system of retraining educational level of Oralman. Actually, without solving these problems, rely on the fact that Oralman will be able to organically integrate in the society, it is not real.

8.9 Current and prospective positions of Oralman in Kazakhstani society

Summarizing the numerous reports and articles (published mainly by the official media) we can note that the process "Coming of to Oralman in Kazakhstan" develops the following scenario. During the first stage comments on patriotic was dominated persuasion: the repatriation to their historic Homeland, the elimination of ethno-demographic disproportion of the Soviet past, the stabilization of the demographic situation in Kazakhstan. Daily problems of Oralman were under governmental attention. Step by step, the other characteristics started to appear on this background, which partially quoted earlier. The main idea is that the qualitative composition of immigrants is much lower than the quality of the local population (level of education, vocational training). In addition, more and more openly began talking about the spirit of dependence in Oralman. At the present time, when their number reached a large size (789,000 people during the 1991-2010, sharing 4.9 % of the total population of Kazakhstan), is become much important.

In this case some problems: "At the moment, the State is unable to adapt Oralman, and many of them do not want to adapt to Kazakhstan reality, they live in enclaves in the conservation community and have contact with the states from which they came. Additionally, at the moment public authorities can not fully help with their employment, training and adaptation" (Linok, 2004).

Further scenario of Oralman could be noted as following. The main role of the repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs is to restore the historical justice, eliminate disproportion in ethno-demographic development, in general, to stabilize the demographic situation in Kazakhstan. However, along with intensively development of the immigration, the issue of "quality" repatriants and their integrating into the Kazakh society is become an acute issue.

The prospect of positions Oralman depends on the progress in socio-economic and political process of targeted plans in the country. It significantly affects on the future development of the policy concerning the repatriants. In case of stabilized of the economy and the effective management of migration policy will

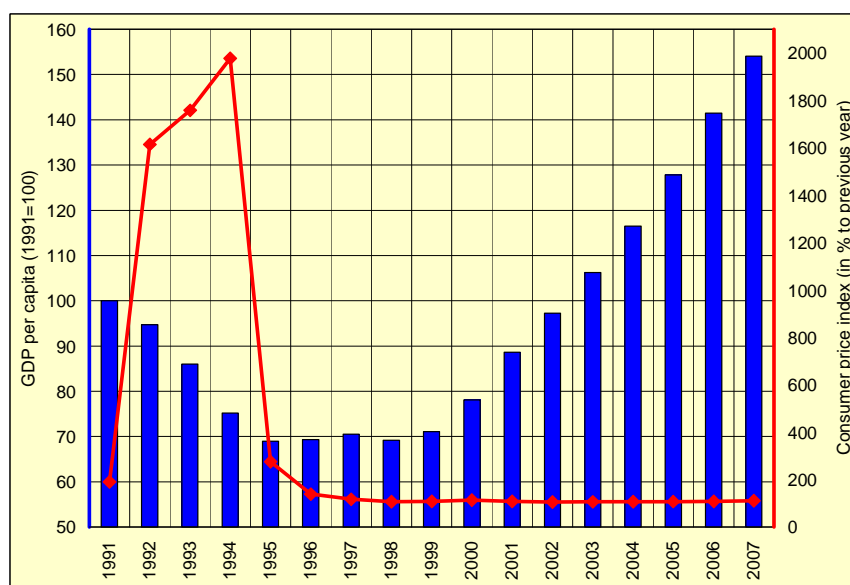
continue more or less steady influx of returnees will be expected (Danilova and Denisenko, 1996). Taking into account that strategic direction of the RK is the rapid modernization of industrial-innovation development of the regions, it will impact in the flow of repatriants in positive way. Moreover, Kazakhstan's economy grows at an annual rate of 9-10%.

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Figure 16 – Development index of GDP and consumer price index, 1991-2007



Source: own calculations based on data from the Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Statistics

In 1990s, Kazakhstan was in the last position among CIS countries by economic indicators. And over the past decade the country's GDP has increased almost by 5-times (from 22 billion US\$ to 100 billion US\$)⁶⁰. Kazakhstan successfully completing the transition of its economic development, intends to make a new high-quality growth and to enter the least 50 most competitive countries. In addition, long-term development strategy of Kazakhstan "Kazakhstan – 2030 (message of the President of Kazakhstan) marked the development of Kazakhstan in all direction, including the improvement of demographic and migration policy (figure 15).

Kazakh diaspora is the cultural resource of Kazakhstan. Moreover, the Kazakh culture and language could be fully used and developed only in Kazakhstan. There are millions of fellow Kazakhs living in abroad and needs them (Sarym, 2009). The development vast territory of Kazakhstan, large number of economically active citizens needs. In addition, the Kazakh authorities set the ambitious objective: to increase the number of population in 2050 to 30 million people. However, if current demographic and migration rates will remain, it is impossible to realize these objectives.

Since 2010, the Government of Kazakhstan intends to invite and resettle in the country 100,000 Kazakhs annually. In general, by the program of repatriation to the country should arrive at least 3 million of Kazakhs for should be invited 30 years. (Tortbayev, 2009).

As a result of this process, within two three decades, the proportion of Kazakhs may reach 70-80% of Kazakhstan's population, reaching the level of the neighboring Central Asian republics, as well as and the Russians whose number before the collapse of the Soviet Union was comparable with the titular ethnic group, taking over an ethnic minority step by step. All the evidences suggest that the next national census in Kazakhstan (in 2019) it could be mono confessional country. Sooner or later a number transformed from quantity to quality an example can serve Japan and China, are the examples where 99% of Japanese and Hans make up 93% of the total population. In order, not to change the quantitative and qualitative composition of the population country, the competent authorities have to control external migration in Kazakhstan.

8.9.1 SWOT analysis

Strengths:

1. According the data of the Committee on migration 95% of Oralman's have not reached the age of 65 where 55% of them are in the working age.
2. Approximately 40% of them have creative specialization and it can influence not only to the development of Kazakh culture but also to the culture of other ethnicities.
3. It can influence to the development of Kazakh language.

⁶⁰ Available at www.akorda.kz

4. Oralman can influence to the strengthening ties of Kazakhstan with other foreign countries (trade, political, cultural etc.).
5. Restoration of historical justice.

Weaknesses:

1. Inefficient control of investments.
2. Insufficient allocation of the funds by the State which is not enough even to by a house.
3. Not uniformly relocation of Oralman by regions.
4. Low education of Oralman (high education-14%, specialized secondary -27%, general education (59 %));
5. No legislative responsibilities for those Oralman who left back the country.
6. Integration and adaptation issues of Oralman.
7. Complexity of the process of registration for citizenship, to get quota and other documents.

Opportunities:

1. International image of the RK (in development of the state program).
2. Correction of ethno-demographic situation of the republic.
3. Effective use of budget funds and qualitatively management with the process of repatriation.
4. Increasing of profitability and control of costs.
5. Creating a separate new institution to manage the migration and demography.
6. Increasing number of adaptation centers in the region.
7. Close connection of integration of Oralman in Kazakh society.
8. Using the experience of other countries concerning the regulation in the policies of repatriation process.

Threats:

1. Oralman which came out of quotas receives any help.
2. Some oblasts experiences high unemployment.
3. Low level of social status.
4. A corruption, bureaucracy and misappropriation of budgetary funds by individuals in central and local sector (administration).
5. Language barriers of Oralman (not knowing Russian language).

9. Conclusion and recommendations

There are very few countries left in the world which have alongside general immigration policy special immigration programs targeted to specific ethnic groups to facilitate immigration and return of their former countrymen back to their historical Homeland. Although European countries like Greece and Poland have used this type of special immigration programs just for a limited period of time, Germany and Israel are two major countries in the world that have had special ethnic immigration policies in place on an ongoing basis. After the collapse of the former Soviet Union, Kazakhstan also decided to pursue a policy of ethnic immigration. Kazakhstan has become a country where large scale migration flows have a pronounced ethnic character. In the new political environment Kazakhstan has been developing a new migration strategy which pays serious consideration to Kazakhstani diaspora abroad.

The new immigration policy established in Kazakhstan has a specific character which distinguishes it from the past Soviet migration policies and is focused on a system of measures aimed to attract its expatriates to return to their historical Homeland. Key attention in these new immigration policies is paid to Oralman, foreigners or stateless people of Kazakhstani ethnic origin who resided permanently abroad before and at the time of the proclamation of the sovereignty by the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1991 and who arrived to Kazakhstan for permanent residence and settlement.

Majority of countries with ethnic immigration programs or policies for various reasons and to varying degree believe that they have some type of moral obligation to accept their "blood brothers" who wish to return to their historic Homeland. In the case of Germany, Finland, Poland, Greece and the Baltic States, whose diasporas have been victims of the deportations, the concept of moral obligation is closely related to the suffering endured by these countries and their societies in the Soviet times.

All countries that have been implementing repatriation immigration policies are facing a range of problems and serious need to adopt urgent measures to support resettlement and adaptation of repatriates, which in turn requires changes in legislation, establishment of special government agencies, i.e. Secretariat, Ministry for repatriates affairs, etc. In many countries, repatriation has been accompanied by certain destabilization of the internal political situation where on one hand local residents have been disgruntled by the government immigration policies and on the other hand, the newly arrived immigrants have been blaming the government power structures for insufficient responsiveness to their needs and concerns.

Effective management of migration is a complex task, even for developed countries. For Kazakhstan, which became an independent sovereign state not so long ago, the management of the return migration of ethnic Kazakhs cannot always be described as successful. The system certainly helped a large number of Oralman, however, a large number of problems, as discussed in this thesis in detail, still remain. Many of these problems, such as the functioning of the integration system, unemployment, lack of suitable housing, have become obstacles to successful integration of Oralman into their ancestral Homeland. The gaps in legislation, procedural complexity, widespread corruption and some other issues have been the reasons of the slow implementation of the Kazakhstani government project on Oralman.

From the first days, the immigration policy of Kazakhstan set the ambitious target of increasing the size of its population, especially of Kazakh ethnic origin, as much as possible. This ambitious target has been to a large extent achieved; during the 19 years since its independence about 789,000 people (unofficial figure is estimated as 1 million) have returned and settled in Kazakhstan. In his speech at the Third World Congress (Qurultai) the President of Kazakhstan said: "Due to the arrival of ethnic Kazakhs, the number of Kazakhs in Kazakhstan increased by half a million people. Recently, we set up and increased the annual migration quota to 20,000 families per year and all the necessary resources are fully allocated from the State Budget"(Kuscu, 2008).

Analysis presented in this thesis clearly demonstrates that Kazakhstan needs to change the emphasis of its ethnic immigration policies from quantitative targets to the quality and efficiency of the integration policies and programs. In the modern world, there is no clear relationship between the size of the population and the living standards. For example, among the top twenty richest countries in the world there are countries whose population is less than several million people, i.e. Luxembourg, Switzerland, Norway, Austria, Finland, Denmark, Singapore, as well as countries with large size population, i.e. US, Japan, Germany, France, Britain, Italy. Therefore, before phobias – real and imaginary- in regard to the immigration of ethnic Kazakhs can be addressed the question of how many ethnic immigrants Kazakhstan can afford to accept and should accept has to be answered.

To answer this question, the optimal size of the population of Kazakhstan and its quality should be considered. The differences in opinions regarding the optimum size of the population and the rate of its growth depend on a complex of factors. Among these factors are: the current population size of the country, the pace of its natural and total increase, the level of population urbanization, the living standards and its ethnic and cultural traditions, the main indicators of socio-economic development, state ideology, geopolitical views of the ruling elite and other factors. Clearly with the dynamic changes in the factors mentioned above official government population policy may vary.

The answer to the question of what is the optimal population of the country (region) at first glance seems simple. It is known that different countries have different approaches in regard to planning and managing of its population size. Some countries such as Australia and Canada clearly pursue policies to increase its population. Several African countries have made the population growth at any cost their national priority. On the other hand, some other countries (India, Turkey, countries of Latin America) are concerned about how to slow the pace of growth and to stabilize its population. The other countries are interested in the reduction of its population size. The political leadership of the People's Republic of China has pursued for a number of years the policy of "one family - one child", which proved to be successful: today TFR in China is 1.7, and according to population forecasts by 2017 the population growth of the country will stop.

Migration policy in Kazakhstan has had a positive impact on its population size. According to the official figures of the Statistics Agency of Kazakhstan, the population of the Republic on January 1, 2008 consisted of 15,620,600 people, including 9,336,752 (59.7%) Kazakhs, 3,915,607 (25.1%), Russians, 431,157 (2,8%) Ukrainians, and 88, 801 (0,6%) Belarusians.

The new development direction was clearly stated by the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev in his speech in Astana on March 27, 2007. At the meeting with young Kazakhstani scientists the president said: "Our goal is as soon as possible to enter the top 50 most competitive countries in the world." And further, "I am announcing that Kazakhstan began a strategic program to attract scientists – of Kazakhstani ethnic origin and foreigners to the country" (Maralov, 2009). In addition, the program "Nurly Kosh" has been already adopted and is intended to systematize the migration processes in the country. A fundamentally new approach to regulation of migration processes in Kazakhstan will enable a rational distribution and utilization of labor resources, as well as reduction of unemployment in different regions and in the country as a whole. The program "Nurly Kosh" (2008) encourages the optimal and economically justified distribution of migrants (both internal and external) across the country depending on the economic and social needs and skills shortages in the regions.

Concluding the thesis, it should be noted that Oralman are facing many problems and obstacles which prevent them from full integration into Kazakhstan society. To overcome these obstacles and to achieve effective implementation of the program the following recommendations are suggested:

- 1) To change the regulations to allow the lodging of applications for inclusion into a quota for ethnic immigration abroad, in Embassies of Kazakhstan in foreign countries. When applications are filed, a number can be assigned to facilitate transfer of information into a central database of applications in Astana. Thus, the selection criterion for inclusion into the quota will be the registration number of the application. Suggested measures will simplify the process of registration to obtain a status of "Oralman" and further assist in dealing with the issues of settlement of Oralman.
- 2) To simplify procedures and legislation in relation to Oralman: to reduce the number of documents that oralman must provide, to cut the time spent and the number of agencies working with Oralman. The legal framework, for example, can be supplemented by a provision allowing extending the status of Oralman to oralman family members who are not an ethnic Kazakhs.
- 3) To develop special programs of integration, which will ensure the provision of information and referral services, language training and assistance in finding employment. The measures to provide information and referral services can include the publication and dissemination of information brochures for Oralman abroad and upon arrival in the country, dissemination of information by the relevant government agencies bodies (through posters and leaflets), special news programs on state TV channels and radio stations, publication of newspapers for Oralman etc.. The program may also include language training free basic courses of Russian and Kazakh languages, job search and placement assistance program may include vocational training and retraining, the development of micro-credit institutions for Oralman, recognition and adequate assessment of formal and informal training and qualifications of Oralman (including diplomas).
- 4) To improve the existing central information database about Oralman and to increase the number of centers of support and assistance with integration to Oralman. To improve the existing information database, the methods of data collection, data entry and data analysis should be changed. It is clear that the existing network of support centers and services to assist with the adaptation and social integration of Oralman, including assistance with the housing needs, are not coping with the number of people who

moved to Kazakhstan. The opening of regional centers across Kazakhstan, where immigrants could get help and assistance with language training, acquisition of computer literacy and skills, study the laws of the country, get information about how to apply for legal aid, etc.

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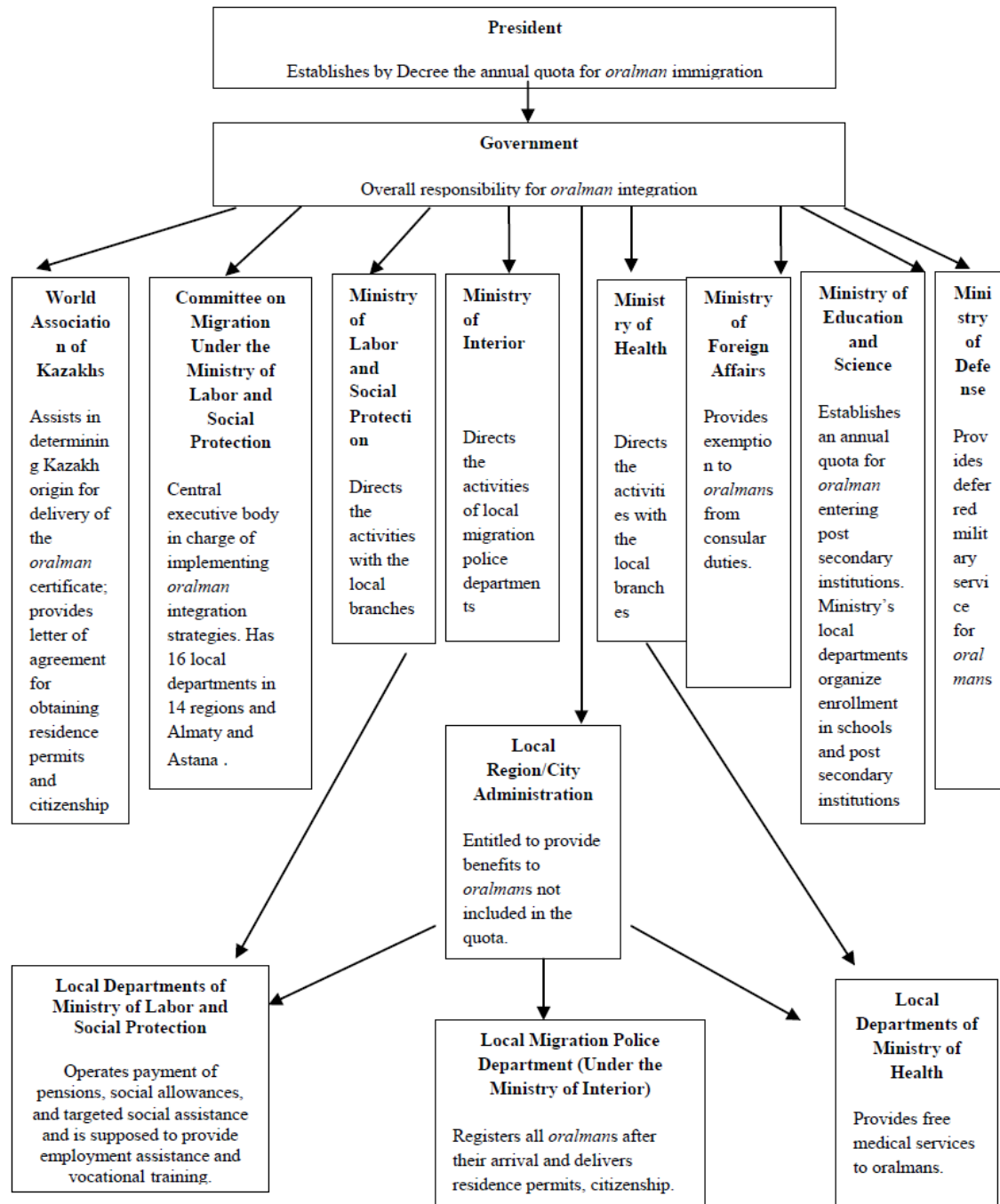
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Appendices

Appendix 1- The Flow Chart of the Institutions Responsible for Immigration and Integration Policies



Source: Based on the Status of Oralman in Kazakhstan, Report prepared by UNDP Kazakhstan, Almaty 2006

Appendix 2

Whom _____
/Position, name and initials of the head
territorial Authority/
from _____
/Surname and Name of applicant/

/ Living at the address /

**Application
the assignment status Oralman**

Please award me the status of Oralman due to the arrival to
permanent residence in _____oblast (city republican status, capital).

I have a following composition of the family:

By the application attached the following documents:

" ____ " _____ 20 ____

/signature of applicant/

Documents received:

/Name and position of person accepting the documents/

" ____ " _____ 20 ____

/signature of person accepting/

Appendix 3

**Journal
of registration of applicants for assignment
status Oralman**

(Name of the territorial department of the authorized institution)

N	Date of registration application	Name of applicant	Member of families of applicant	Date of birth	Address of living of applicant	Date of issue of notification on registration

Appendix 4

The decision of the territorial department of the authorized institution

Date _____ **N** _____ **since “**__” __ **20**__

Department on Migration _____

Considering according to the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On migration of population", an application for recognition Oralman's

/name of applicant/

Decided: _____

**Head of the territorial department
of the authorized institution**

Appendix 5

**Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the RK
Committee on Migration**

CERTIFICATE №

/name/

/date of birth/

Place of birth _____

Citizenship _____

Sex _____

Underage member of family:

Name	Date of birth	Family relationship
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

**Signature of head
of department**

Date of award Status Oralman _____

The certificate is valid until the acquisition of citizenship of the RK.

Indeed, upon presentation of an identity document.

Signature of head of department _____ stamp

Number of form _____

Appendix 6

**Journal
of registration to issuance of certificate Oralman**

(Name of the territorial department of the authorized institution)

N	Number of certificate	Date of issue	Grounds for issuance	Name of owner of certificate	Member of families	Date of birth	Address of living of applicant	Date of issue of duplicate

Appendix 7

Article in newspaper "More people-more wealth"

Оқырман ой қосалды

"Қозқарас" газетінің N 4 санында оралмандардың көкейтесті мәселесі туралы біраз ой қозғалған болатын. Бүгінгі таңда Қазақстандағы қордаланған өзекті мәселелердің бірі осы болып отыр. Қай азамат болсын, өз елін биіктен көрісі келеді, жақсылықты тілейді. Және оның болатынына да сенімді. Сондықтан мені де "болары болып, боюы сіңді" деп отырмай, жарық көрген мақалаға қосымша үн қосқым келді. Көкейімде жүрген бұл мәселе, яғни оралман ағайындарымыздың проблемасы мені қатты алаңдатады. Халқымыздың қарапайым азаматы ретінде қолға қалам алуыма осы себеп болды.

Мемлекет өмірі - өрқашанда өзінің дамуымен өреше. Сол даму процесі рет-ретімен жүріп жатса жақсы. Қазақстандағы саяси мәселенің қайсыдан көтеріледі де, оның бір ұшы осы кезге дейін қазақ халқының өз жерінде ашылықта болып, қиыншылықты көріп, текше түсуіне демографиялық жетімсіздігі себепші. Алапат қырғиы бастан кешкен халықтың кем-кетігін тоқтыру, саны мен сапасы жағында араға айтарлықтай уақыт салуды қажет етеді. Оның үстіне, баяндай өнесі мен кейінгі жарыса тұтқан заман өтті.

Қазіргі кезде қазақ ұлты өз жерінде өзге ұлттардан басым түскен сабын, көз қуанып, саяси ойнап шарта да жылпай тұсу, демократияның кен жолы ашылуына көмекті тиюде. Мәселен, қазақ халқының ұлттық құрамы 1960-1965 жылдары 29 процент екен, ал 1990 жылы республикамызда 40 процентке жетсе, 2002 жыл аяғында 52 процентке көтерілді. Демографтардың айтуы бойынша, 2005 жылғы қарай қазақтардың саны 27-40 проценттен асып, тағу болашақта Қазақстандағы барлық тұрғындардың үштен екісін, тіптісін төрттен үшін құрайтын болады. Ал, 1999 жылдан 1 қантардағы халық санағында Қазақстанда 14 миллион 920 мың адам тіркеліпті, ал, оның ішінде 7 миллион 984 мың (53,4 пайыз) қазақ тұрады екен. Шет мемлекеттерге қазір 4 миллионға жуық қаназастарымыз тұрып жатыр.

Сөз байлығы, сұлулығы мен ікемділігі жағынан дүниежүзілік сүйікті Отанымын топырағына аяқ басқысы келеді. Және ана тілі мен ата дәстүрінен қол үзіп қалған бауырларымыз, асыл қазынамызды терең игеруге ниеттенеді. Кош-қон және демография ақ, өзінің тарихына, Отанына қайтып оралған адамдар үшін қажетті тіршілік жағдайларын жасауды белгілейді.

Зан дүниеге келді. Алайда өз ата мекенім деп жеткен қандастарымыздың жоғары айтылғандардың іс-жүзінде орындалмайтынына қолдери тоқмайды.

Алтын-айтпай не керек, оралмандардың проблемасы бастан асады. Қытайдан, Өзбекстаннан көшіп келетін қазақтардың сол елдің азаматтығынан шығуы қиындыққа соғып отыр. Оған бірден-бір себеп 100-150 АҚШ доллары көлемінде төлеуге талап қояды. Ал, отбасылары оған жағдайы жоқ. Мысалға, өркеніетті елдерге сол елдің қандас бауыры аяғы тигеннен бастап, азаматтықты бірден берей екен. Дәлел ретінде, Израильде табын тарихи Отанының топырағына тиген оралманға қолма-қол 3500 АҚШ доллары мен азаматтық қоса беріледі. Және он айлық оқу курсың өткізіп, елдің тарихымен, заңдарымен, мәдениетімен таныстырып, медициналық тексерістен өткізіп, ең бастысы, толық жабылдықтан үй-жіямен қамтамасыз етеді. Германия, Түркия, тіпті, көршіміз Ресейде де осындай. Неге бізге осындай жағдайды қолданбақса? Мейлі, үлкен сомала

болмаса да, дему ретінде көмектесуіміз керек. Әрине "қалай?" дегені сурақ тұтыдайды. Кош-қон және демография агенттігі жапынан көмек ретінде оралмандарға арнайы қор құрылған. Сол қазынаға еліміздегі мұндай түсетін пайдамын бір бөлігін аударып дүрік деп санаймын. Рас, бізде қажетті табиғи қазына, бірақ белгіленген мөлшерге ғана емес пе?

Дегенмен, ауыз толтырып айтарлықтай жағамы жаңалықтар бар. Былтырғы жылы оралмандардың келе бастауына 10 жыл тоқты. Осы сөтке байланысты Ақмола облысы Бұланды ауданының (бұрынғы Малкин) Никольск ауылында жергілікті әкімшілік 78 отбасыға үй беріп, 28 ағайынды өз мамандығына сай қызметке, 100-ге тарта оралманды әртүрлі жұмыстарға орналастырған. Ал, Оңтүстік Қазақстан облысында Сарыағаш ауданында оралмандарға бір ауылды түтеп-мен сыйлады.

Ендігі жерде, осындай игі бастамалар, әрі қарай да жалғасын табады дегені сенімдемін.

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Суреттерде: Қытайлық қандастар.

ЕЛГЕ ЕЛ ҚОСЫЛСА - ҚҰТ



Қазақтардың жылжып отыруына қонақжайлылығы мен мұқият қамқарлығын күтетіні жасырын емес. Әйтсе де, туыстарға өкпелеп қайта көшіп кеткендері баршылық.

Кош-қон туралы заң 1997 жылы 12 желтоқсанда тұңғыш рет қазақ тілінде қабылданғаны белгілі. Бұл заңға былай түсініктеме берілді: "Осы заң халықтың кош-қоны саласындағы қоғамдық қатынастарды реттейді, кош-қон процесінің құқықтық-экономикалық және әлеуметтік негіздерін, сондай-

Source: The newspaper "Қозқарас", N 5, on July 2, 2002