FRONTIER MIGRATION BETWEEN KAZAKHSTAN AND RUSSIA: THE CASE OF THE WEST KAZAKHSTAN

Ph.D. Thesis

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Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of the West Kazakhstan

Abstract
The dissertation is dedicated to research frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia. The given issue is a topical and has an important value for forming of population policy of border regions and border collaboration of Kazakhstan and Russia. A conceptual interpretation of the border problems is attempted in the given work. A special chapter is dedicated for a forming history and peculiarities of Kazakhstan-Russian border. A practical part of the dissertation is based on social research materials called “Frontier migration in the western region of Kazakhstan-Russia border”, which was carried out by the author in July-August, 2009 in West-Kazakhstan and Orenburg regions with the assistance of an international program Center “Bolashak” of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Charles University in Prague. On the basis of sample survey data the nature, directions and motivation of frontier migration were analyzed; ethno-demographic situation in the frontier regions was considered. The carried out research allowed to reveal a number of problems associated with the frontier migrations in border regions of Kazakhstan and Russia.

Keywords: Frontier migration, Kazakhstan-Russian border, West Kazakhstan, Kazakhstan, Russia.
Фронтьерские миграции между Казахстаном и Россией: на примере Западного Казахстана

Абстракт
Диссертация посвящена изучению фронтьерских миграций между Казахстаном и Россией. Данная проблема является актуальной и имеет важное значение для выстраивания политики населения приграничных регионов и приграничного сотрудничества Казахстана и России. В работе предпринята попытка концептуального осмысления проблем приграничья. Отдельная глава посвящена истории формирования и развитию политики приграничного сотрудничества между Казахстаном и Россией. Практическая часть диссертации основана на материалах социологического исследования “Фронтьерские миграции между Казахстаном и Россией: на примере Западного Казахстана”, проведенного автором в июле-августе 2009 г. в Западно-Казахстанской и Оренбургской областях при содействии Центра международных программ “Болашак” Республики Казахстан и Карлова университета в Праге. На основе данных выборочного обследования проанализированы характер, направления и причины фронтьерских миграций в приграничных регионах. Проведенное исследование позволило выявить ряд проблем, связанных с фронтьерскими миграциями в приграничных регионах Казахстана и России.

Ключевые слова: фронтьерские миграции, казахстанско-российская граница, Западный Казахстан, Казахстан, Россия
CONTENTS

List of abbreviations………………………………………………………………………………... 10
List of tables……………………………………………………………………………………………… 11
List of figures……………………………………………………………………………………………… 13
List of maps……………………………………………………………………………………………… 15
List of pictures………………………………………………………………………………………… 16
List of appendices…………………………………………………………………………………… 17

1 Introduction ……………………………………………………………………………………… 19
  1.1 Problem definition……………………………………………………………………………… 19
  1.2 Goal and objectives of the research………………………………………………………… 21
  1.3 Novelty of the problem…………………………………………………………………….. 22
  1.4 Research subject and background of the research…………………………………….. 22
  1.5 Territorial scope and chronological framework of the research………………….. 23
  1.6 Theoretical and practical relevance of the research…………………………………… 24
  1.7 Outline of the work…………………………………………………………………………… 25

2 Overview of literature…………………………………………………………………………….. 27
  2.1 Studies on frontier migration in the post-Soviet countries………………………… 27
  2.2 Issues of borderlands in sociocultural studies………………………………………... 31

3 Theoretical and empirical framework………………………………………………………….. 35
  3.1 Definitions of migration……………………………………………………………………….. 35
  3.2 Basic concept specification…………………………………………………………………… 40
    3.2.1 Migration systems theory…………………………………………………………….. 40
    3.2.2 Concepts of transnational migration……………………………………………… 42
    3.2.3 Transnationalism of border regions…………………………………………….. 44
    3.2.4 Concepts of self-identification of the border region’s population……………. 46
4 Research questions and hypotheses ...................................................... 47
  4.1 Research questions ................................................................. 47
  4.2 Research hypotheses ............................................................. 49

5 Data availability and quality: a critical review ........................................ 51
  5.1 Statistical sources. Census and current migration statistics .................... 52
  5.2 Departmental statistics. Reports of the border guards .......................... 54
  5.3 Materials of sample survey ....................................................... 54

6 Methodology and adopted approaches .................................................... 57
  6.1 Adopted approaches ................................................................. 57
  6.2 Used methods ........................................................................... 59
    6.2.1 Sample survey specification ................................................. 59
    6.2.2 Generalized linear models ................................................... 61

7 Kazakhstan-Russia border: features and problems .................................. 62
  7.1 Specificity of the Kazakhstan-Russia border .................................... 62
    7.1.1 The extent and the administrative-territorial characteristics ............ 63
    7.1.2 Landscape conditions, communications and resource potential .......... 67
    7.1.3 Cross-border cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia ............... 71
  7.2 History of formation of the Kazakhstan-Russia border ........................ 76
  7.3 Formation and evolution of a border policy between Kazakhstan and Russia.. 85

8 An ethnic-demographic and migration situation in frontier regions ............ 87
  8.1 Demographic situation in frontier regions ..................................... 87
  8.2 The Kazakh diaspora in Russia .................................................. 101
  8.3 The Russian diaspora in Kazakhstan ............................................. 104
  8.4 International migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: history and current situation ........................................................................ 109

9 Socio-demographic characteristics of the Orenburg and West Kazakhstan regions 119
  9.1 Orenburg region .......................................................................... 119
    9.1.1 Social and economic characteristics ....................................... 119
    9.1.2 Population development ....................................................... 122
  9.2 West Kazakhstan region .................................................................. 125
    9.2.1 Social and economic characteristics ....................................... 125
    9.2.2 Population development ....................................................... 127
10 Results of own empirical research. Frontier migration between West Kazakhstan and Orenburg regions

10.1 Descriptive analysis of frontier migration
10.1.1 Socio-demographic profile of respondents
10.1.2 Frontier migration: reasons, directions and specificities
10.1.3 The intensity and seasonal character of frontier migration
10.1.4 Migration intentions of the borderland residents
10.1.5 Motives for migration sentiments
10.1.6 The problems of cross-border trips of people between Kazakhstan and Russia
10.1.7 The attitude of the borderland population to the strengthening of the border control
10.1.8 Advantages and problems of living in the borderland territories
10.1.9 Ways to improve the quality of life of the borderlands population

10.2 Generalized linear models of frontier migration

11 Conclusions
11.1 Overview of main findings
11.2 Relevance of concepts and study results
11.3 Recommendations for how to treat the border zone and related frontier migration
11.4 Recommendations for data collection and further research orientation

References

Glossary

Appendices
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CIS – Commonwealth of Independent States
CU – Customs union
EAEC – Eurasian Economic Community
NSC RK – National Security Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan
RK – The Republic of Kazakhstan
RF – The Russian Federation
RSFSR – Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WKR – West Kazakhstan region
## LIST OF TABLES

| Tab. 1 | Settlements, where a survey was conducted and number of respondents | 60 |
| Tab. 2 | Level of urbanization of Kazakhstan-Russia borderland, 2009 (in thou., %) | 90 |
| Tab. 3 | Population development of the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia and of the border regions of Russia adjacent to Kazakhstan, 1989, 1999, 2009, (in thou.) | 93 |
| Tab. 4 | Dynamics of Russian population in the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia, 1989, 1999 and 2009 (in thou., %) | 97 |
| Tab. 5 | Dynamics of Kazakh population in the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia, 1989, 1999 and 2009 (in thou., %) | 98 |
| Tab. 6 | Size and composition of Kazakhs in Russian regions, according to 2002 census data (in thou., %) | 102 |
| Tab. 7 | Russian population in Kazakhstan, 2010 (in thou., %) | 108 |
| Tab. 8 | Ethnic structure of population of the West Kazakhstan (Aktobe, Atyrau, West Kazakhstan, Mangistau regions) according to census data, 1926, 1939, 1959, 1979, 1989 and 1999 (in thou., %) | 116 |
| Tab. 9 | Ethnic structure of population of Orenburg region in 1989 and 2009 (in thou., %) | 123 |
| Tab. 11 | Intensity of West Kazakhstan residents’ trips to Russia (in %) | 140 |
| Tab. 12 | The most visited cities in the Russian Federation, (in %) | 142 |
| Tab. 13 | Countries where respondents intend to move to, depending on nationality, (in %) | 145 |
| Tab. 14 | Motives for migration sentiments, (in %) | 151 |
| Tab. 15 | Reasons keeping the respondents from moving to other countries, (in %) | 152 |
| Tab. 16 | The attitude of the respondents to the idea of introducing the visa regime between Russia and Kazakhstan, (in %) | 159 |
| Tab. 17 | The attitude of the respondents of West Kazakhstan region to the idea of |
introducing the visa regime between Kazakhstan and the Central Asia countries, (in %)................................................................................................. 160
Tab. 18 Main advantages and problems of the residents of borderlands, (in %)........................................ 162
Tab. 19 Coding of dependent and independent variables........................................................................ 166
Tab. 20 Omnibus Test........................................................................................................................................ 167
Tab. 21 Tests of Model Effects......................................................................................................................... 168
Tab. 22 Parameter Estimates (Kazakhstan+Russia) ................................................................................... 170
Tab. 23 Parameter Estimates, Kazakhstan and Russia............................................................................... 171
Tab. 24 Parameter Estimates, Kazakhstan.................................................................................................. 173
Tab. 25 Parameter Estimates, Russia............................................................................................................ 176
# LIST OF FIGURES

<p>| Fig. 1 | The length of the Russian Federation regions’ borders with Kazakhstan | 64 |
| Fig. 2 | The length of Kazakhstan regions’ borders with the Russian Federation | 67 |
| Fig. 3 | The length of the Kazakhstan border with neighboring states | 78 |
| Fig. 4a-d | Population change of the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia and of the border regions of Russia adjacent to Kazakhstan, 1989–2009, (in thou.) | 94 |
| Fig. 5a-d | Dynamics of Russian and Kazakh population in the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia, 1989, 1999 and 2009 (in thou., %) | 99 |
| Fig. 6a-d | Dynamics of Russian and Kazakh population in the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia, 1989, 1999 and 2009 (in %) | 100 |
| Fig. 7 | Population dynamics in the number and proportion of Kazakhs in Russia, according to census data, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989, 2002, (persons, %) | 101 |
| Fig. 8 | Dynamics of Russian population development in 1959-2009 (in thou., %) | 105 |
| Fig. 9 | The ethnic structure of the population in Orenburg region, 2002 (thou.) | 124 |
| Fig. 10a-b | Kazakh and Russian population of the West Kazakhstan in 1989 and 2002 | 129 |
| Fig. 11a-d | Age and gender structure of respondents | 131 |
| Fig. 12a-b | The ethnic structure of respondents | 132 |
| Fig. 13 | Respondents’ self-identification | 135 |
| Fig. 14a | Reasons for the respondents’ trips to Russia in the past three years, to all samples (in %) | 138 |
| Fig. 14b | Reasons for the respondents’ trips to Russia in the past three years for the persons, who have had trips in this period (in %) | 138 |
| Fig. 15a-d | The intention to move to another country, depending on nationality | 146 |
| Fig. 16a-b | The intention to move to another country, depending on gender | 147 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fig.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17a-b</td>
<td>The intention to move to another country, depending on nationality</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Inconveniences to the citizens at border crossings, 2009, (in %)</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19a-c</td>
<td>Have you crossed the Kazakhstan-Russia border by passing the border and</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>customs posts?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>The reasons for by passing of border and customs post, (in %)</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF MAPS

Map 1  Location of border regions of Kazakhstan and Russia 65
Map 2  Location of Kazakhstan administrative regions 66
Map 3  The railways cross the state border of Kazakhstan and Russia 69
Map 4  Population settlement of Kazakhstan (Number of people per sq. km) 89
Map 5  Percentage of Slavic population in Kazakhstan regions, 2010 (in %) 96
Map 6a  Location of Orenburg region 120
Map 6b  Location of Orenburg region 121
Map 7  Location of West Kazakhstan region 126
LIST OF PICTURES

Pic. 1 Variable y depends on independent variables $x_1$, $x_2$, and $x_3$.......................... 61
# LIST OF APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>App. 1</th>
<th>A list of some international treaties concluded by the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>App. 2</td>
<td>The length of the Russian Federation regions’ borders with Kazakhstan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. 3</td>
<td>The length of Kazakhstan regions’ borders with the Russian Federation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. 4</td>
<td>Semiglavy Mar Customs and Border posts, Kazakhstan (between West Kazakhstan and Samara, Saratov regions).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. 5</td>
<td>Zhaysan Customs and Border posts, Kazakhstan (between Aktobe and Orenburg region).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. 6</td>
<td>Zhaysan Customs and Border posts, Kazakhstan (between Aktobe Orenburg region).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. 7</td>
<td>Zhaysan Customs and Border posts, Kazakhstan (between Aktobe and Orenburg region).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. 8</td>
<td>Ozinki Customs and Border posts, Russia (Between Aktobe and Orenburg region).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. 9</td>
<td>Ozinki Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan and Samara, Saratov regions).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. 10</td>
<td>Ozinki Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan and Samara, Saratov regions).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. 11</td>
<td>Orenburg Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan, Aktobe and Orenburg regions).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. 12</td>
<td>Sol-Iletsk Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan, Aktobe and Orenburg regions).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App. 13</td>
<td>Sol-Iletsk Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
App. 14 Sol-Iletsk Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan, Aktobe and Orenburg regions)…………………………………………………. 216
App. 15 Chingirlau, West Kazakhstan region, Kazakhstan………………………….…… 217
App. 16 Chingulau, West Kazakhstan region Kazakhstan………………………….…… 218
App. 17 Russians from Chingirlau (West Kazakhstan region) ................................. 219
App. 18 Linevka, Orenburg region, Russia…………………….…..………………….. 220
App. 19 Linevka, Orenburg region, Russia…………………………………..………….. 221
App. 20 Questionnaire for respondents of Orenburg region. Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan……………..… 222
App. 21 Questionnaire for respondents West Kazakhstan region. Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan……………..… 233
Chapter 1

Introduction

The Introduction is presented in the first chapter and addressed the problem definition, research objective and background of the study, the territorial scope and chronological framework of the study, the novelty of the research, theoretical and practical relevance and outline of the work.

1.1 Problem definition

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation of new states led to dramatic changes in the geopolitical situation in the vast territory of the Eurasian continent. The disappearance of a harsh unified system has resulted in entirely new problems for the new states – defining of border regimes and infrastructure development in the boundary areas in accordance with international principles. The problem of regulating frontier migrations occupied an important place. And above all, this problem was raised between Kazakhstan and Russia, because the Kazakhstan-Russia border is the longest border in the former Soviet space and the second-longest in the world. It separates not only the big states – Kazakhstan and Russia, but also regions – Russia and Central Asia.

In the framework of a unified Soviet state frontier migration did not cause problems and were not the subject of special research. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the establishment of border barriers made it impossible to maintain old relationships and connections. However, migration links between border areas of Kazakhstan and Russia continue in a fairly intense form, but the nature and methods of movements have changed significantly.

Early 90's were characterized by a large migration flows from Kazakhstan to Russia, which had a massive and irreversible character, whereas now cross-border movements are becoming

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1 Only the border between the U.S. and Canada is longer (8,891 km), but it includes 2,475 km of the Canadian border with Alaska.
increasingly important and took the form of seasonal and circular migration. Now we can say that the main migration flows from Kazakhstan to Russia have been exhausted; the frontier migration came to the foreground. They had occupied a significant place in the development of regions before, but now their causes and character has changed considerably. Now, the scope and conditions for their implementation are different.

At the present stage, the migration policy has become part of the Kazakhstan-Russia bilateral relations. One of the results of their development is to establish more clearly defined restrictions on border crossings between Russia and Kazakhstan. With the advent of the Kazakhstan-Russia border, a number of measures had been introduced, making difficult communication between the populations of the border territories. The border control tightened repeatedly when entering and leaving the country. This policy has affected the huge mass of population, as the longest land border in the post-Soviet space had formed between Kazakhstan and Russia. The process of arrangement of the boundaries and legal settlement of border relations is quite natural and necessary, so the flow of cross-border movements became more controlled. However, some issues appeared that are negatively perceived by most people. This raises several questions, the scientific descriptions of which have a quite practical significance for the development of demographic and migration policy in both border regions and in the country in general.

The necessity and urgency of the study are defined by a modern value of border territory as well. For Kazakhstan, the role of border regions is particularly great because Kazakhstan borders with five countries of the CIS. For example, the territory of border regions of Kazakhstan bordering with Russia occupy 46.7% of all territories of Kazakhstan. In the administrative-territorial terms: 12 out of 14 regions of Kazakhstan and 79 of the 160 administrative districts are frontier territories. Undoubtedly, the border regions play a significant role in forming the demographic potential of Kazakhstan. About 73% of the population of Kazakhstan is concentrated in these border areas, of which 32% lives in the administrative districts that are directly adjacent to the borders, including 12% of the population lives in the regions bordering with Russia, 8% – with Uzbekistan, 6% – with Kyrgyzstan, 5.5% – with China, and 0.2% – with Turkmenistan. Specificity of business activities of border regions of Kazakhstan is that in most cases they are far away from the Kazakhstan market, but closer to the markets of neighboring countries. At the same time, the Soviet legacy contributes to the cross-border cooperation between Kazakhstan and the CIS countries in the form of the structures of the economy, the mentality of the population, and so forth, but the border regions can use this positional resource to the full extent in case of good neighborly and stable relations with neighboring countries.

Today, Kazakhstan has accumulated the vast experience in the study of demographic and migration issues, but demographic and migration problems of border regions still remain poorly studied. In this connection, a comprehensive analysis of demographic and migration situation with a view to finding a way for effective solutions to optimize the management of demographic processes
in the border regions of Kazakhstan is becoming a particular relevance. Insufficient attention to the possible demographic impact in border regions and the lack of a strategy to address demographic and migration problems can lead to social and political instability. In this connection, a strategy of demographic and migration development of border areas becomes especially significant, which play the role of the outposts, the required level of international economic cooperation in preserving the integrity and national security.

Relevance of the topic is defined by little knowledge about the problem. The researchers studied well enough common causes and nature of the migrations of the first half of 90-ies. They examined the extent and direction of migration flows, exit areas and resettlement of migrants, and developed the methodology of the study of migration processes. At the same time, the study of modern frontier migrations between Kazakhstan and Russia is only beginning. Therefore, the problem of frontier migration is the subject of this dissertation research. In addition, the study of this issue in regard to regions is necessary for both understanding this problem in the whole country and clarification its regional dimensions, as well as the need of complex research of frontier migration in order to develop practical recommendations.

Thus, the relevance of research topic is due to the today’s objective realities, the need to develop the conceptual foundations of modern migration policy both in the border regions and in the country as a whole.

1.2 Goal and objectives of the research

Therefore the purpose of this research is to examine the degree of development and the impact of frontier migration on the formation of relationships between the neighboring states and the population of the borderlands.

To achieve the goal of study, the following tasks were set:

- Study the specifics of the Kazakhstan-Russia border and its western section and give a comprehensive description of the situation, including resources, communications, ethnic and demographic and other potentials of the borderlands;
- Explore border formation history and evolution of the border policy;
- Analyze the ethno-demographic situation in the border zone;
- Study the situation of the Kazakh community living in Russia and the Russians in Kazakhstan;
- Examine causes, intensity and geographical direction of frontier migration;
- Determine the reasons for the increase / reduction in frontier migration;
- Study migration potential, migration sentiments of the residents of border regions;
1.3 Novelty of the problem

- **Novelty of subject and objective.** Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia was not deeply researched and was not object of dissertation research. This dissertation is the first special research on the problem of frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia taking the example of West Kazakhstan.
- **Novelty of sources.** Many of used sources are entered for the first time into a scientific turnover (the data of the statistical offices, data of the Frontier Department of the CNS of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the data of sample survey, materials of periodicals, laws and acts of Kazakhstan and Russian Federation).
- **Novelty of results.** The results received during research are published for the first time.

1.4 Research subject and background of the research

The problems of frontier migration remain one of the most relevant to the study the emerging new relationship between the CIS countries.

Young sovereign states are in constant dynamics – economic processes cause to life the social and demographic changes that affect the direction and magnitude of migratory movements. Today, the most favorable economic situation in the CIS has developed in Russia and Kazakhstan. Such factors as political stability, the prosperous situation in the international oil and gas market have led to some growth of the economy, caused improvement of the lives and welfare of the majority of people in both countries. All this led, according to some researchers, to a general decline in migratory exchange between these countries. This affected the level of irrevocable migration most dramatically. In 1999, migration losses accounted for 128,000 people in Kazakhstan, in 2009 – 9,000 people. That is 14 times less (Migratsiya naselediya Respubliki Kazakhstan, 2010: 3-12). Given that the main flow of movements in the 90s was between Kazakhstan and Russia, we can draw a conclusion about a sharp decline in migratory exchange between these countries. Therefore, frontier migration now plays a main role in the migration flows. As a result of the studies conducted in 2001 and 2004, this form of migration has been recognized as a leading one that is the most common and embracing the largest part of the population between Kazakhstan and Russia.

The demarcation of the border between Kazakhstan and the new states has put millions of people on both sides in an exceptional position. The need for further communication has created a
new kind of movement – frontier migration that has become fundamental in its importance and scope among former Soviet republics. Today, at twenty years of existence of independent states, the boundary of the former Soviet Union, the border regions, opportunities and challenges of cross-border cooperation have seriously transformed, which requires scientific analysis.

The huge length of the border defines its role as regulator of the Euro-Asian cross-border flows. To the neighboring countries and their border areas, some of these flows pose a major problem. Normal functioning of the border largely depends on the situation in the border regions and areas, which makes these problems in one way or another mutually beneficial.

The subject of this dissertation research is frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia, their influence on the development of relations between neighboring countries and the population of border territories.

The object of the study is the population of border regions of Kazakhstan and Russia that are in the migration interaction.

1.5 Territorical scope and chronological framework of the research

The territorial scope of the study covers the territory of West Kazakhstan. West Kazakhstan, due to its geographical position is the largest hub of migration processes, and by the degree of migration activity is one of the leading places in the country. The West Kazakhstan as none other region of Kazakhstan has the most extensive and diverse border with the regions of Russia. 12 subjects of the Russian Federation and 7 regions of Kazakhstan are adjoining the border. Three regions of Kazakhstan share a border with five provinces of Russia in the West Kazakhstan region. The research on this issue in the region has actual relevance for both understanding the problems of the whole country and clarifying its regional aspects.

The chronological framework of the study covers a long historical period from 1991 to 2011 – a twenty-year period of disintegration of the USSR, and the existence of the CIS, and the new stage in the development of migration processes in post-Soviet space associated with this. This period is characterized by dramatic changes in migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the massive and permanent emigration from Kazakhstan to Russia typical of the early 90’s has slowed down, with frontier migration are becoming increasingly important year after year. Therefore, the timing of this research is determined by changes in the nature and extent of migration processes and their impact on ethnic and demographic situation in the border regions of Kazakhstan and Russia.

The relevance of the dissertation topic, its scale and insufficient exploration in scientific literature predetermines the scientific novelty of the dissertation. It consists of a comprehensive analysis of the history of the formation and features of the Kazakhstan-Russia border, ethno-demographic situation and characteristics of frontier migrations between Kazakhstan and Russia.
1.6 Theoretical and practical relevance of the research

The scientific and practical significance of the study is determined by the relevance of research of frontier migration, as well as by a set of tasks aimed at theoretical, methodological, and specifically the scientific study of frontier migration.

The theoretical significance of the dissertation is as follows:

• Research materials can be used by working out of summarizing works on problems of frontier migration;
• In addition, the results obtained during the study allow us to deepen the existing theoretical concepts about the nature of frontier migration and migration processes as a whole at the present day;
• Theoretical material that was collected and systematized can be useful in theory and practice of regulating the migration processes in modern Russia and Kazakhstan.

Practical relevance of the dissertation research:

• In addition, the materials of the dissertation research may be directly applied in the planning of regional programs of the demographic, economic and social development of border territories;
• The results may be recommended for use by local and national authorities to address issues of migration regulation;
• Theoretical conclusions, the analytical and summarizing material of the dissertation can be used as guidelines for understanding and analyzing the current situation, as well as forecasting the socio-demographic situation in the border regions of both countries;
• Research expands studying of migratory problems of frontier territories and materials and results of dissertation research can be applied for preparation to lecturers, special courses and tutoring.
• The practical significance also lies in the possibility of use of its main findings and conclusions to further study the migration.
• The importance of this study is due not only to the relevance, but to the fact that the extensive to-date information is introduced to scientific expressions. It gives a fairly detailed picture of the situation in individual sectors of the Kazakhstan-Russia border and the border regions, and at the same time, it provides the basis for the conceptual and theoretical constructs that are important to develop strategies, internal and external policy of Kazakhstan.
1.7 Outline of the work

The dissertation structure consists of 12 chapters and 41 sections, each of which covers the important issues of the borderlands and frontier migrations between Kazakhstan and Russia; as well as references, glossary and appendices.

In the Introduction, the topic actuality substantiated, formulated the goals and objectives of the research and identified the object and the territorial scope of the study, defined the theoretical and methodological base, substantiated scientific novelty, the theoretical and practical significance of the dissertation, and described the dissertation structure.

The second chapter “Overview of literature” provides a review of the literature on the problems of borders and frontier migration and analyzes the degree of scrutiny of these issues. With the increasing volume of the sources of Russian and Kazakh origin, the number of special studies on problems related to the Kazakhstan-Russia border is quite small. Attention to this problem is only beginning to appear.

The third chapter "Theoretical and empirical framework" is dedicated to the analysis of theoretical approaches and a description of the methodology of the study.

The interdisciplinary nature of this study required the use of methods and approaches related to the social sciences. So, a historical approach will be used to study the history of the formation of the Kazakhstan-Russia border and the evolution of the border policy. In addition, this work uses such methods as comparative analysis (of the situation in the various regional sections of the border, the border policy of Kazakhstan and Russia), the statistical analysis (in particular to identify specific situations in various regional areas of the borderlands), surveys, etc.

In the fourth chapter "Research questions and hypotheses" research questions and hypotheses are formulated and substantiated. Choosing a research question is the central element of both quantitative and qualitative research and in this case it is preceded construction of the conceptual framework of the study. Working hypothesis are constructed as a statement of expectations, which is linked to the exploratory research purpose in empirical investigation and is used as a conceptual framework in qualitative research.

The separate fifth chapter of the dissertation “Data availability and quality: a critical review” is dedicated to analysis of the sources. This chapter provides a broad and diverse range of sources, which are the basis of the source of this dissertation. These are the documents and materials of statistical authorities, sample surveys, etc.

The methodological part is an important part of any study, because the best result of the study is determined by the correct and precise definition of the purpose and subject of research, scientific approaches and the choice of methods of research. Therefore, the sixth chapter “Methodologies” is dedicated to the analysis of research methodology. The approaches and methods used in the dissertation are described in detail.
The chapter seven “Kazakhstan-Russia border: features and problems” in today’s world, a borderland, remoteness from the center is no longer seen as a characteristic of cultural backwardness, but rather as having additional opportunities for economic and social-cultural development. The role played by the borderlands in the modern world, determines the relevance of research of specific border areas, the problems of the functioning of borders and borderlands, as well as a number of other problems associated with them. Therefore, this chapter will be dedicated to identifying specifics of the Kazakhstan-Russia border, including resources, communication, ethnic and demographic and other potentials of the border, the problem of cooperation, etc.

The magnitude and direction of frontier migration are significantly affected by ethno-demographic situation in the border regions. Moreover, the formation of communities leads to the expansion of transnational migration. Therefore, the eighth chapter "An ethnic-demographic situation in frontier regions" is dedicated to the analysis of ethno-demographic situation in the border regions, as well as analysis of the state of the Kazakh community in Russia and the Russian community in Kazakhstan.

The chapter nine “Socio-demographic characteristics of the Orenburg and West Kazakhstan regions” is dedicated to the analysis social and economic characteristics, population development in the Orenburg and West Kazakhstan regions.

The chapter ten “Results of own empirical research. Frontier migration between West Kazakhstan and Orenburg regions”. During Soviet times frontier migration were seen as movements between Soviet republics. In the present situation, when the inhabitants of border regions at once became the citizens of different states, frontier migration has acquired different legal status. The arrangement process of the boundaries and legal settlement of border relations are quite natural and necessary, so the flow of cross-border movements have become more controlled. Therefore, the frontier migration in the western sector of the Kazakhstan-Russia border was analyzed in this chapter using the results of a survey conducted by the author in the West Kazakhstan and Orenburg regions. The impact of border control on the border population lives was studied, as well as the causes and directions of frontier migration. Also, population migration sentiments were analyzed, etc. The intensity of frontier migration was studied using the Generalized linear models.

In Conclusion, the results of dissertation research were summed up. Based on the study results, a number of practical recommendations are formulated.
Chapter 2

Overview of literature

This chapter examines the literature on the topic of the dissertation. The first part of the chapter examines the works of Russia and Kazakhstan scientists on frontier migration published in recent decades. The second part of the chapter is dedicated to the study of research on issues of borders and borderlands.

2.1 Studies on frontier migration in the post-Soviet countries

Relevance of the dissertation research is also determined by this poorly studied problem. Because of the relatively small (twenty years) period of its existence, the Kazakhstan-Russia border has not yet become the object of special research, which would contain an analysis of frontier migration, ethno-demographic potential, social processes, problems of cooperation in the border zone. In the current research we analyze the situation in individual regions, specifically addressing only specific aspects of frontier cooperation – security issues, frontier cooperation, etc. (Vardomsky and Golunov, 2002). This research is mainly conducted on the Russian side, while on the Kazakh side the research has just occasional character. Therefore, we will try to fill this gap to some extent and to characterize frontier migrations in the western sector of the Kazakhstan-Russia border.

For the first time the problem of frontier migration in the post-Soviet space was raised in 2001. Studies were organized under the patronage of the Center for the study of problems of forced migration within the CIS, in the framework of the Independent Research Council on the CIS and Baltic States Migration under the leadership of Zh.Zaionchkovskaya (Moscow, Russia). The significance and the extent of the problem are clearly demonstrated by the geography of the study. The survey was conducted around all the perimeter of the Kazakhstan-Russia border, within a few points of Russian-Ukrainian border, as well as on the borders between Ukraine – Moldova – Belarus, Belarus and Russia, Estonia and Russia. Thus, the study covered a large part of the post-
Karzhaubayeva Ainur: Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of the West Kazakhstan

Soviet borders. As it is well known, after the collapse of the Soviet Union the post-Soviet countries were faced with fundamentally new challenges, among which an important part was the problems of setting-up the borders, border regimes, the regulation of frontier migration, etc. The free movement of people between the former republics was not maintained regarding the independent existence of the new states. Therefore, the purpose of this research project was to determine how the border control looks like within the CIS after ten years of independent existence of the former Soviet republics and how it affects the lives of border population and the intensity of its contacts. Projects were implemented in a unified program, which was based primarily on conducting sample surveys.

Two seminars were conducted following the results of the research – in Kiev (Ukraine) and in Uralsk (Kazakhstan). Two collections of scientific papers were published about the study data: “Migraciya i pogranichnyi rezhim: Belarus', Moldova, Rossiya i Ukraina” (Pirozhkov 2002), under the editorship of S.Pirozhkov and “Rossiya-Kazakhstan: frontierskie migracii” under the general editorship of Zh.Zaionchkovskaya and M.Sdykov (Zaionchkovskaya and Sdykov 2002).

The collection of scientific papers was dedicated to the problems of frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia – “Rossiya-Kazakhstan: frontierskie migracii”. The scientists from different regions of Kazakhstan (Almaty, Uralsk, Petropavlovsk, and Ust-Kamenogorsk) and Russia (Moscow, Volgograd, Barnaul) took part in this study. The research in the border area was conducted during one year and a half. The main purpose of this study was to determine the place and role of frontier migrations in life activities of the population and the border region’s economy of these two countries. The research was conducted on both sides of the border: Volgograd and West Kazakhstan regions, Omsk and North Kazakhstan regions, Altai Territory and the East Kazakhstan region. The research program included surveys of the local distance cross-border train’s passengers, interviewing persons crossing the border by car, surveying residents of small towns and villages near the border, expert interviews in the administrative authorities. Considerable attention was paid to labor and commercial migration. In total, 1,220 migrants crossing the border between Kazakhstan and Russia, 140 Russian labor migrants in Kazakhstan were interviewed.

Two articles in this collection were dedicated to ethnic issues, as frontier migrations clearly pronounced ethnic characteristics. These articles were written by N. Mkrtychyan and S. Golunov.

National composition of migrants who came from CIS and Baltic countries in 1997-2000, in the Russian regions adjacent to Kazakhstan was analyzed based on Russian Federal State Statistics Service in the work of N.Mkrtychyan “Etnicheskaya struktura migracionnykh potokov iz Central'noi Azii v rossiskoe prigranich'e” (Mkrtychyan 2002: 52-64). In his work the author notes that the migration exchange between Russia, Kazakhstan and Central Asian countries made it practically possible for Russia to compensate for losses from depopulation, and in some border regions – from the migration outflow of population to Western countries. Analyzing the ethnic composition of migrants, the author pointed out that among the new arrivals from Kazakhstan and Central Asian
countries, the proportion of the titular peoples of Russia – 77-80% (Mkrtchyan 2002: 54) is higher in comparison with the general flow from the CIS and Baltic countries. In addition, N. Mkrtchyan noted that despite the fact that the Kazakhstan-Russia border area is especially attractive for Kazakhs and other peoples of Central Asia, “we cannot claim that any settling process of these peoples takes place in the borderland regions” (Mkrtchyan 2002: 57). Thus, the author of this study has rejected the prevailing at that time point of view of some Russian scientists and the media about the alleged settlement of new immigrants from Kazakhstan and Central Asia in the southern Russian territory.

In the article of one of the most reputable experts on security issues of Russian borderland territory S.Golunov “Etnokul'turnoe izmerenie migracionnykh processov v zapadnoi chasti rossiisko-kazakhstanskogo prigranich'ya” (Golunov 2002: 89-107), ethno-cultural aspect of frontier migration and security issue at the Kazakhstan-Russia border territories were studied. The article provides an analysis of the landscape, communications, resource and demographic potential of the region. Much attention is focused on the ethnic situation in the neighborhood. The author notes that “the western segment of the Kazakhstan-Russia border stands out by the overwhelming predominance of the Kazakhs in the adjacent border regions of Kazakhstan and by very high proportion in the directly adjacent areas of Russia” (Golunov 2002: 105), on the background of the entire border area. While analyzing the inter-ethnic relations in the area of the Kazakhstan–Russian borderlands, the author notes the “continuing margin of safety”. (Golunov 2002: 106).

The history of migration and cross-border policy of Kazakhstan was examined in the work of Kazakh researcher M.Sdykov “Kazakhstan i Rossiya v sisteme prigranichnykh migracii” (Sdykov 2002: 7-41). In addition, he analyzed the reasons of migration, the extent of migration, national composition of migrants crossing the border, based on the results of surveys conducted among train’s passengers. This was a local train running between stations “Uralsk” (Kazakhstan) and “Ozinki” (Russia). 214 people were interviewed there. This study showed that “frontier migration is the main way of communicating between the residents of the borderlands.” The author also pointed out that the regulation of border regime influenced the extent of frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia.

The Article of A.Karzhaubayeva “Staroe i novoe v migracionnykh processakh mezhdzu Zapadnym Kazakhstanom i Rossiei” (Karzhaubayeva 2002: 101-121) was dedicated to the analysis of the situation in the western sector of the Kazakhstan-Russia border. Frontier migration was examined against the overall magnitude of movement of population between Russia and Kazakhstan, including the historical context. The second part of this work examines the causes and nature of frontier migration between two industrial towns in the border regions of Russia and Kazakhstan, located near the border. The results of the research are based on the survey data conducted by the author.
Thus, the research on frontier migration shows that major scientific results were obtained in studying this problem. A collection of scientific papers was released. In addition, the study of frontier migration has enriched understanding of the population problems in the border regions and migration processes in general. It has allowed to deeper reveal the character, particularly the characteristics of frontier migrations, not only for specific regions, but also in the whole country. Nevertheless, the scope for further research remains quite significant, the range of problems constantly expands with the development of interstate relations, demographic and migration processes.

Therefore, in 2004, these studies were continued by Kazakh researchers who attempted to explore around the perimeter of the Kazakh border: frontier migration from Russia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and China (Karzhaubayeva. 2005). The goal of the study was to determine the changes of the nature and the extent of frontier migration, and to compare their main characteristics with those of the previous studies. In addition, the researchers sought to identify the role and place of frontier migrations in interstate relations, in the lives and the relationships between the people of Kazakhstan and neighboring countries. The correspondence of the states’ migration policies to the interests and needs of the population of border regions was determined in the course of studying the problem, as well as the impact of frontier migration on the social-economic relations of the neighboring areas. The questionnaires from previous studies at the Kazakhstan–Russian border were used in a survey of the population. The presentation of this research took place in 2004 within the framework of international scientific-practical conference “Realities and demographic development forecast of the Eurasian space”.

During the time that has elapsed since the research in 2002 and 2004, there have been some changes: the cross-border relations have become more tightly regulated. In particular, attempts to regulate migration processes have become clearer – the states have imposed some restrictions on the movement of population. So, migration cards were introduced in the part of Russia and Kazakhstan aimed to register the short-term movements of citizens of other countries, the number of border crossing checkpoints has increased, etc. Thus, there have been some changes that affected the mutual relationships of the population in the border areas, which require a new study and reflection.

Speaking in general of the population research and migration processes in Kazakhstan over the past decade, we can note the growing interest of researchers to these issues. This is confirmed by the appearance of a large number of works on historical demography. These are the studies of Asylbekov A., A.Galiyev (Asylbekov and Galiyev 1991), V.Kozina (Asylbekov and Kozina 1995), N.Alekseenko, A.Alekseenko (Alekseenko and Alekseenko 1999), M.Sdykov (Sdykov 1995, 1996, 2006), and others, in whose studies the history of the formation and development of Kazakhstan's population and its various regions are considered from a new point of view.

Many articles have been devoted to the problems of contemporary migration processes in Kazakhstan. This is due to negative trends in migration processes in the country that have been...
observed in the 90’s since the Soviet Union’s collapse. The causes and consequences of external migration, particularly migration to Russia were the most debated issues (Alekseenko 1998; Masanov 1998; Kozina 2001, Karzhaubayeva 2001, 2003). Much of the work is devoted to the study of repatriation of Kazakhs (Mendikulova 1997, 1998). No doubt that the results and findings of these studies are important in the research of frontier migration since the analysis of frontier migration is incorrect without development.

Furthermore, analysis of the literature on frontier migration has shown that attention to the problem only begins to appear. Several researchers have just started to study this important issue. The main topics of their studies are the border territories in general terms, security and cross-border cooperation, common problems of migration, the history of the formation and development of population, etc. No doubt that the results and findings of these studies are important in the study of frontier migration.

However, there is no special research on the process of frontier migration, with increasing volume sources of both the Russian and Kazakh origin. Therefore, this work aims to fill this gap to some extent and to characterize frontier migration and the situation in the area of the Kazakhstan-Russia border, including demographic and other potential, as well as problems of cooperation and transboundary interaction.

2.2 Issues of borderlands in sociocultural studies

In today's world, the borderland and the distance from the center are no longer considered as a feature of cultural backwardness, but rather as having additional opportunities for economic and social-cultural development. The role that borderlands play in the modern world determines the relevance of research of the border area specifics, the problems of borders and borderlands functioning as well as some other problems related to them.

The study of borders and adjacent border territories, their sociocultural specifics has been one of the major scientific problems from the end of the 19th century.

In first half of the 20th century, K. Haushofer attempted to create an integrated boundary theory based on the principles and ideas of political geography and geopolitics. He understood that the social-cultural space formed in constant interaction with the physical space (Kononov 2004: 46). Therefore, for K. Haushofer it is important the cultural and anthropological values of the boundary. He considered any public boundary to be related to a certain sociocultural form, to a sense of unity of life forms for all people (Korolev 2003: 348). The boundary, in the concept of the German geopolitician, is not just a line on a map or terrain, but much greater spatial integrity, full of social interactions: “Wherever we would like to draw a line carefully, we find no lines, but zones only, a belt of independent life, filled with struggle” (Korolev 2003: 245). Haushofer compares a boundary
with an independent entity of sociocultural body, a body living “one’s own full life” (Korolev 2003: 247).

The problem of boundaries has found its place in ethnological studies. In 1969, the Norwegian anthropologist F. Barth in “Ethnic groups and boundaries: the social organization of cultural differences”, applied a category of boundary to define the ethnic group. According to Barth, ethnic groups socially constructed by individuals who strategically manipulate their identity, emphasizing or removing it in different contexts. The Norwegian researcher proved that ethnic groups should not be singled out because of the huge list of “objective” cultural attributes. The basis of singling out an ethnic group should be the answer to the question: “How and why did ethnic boundaries appear and reproduce?”. In other words, the ethnic group is shaped by the ethnic boundary, forming a complex organization of inter-ethnic relations (Bart 2006: 187).

Sometimes, the concept of F. Barth looks too constructive and even exotic, but it is a consequence of the difficulties encountered by ethnologists in their study of ethnic boundaries. At the end of the 40’s, the Soviet ethnographer P. Kushnir had come up with a detailed theory of ethnic boundaries, in which he pointed out that the ethnic boundary is determined by all complex characteristics of people’s way of life, and that, unlike the state or administrative borders, ethnic borders very rarely divide ethnic lands with a solid line. As a rule, an ethnic boundary is more or less a wide borderland, populated by a transitional, in an ethnic sense, the group (Kushnir 1951: 12).

P. Kushnir emphasizes that in the process ethnic boundaries formation, the major role is played not by the natural, but by the social factors that affect even the landscape surrounding people: “The new shape of cultivated by man territories largely reflects the ethnic characteristics of human groups – it may be said that the territories are given the ethnic aspect” (Kushnir 1951: 5). Thus, P. Kushnir pointed out the problems that appear in situations where it is necessary to define cultural boundaries, in the absence of a clearly defined state or administrative border. The ideas of F. Bart, putting self-awareness at the forefront in shaping the cultural boundaries, are one of the attempts to resolve the issue.

The concept of F. Barth was the forerunner of postmodern research of borders and borderlands, which is conducted in several directions: in the framework of world system analysis, in view of the impact of globalization and integration processes in the modern world, the study of boundaries as a narrative and representative phenomena (Antanovich 2005: 7). From the standpoint of world system analysis borderlands are considered as a new political, economic and cultural phenomenon acquiring a new meaning now, when we face the destruction of the Westphalian system of international relations, “obscuring” of state sovereignty and changing the functions of the national state, which was characterized by a major alteration of the state border’s barrier function and the elimination of local features within the states (Vallerstein 2003: 5). The traditional triad for the world system analysis – “center – semi-periphery – periphery” was complemented by the
appearance of macro-regional and regional levels, in the development of which a significant role is played by cultural borders on both transnational and sub national levels (Kolossov 2003).

Research of the impact of globalization on the changing nature of borders draws attention to the redistribution of responsibilities between the boundaries of different levels and types, construction of new spatial order, trans-boundary cooperation and the emergence of new “trans-boundary regions” (Antanovich 2005: 10). In the context of globalization, borders are considered as a symbol of the past, unstable or even disappearing element of the modern world (“the scars of history” – the figurative expression of the French philosopher O. Markar), and that in the modern world, the borderlands as a space are in the process of reconstruction and become a space of flows. The concept of “The clash of civilizations” by Samuel Huntington plays the special role, which claims that the borderlands between civilizations in the modern world are in the first place zones of conflict and struggle (Huntington 2003: 396 – 431).

The processes of globalization are closely connected with the internationalization of culture, especially among the representatives of trans-boundary regions. American scientist O. Martinez drew attention to this fact. Based on the study of sociocultural practices in the border area between the U.S. and Mexico, he developed the concept of “cultural internationalism”, which is formed among the border population, benefiting from cross-border contacts. This culture is characterized by increased mobility and receptiveness to innovation. The bearers of this culture are clearly aware of their special interests and are able to exist without conflicts in several “cultural worlds” – the national-state and their own ethnic culture, foreign cultures and the specific culture of the border regions (Martinez 1994). In this context, the research of migration processes in the border regions became very important. Based on the study of migration between Mexico and the United States, another American scientist L.Preece came to conclusion that contemporary migration triggers particular transnational social space, which exists beyond national borders (Kolossov 2003).

The study of the borders and borderlands as representative phenomena has become another point of modern borders research. A boundary as an image is reflected in the works of D.N. Zamytatin, where he establishes the position that a boundary, formed as a stable geographic image, determines the political actions about its reconstruction (Zamytatin 2000: 166). This kind of studies and that of other authors have demonstrated that even when the border becomes more porous, the territorial shape of the state is maintained for the majority of people (Zalamans 1999: 172).

The main focus here is on the emergence and evolution of territorial identities. The meaning of the border in people's lives can not be understood without the research of its role in the public consciousness, person’s self-identity in the territories of different rank (country, region, area).

Finnish geographer A. Paasi, which urgently raised the border issue putting it at the center of social geography in his writings dedicated to the border between Russia (USSR) and Finland. He showed how the public understanding of “indigenous peoples” and its culture, national security and external threats, historical myths and stereotypes influenced the attitudes of ordinary people and
political elite to a specific boundary (Paasi 1996). Paasi proceeded from the hypothesis that the narrative construction of nationalism is one of the main forms of territorial ideology and the basis of state-building.

The problem of borderland residents’ identity was examined in the above mentioned studies of O. Martinez, in which he had proved that the so-called “frontier people” often demonstrate ambivalent situational identity (Martinez 1994). American historian P. Salins showed as the inhabitants of one mountain valley in the Pyrenees, divided by the Franco-Spanish border, had been long manipulated citizenship in their own interests, considering themselves to be neither French nor Spanish. Their identity was based on self-identification with the local community, opposing to all others (Antanovich 2005: 9).
Chapter 3
Theoretical and empirical framework

The chapter is dedicated to the study of the nature of the phenomenon of migration, the interpretation of this concept in terms of different sciences, and examining their role in the study of population migration, as well as to the review of basic concepts that characterize the migratory movements, their types, functions, causes and consequences of migration.

3.1 Definitions of migration

About 40 definitions of migration are present in modern science (Yudina 2004: 14), and there is no consensus regarding the classification of certain concepts of “migration”, which makes certain terminological confusion. Migration is determined both as mobility (from lat. mobilis) or in English analogue –movableness, and as movement, resettlement, etc. (Rybakovskii 2001: 3).

The following definitions of “migration” found in the scientific literature can be listed. In the strict sense, a migration means the combination of movements with the purpose to transfer a someone’s place of residence (Demographicheskii mnogoyazykovyi slovar’ 1978).

A geographical mobility entailing changes in the usual place of residence between certain political or statistical places or between areas of different types of residence is called migration. (International Encyclopedia of Population 1984: 35).

Territorial mobility (migration) is the movement of a person within a certain area or beyond (Breev 1970: 30).

Migration is one of the types of mobility, namely, spatial mobility, or in more narrow and special sense of the word, migration means the combination of relocations of people, i.e. such their movements on the territory, that are inextricably linked with the change of residence for a relatively long period of time (Perevedencev 1975: 34).
Migration is a trip abroad in a country (or region) of someone’s permanent residence for any purpose other than tourism and recreation in the last 20 years for more than 7 days. This definition is mainly economic in nature and involves material benefit as a result of migration (Depth Studies on Migration in Central and Eastern Europe 1999).

Migration is a form of population movement, in which the change of place of residence to a more or less considerable distance and time is accompanied by socially significant economic, social, demographic and other consequences (Moiseenko 1997: 24).

Migration is the movement of people between countries (Mezhdunarodnye ekonomicheskie otnosheniya 1997: 164).

As it is clear from these definitions, time, distance and status of place of residence or accommodation stipulate certain categories of spatial movement and, at the same time, lie at the basis of a different understanding of such a phenomenon as migration.

In the true sense of the word, “migration” means the combination of movements with the purpose to transfer a someone’s place of residence. Different criteria described in the scientific literature (Vvedenie v demographie 2003: 305), such as time, distance, status of residence are based on the conception of the phenomenon of migration. Thus, it is necessary to define the essential criterion to designate migration for a thorough theoretical analysis.

We consider the main approaches to defining the essential characteristics and criteria of population migration as a social phenomenon. All definitions of migration which, according to Russian scientists was widespread in the late 20th century include the definitions which combine different kinds of population movements, in particular, migration and social movements. The essence of this point of view implies that all the definitions, in which migration is equated to various types of movements, in fact, combine the spatial and social movement (Rybakovsky 2001: 11).

The second group which is the most common and recognized by most scholars today, includes such definitions of migration that include only the spatial relocations of population. The Russian researcher Vladimir Perevedentsev pointed out that migration can be viewed in a broader sense as a combination of all movements of people across space, and in more narrow and special sense of the word, as a combination of relocation of people associated with the change of their place of residence for a relatively long period of time (Perevedencev 1975: 33).

The third group includes the definitions that do not separate such things as movement and mobility. Thus, the researcher T. Karahanova believes that the definition of essence of migration should be based on two interpretations, one of which considers migration as a form of geographical mobility (Karakhanova 1971: 12). B. Horev who formulated the task to create "the concept of migration mobility of the population in all its forms", in many of his works considers migration in a broad sense regarding the migration mobility, and in the narrow sense – just regarding resettlements (Narodonaselenie 1973: 19).
Thus, migration was viewed as mobility. The social mobility is defined as any transfer of an individual or social object, i.e. all that was created or modified by human activity, from one social position to another. The territorial mobility is one form of horizontal social mobility of individuals (Sorokin 1992: 373).

Currently, the category of “mobility migration” is still the central one, since the migration processes in different social groups differ in depth, intensity, direction of manifestation, and therefore they are characterized by different ways and means of group interaction, significantly changing in time and space. In this case, mobility migration is interpreted as transfer of individuals and social groups from one social group to the other as a result of the change of their place of residence (Yudina 2007: 123).

However, as suggested by L. Rybakovsky, the term “mobility” (movableness), and “movement” are not synonymous. M. Kurman pointed out that “mobility” means rather potential ability or willingness of an individual to perform action than the action itself (Statistika migracii naseleniya, 1973: 99). With this approach, there is a clear distinction between the psychological readiness to move, on the one hand, and the actual movement of population, on the other hand (Zaslavskaya Rybakovsky 1978). Migration should be interpreted as spatial movement, and mobility (movableness) – as the ability to migrate, i.e., a potential migration.

Thus, analysis of the many definitions of “migration” allows to come to the conclusion that researchers use different criteria for identifying the essential characteristics of migration. An attempt to come up with the integrated criteria was undertaken by B. Moiseenko who believes that “the criteria of identification of migration are: a change of normal (permanent) place of residence accompanied by crossing administrative and territorial boundaries, length of stay, reasons for migration, as well as legislative acts” (Moiseenko 2004: 29). The intention to show the importance of an individual belonging to a particular territorial community is very important in this approach. This is stipulated by this belonging of the status and the respective rights and responsibilities of the permanent resident of a given area.

A complete set of criteria for inclusion to population migration was proposed by the contemporary Russian demographer V. Iontsev in the development of a classification that takes into account the diversity of forms, factors and causes of migration (Iontsev 1999: 19). The scientist believes that migration, in the narrow sense of the word, appears as part of a broader concept – the migration movement of population. It is inappropriate to equate them. In the concept of migratory movement, it is proposed to distinguish between inter-settlement and intra-settlement movements. The inter-settlement movements are related to the term “migration” in its classical sense, as the only inter-settlement movements of people change the situation in regard to the distribution of population in the region, country and world (Sovremenaya demographiya 1995: 102-103). The researcher interprets the migration as the combination of actions associated with spatial mobility on
the decision-making phase of migration, as well as on the phase of adaptation in a new location or new conditions (Vvedenie v demographiyu 2003: 312).

Having ascertained the nature of territorial movements and finding out the difference between the movement and mobility, it is possible to define migration. In this work, the migration should be interpreted as any territorial movement that takes place between the various settlements of one or more administrative units, regardless of duration, frequency and its goal.

*Frontier migration, border migration, borderland migration, boundary migration* – the key terms etymologically denoting the crossing of state borders by the population. In the meanwhile, the definition of each of these terms has its own specific features, at times getting different interpretations in the work of specialists in the field of Border (Boundary) Studies. As British researchers H. Donnan and T. Wilson pointed out in their work, specialists in the social science sometimes pretend to be accurate, even though they operate with a set of terms – border, borderland, border zone, boundary, frontier, which are sometimes used as synonyms, but in other cases they represent very different phenomena (Donnan and Wilson 1999: 15).

At the same time, these researchers have proposed their own interpretation of the concepts of border and frontier. According to their interpretation, the term "border" denotes the phenomenon that includes three elements:

- Legal boundary of the border;
- Agents and institutions of the state, which demarcate the border and support its regime;
- Frontiers, defined as the territorial zones of varying thickness, extending across national boundaries within which people agree about the variety of attitudes and values, associated with their affiliation to the respective nations and states (Donnan and Wilson 1999: 15-16).

A somewhat different interpretation belongs to an Australian reputable researcher geographer W. Prescott. The concept of “boundary” is defined by him as the dividing line not having the length between the two countries and their territorial entities.

“Frontier” is a zone that divides:

- Inhabited form unsettled territory that are attributable to the same country (the classic example is the American frontier that separates the populated by Europeans eastern part and the western part populated by Native Americans);
- Political frontier – the neighboring countries. In the latter case, the frontier is an uninhabited zone, which is not dominated by any party. The term border, according to Prescott, is a synonym of the term borderland, and means the territory consisting of two peripheral zones of adjacent countries.

These examples illustrate the existence of difficulties in English and Russian conceptual apparatus of the theory of problems research related to the boundary. The terms “border area”, “border zone”, “border area”, etc., are included in the dictionary and have officially pronounced
legal meaning, so that if they are “informally” interpreted, it could lead to terminological confusion. Apparently, the development of a generally accepted theoretical apparatus in this case is yet to come.

In this study, the term frontier migration is applied, because the term “frontier” can be attributed to the political dividing line between the states, in this case between Kazakhstan and Russia. It also can refer to or describe the part of the country adjacent to its border with another country.

Thus, frontier migration is any local movement, regardless of duration, frequency and its goal that takes place between the various settlements adjacent to the border with another country while crossing the state border.

In addition, under the Migration Act, the following basic concepts are used in the dissertation (Zakon o migratsii naseleniya 1997):

- **Migration** – temporary or permanent, is a voluntary or forced movement of people from one country to another, as well as within the state;
- **Migrants** – persons who enter the Republic of Kazakhstan and leave the Republic of Kazakhstan, as well as relocating within the Republic of Kazakhstan, regardless of the cause and duration;
- **Immigration** – the entry of foreigners or stateless persons in the Republic of Kazakhstan for temporary or permanent residence;
- **Immigrants** – foreigners or stateless persons who arrived in the Republic of Kazakhstan for temporary or permanent residence;
- **Emigration** – departure of the citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan to another country for permanent or temporary residence;
- **Migrants** – citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan who leave for another country for permanent or temporary residence.

**Net migration** is the absolute value of the difference between the number of arrivals to the given area and the number of departures outside this territory for a certain period of time. Its value can be either positive or negative.

Data on *international and internal migration* are derived as a result of development coming from regional offices / regional migration services, primary documents reflecting statistical arrival and departure times, which are prepared for registration and de-registration of the population in the community.
3.2 Basic concepts specification

In this subchapter, based on the current international political and migration theory, we will consider the conceptual basis of the borderlands and frontier migration between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation, as well as problems of self-identification of the population.

3.2.1 Migration systems theory

The term “system” (Greek – “made up of parts”, “connect” from “joining”) – means the collection or set of interrelated elements.

The main property of this system is its integrity and integration. Complex objects which are considered as a system, are in fact a certain unity, integrity possessing the common properties and behavior. That is, in the most general case, the notion of “system” is characterized by:

- the existence of many elements;
- the existence of links between them;
- holistic nature of the structure or process.

Thus, a systematic approach is the direction of methodology of scientific research, which is based on consideration of a complex object as a complete set of elements in the set of relationships and connections between them (Osipov 1998: 322).

Herbert Spencer is one of the founders of the systems approach, but the main points of this approach were developed by L. von Bertalanffy and A. Bogdanov (Bertalanffy 1969; Bogdanov 1989).

A systematic approach to the study of migration involves the analysis of the factors, reasons, functions and effects of migration, because of the need to rethink their role to assess the prospects for the development of modern society in the context of globalization.

The migration systems theory considers migration, firstly, as a result of individual decisions that depend on various structural factors, on the other hand, it analyzes it in the context of global capital and commodities, the actions of global and regional political, economic and cultural factors. This theory was developed by American scientists M. Kritz, L. Lim, H. Zlotnik in the early 1990s (Kritz, Lim and Zlotnik 1992).

The migration systems theory is one of the first attempts to unite isolated concepts of migration and to prove that the migration flows between donor countries and recipient countries are determined by interrelated factors. Since the formation of stable migration flows creates a migration system, which includes the country of origin and country of entry. It is necessary to consider the system as a whole to understand its dynamics.

According to the theory, the migration system is a group of countries, among which there are relatively extensive and stable migration ties (Kritz, Lim and Zlotnik, 1992: 1-16). At the very least,
the migration system may include two countries, between which there is the migration exchange. At the same time, geographical proximity can play a significant role, but it is not a prerequisite.

According to this theory, the direction of the flow of international migration is not random: it is often predetermined by the existence of historical, cultural, economic and political ties between donor countries and recipient countries. The probability of international migration is particularly high between the former colonial powers and their former colonies. The reason is that in the era of colonization, administrative and transportation, communication and investment, cultural and linguistic and other ties were established that have evolved independently from external competition. This led to the formation of specific trans-national markets and cultural systems, which continued to operate even after the collapse of empires or colonial powers.

Moreover, the migration that took place before has led to the formation of so-called migration networks, where new migrants can rely on the expertise and assistance of their countrymen who had moved and settled in these countries earlier.

The stability of migration relations in the system can be determined historical factors (colonial relations, political alliances), as well as the mutual economic interest of countries in the migration exchange, which determines the appearance and preservation of migratory movement in a certain direction. Not only migratory flows exist within migration systems. They are also supplemented by financial and commodity flows.

According to the migration systems theory, stability of migration systems is supported by the existence of migration networks that securely connect the country of origin and country of entry.

Migration system has spatial and temporal dimensions. As mentioned earlier, the geographical proximity of countries in the migration system is not essential, as opposed to historical or technological relations. The temporal dimension of the migration system form a context change and changes taking place in relations between countries. It is essential to analyze the dynamics of migration flows and counter-flows. Along with the internal causes, these changes can be determined by international migration, i.e. number of migrants may have an impact on social, political, economic and demographic contexts, as well as on relations between the countries.

Until recently, it was accepted to identify five world systems in the scientific literature: the North American, European, Asia-Pacific, South American, and a system that combines the Gulf countries. At present, the Eurasian system has joined this list, primarily because of massive migration flows linking the states of this region with other countries (Ivakhnyuk 2005: 51). The researcher of this approach I. Ivakhnyuk indicates that it took a little time since the migration systems theory acquired relatively complete character. During this time, the migration pattern of the world changed, as well as changed the structure of migration flows. The states of the former Soviet Union joined international migration flows. In fact, a new – the youngest in the world migration system has formed in the post-Soviet space, which should be considered along with other world's major migration systems (Ivakhnyuk 2005: 51).
It is characteristic for major migration systems to combine the various types and forms of migration – permanent and temporary, refugees and migrant workers, organized and illegal, training, etc. However, in reality, some types of migration may be more common for some migration systems, for other migration systems – others. This may be due to historical factors, the specific political situation, the degree of closeness of the traditional relationship between donor countries and recipient countries. In addition, specific features of the main migration policies of host countries predetermine the dominance of different types of migration in certain systems. A feature of the present stage of development of the global migration situation is the fact that not only countries, but some regions of the country, especially the border regions can take the role of centers of migration systems. The economy of border regions and the structure of the labor market are heavily dependent on cross-border cooperation with neighboring countries. This is facilitated by the established ethno-demographic situation as an important structural element of cross-border cooperation.

So, based on the basic tenets of the migration systems theory, we can say that Kazakhstan and Russia, having stable migration ties over several centuries, are the components of one migration system. Magnitude, direction and intensity of the migratory flow between Kazakhstan and Russia, including frontier migrations are determined by the existence of long-standing historical, political, economic and cultural ties. An important role is played by geographical proximity and geopolitical position of these two states. The Kazakhstan-Russia migration system, forming a single system, is also part of the Eurasian world migration system. The stability of migration systems of Kazakhstan and Russia is to some extent determined by the presence of migration networks – related and other ties of the population of these states.

### 3.2.2 Concepts of transnational migration

The concept of “international migration” is losing its relevance in a globalized world, suggesting crossing national boundaries. Migration tends to increase, as more and more migrants are distinguished by social and cultural characteristics. It is increasingly difficult to distinguish between certain types of migration (Castles 2002: 1144-1145). The number of temporary migrants has increased and circular migration is becoming increasingly important. There has been an increase in the number of migrant workers who focused to live in two or more societies while taking into account the development of transnational communities. All these issues are being developed under the concept of transnational migration of S. Glick, T. Faist, S. Castles, which occupy a significant place in contemporary discourse on migration.

Concepts of transnational and translocal migration are quite popular in modern Western sociological debate. It is clear that the terms “globalization” (Giddens, 1990; Robertson 1992, 1995 and others), “determinationalization” (Featherstone 1995), “translocal” (Appadurai 1995), “transnationalism” (Glick Schiller, Bash and Blanc-Szanton 1992) or “transnational social space”
The term “transnationalism” has entered into the scientific vocabulary in the 1970s. Its appearance is especially related to the transformations in the economic sphere, where large international companies, transnational corporations and banks began to dominate. Thus, S. Sassen examines the global cities that have become the concentration of international networks of institutions (banks, companies) and people (international experts, etc.), and refers to the term “transnational”. She uses this term in order to emphasize the spatial dimension and scale of economic, social and political processes and relations under conditions of globalization.

Later, the term “transnationalism” has been applied in studies of migration. In the classical migration research the communities are considered only in close connection with the “place”, i.e., surely they are somewhere localized, according to the researchers. The relationship with “place” is established by means of a special local culture. Thus, in order to become part of the host society, migrants must become part of the host community and they have to adapt or assimilate into the local culture. In early 1990s, S. Glick and other researchers have questioned this thesis and suggested to use the terms “transmigrants” and “transnationalism” as a base for a new paradigm in the study of international migration (Glick, Bash and Blanc-Szanton 1995).

Transnational theory emphasizes a new level of control of erosion of control over the differences: the spread of groups within the political, economic, social and cultural “field” in more than one country. This is an obstacle to homogenization, leading to a permanent increase in the diversity and mobility of population, as well as to a new level of nationalism – the group with a complex, multi-layered identity (Castles 2011).

In the framework of the concept of transnational migration transnationalism is defined as “a social process in which migrants create social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political boundaries”. Migrants become transmigrants in the case where “they develop and maintain multiple family, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political relations that cross borders” (Glick, Bash and Blanc-Szanton 1995).

The creators of the concept defined transnational migration as model of migration, where migrants crossing international borders and settling in a new country, maintain a social relationship with the countries of origin (Glick 1999: 96).

The idea of transnational migration circulation was a new theoretical contribution at the end of 1980-1990s. The basis of this idea is the transfer and rethinking of ideas related to internal migration studies in developing countries, to the study of international movements. For example, the studies in the southern part of Central Africa in the 1960s had demonstrated that the migration had a circulating character, rather than unidirectional one. (Chapman and Prothero 1985: 3-6). S. Goldstein who studied internal migration in Malaysia, called the observed phenomenon a
commuting migration (Goldstein 1985: 390). The effect of erasing the boundaries between rural and urban lifestyles was the result of these movements.

The general idea of these studies was that the dynamic concept of bi-or multilocal must be formulated in such a way as to represent the migration as a project to expand the space of actors’ activity, not as a simple movement from point A to point B.

A German researcher L. Pries enters a category of “transnational social space” into the scientific vocabulary. In his view, the emergence of complex and continuous flows of people, goods and information, caused by globalization processes, marked the beginning of a new era of migration. Social networks of migrants integrate already delocalized and diffuse space despite state borders, fragment national identity of people, structure their ways of life and professional career. The existence of such transnational social spaces destroys traditional forms of migration. Studies show that migrants often do not focus on integration. Transmigrants, while “living” simultaneously in both sending and receiving communities, create a transnational social space (Pries 1996: 456-472).

3.2.3 Transnationalism of border regions

Since the early 1990s, the studies of state borders become extremely popular. The main reasons for this are associated primarily with the “discovery” of borders, it's relatively free crossing not only by people but also goods, capital and information. Research interest in the boundaries was also provoked by a debate about post-colonialism, largely caused by the post-war and post-Soviet processes of redefinition of national identities. New boundary studies, in turn have drawn attention to some important moments in the debate about transnational flows. The following issues come to the foreground: loss of national identity, the internationalization of economics, historical and ethnic links.

In today's world state borders act as a mediator, and in this sense “intermediate state is understood as an advantage of borderlands” (Flynn 1997: 312). Being the peripheries of nation states, border territories, due to its intermediate position, already serve as “centers of development”. Such a change in status and meaning of borderlands, to some extent makes deterritorialization: social education, formed in the framework of national states, superimposed on the economic, political, ethnic periphery of a neighboring state, which actually destroys the idea of a “complete coincidence of territorial borders and boundaries of spreading of a certain national idea” (Nagata 1994: 63).

The concept of "internationalist" culture, which formed among the population of border regions, benefiting from cross-border contacts, was developed by an American geographer O. Martinez. It based on years of studying the border between the United States and Mexico (Martinez 1994: 304). In the Kazakhstan-Russia border zone this culture is characterized by increased mobility and receptivity to innovation. The population of border regions is acutely aware of their special
interests and are able to exist in several conflict-free "cultural worlds" – the nationwide culture and their ethnic culture, foreign cultures and the specific culture of the border region.

The border is aimed towards inside to unite the social group, and outside, to distinguish it and its territory from neighbors. The essence of the processes taking place today under the influence of globalization and integration, is in the distribution of functions between the boundaries of different levels and types. People’s identity is deeply modified in the new conditions because of the growing “mixture” of different ethnic and other groups. More and more people have complicated identities, associating themselves with two or more ethnic and cultural groups. There are growing cultural and linguistic, religious and other identities that are not always clearly related to a specific territory. This leads to a relative weakening of national identity, as people tend to identify themselves with the specific place of residence – the municipality, region or being part of a separate nationality or social group, in order to isolate themselves from "outsiders" (people of other nationalities, faiths, etc.) by strict administrative barriers. The study has shown that the number of such people is small in the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands, but it is still there (although it has a tendency to decrease compared with previous studies).

3.2.4 Concepts of self-identification of the border region’s population

The self-identification – is an identification of yourself with a certain social group or community, accepting its objectives and value system, perception of yourself as a member of this group or community.

The problem of identity is connected with the analysis of a state function representing political-territorial entity with exact borders, acknowledged by international communities, within which the population has a certain political identity. The political identity is formed by the state itself as a rule. One of the main elements of ethnic and political identity is definite geographical borders. From this a simple political formula results: if there is no a stable political identity, also there is no a stable borders, stable territory, no a stable state or other political entity totally. Consequently the borders initially are formed in social notions, and hereafter they will be delimitated in the map.

Often the state identity does not coincide with ethnic/regional identities. As a rule, a state in which the political identity is weak, cannot ensure an effective defense of its borders or even control its territory. In history of non-national states a great number of attempts to strengthen the state identity were stopped by new tendencies in economic and cultural development, for example, in former Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union, where ethnic/regional identities had become significantly stronger than political one (Kolossov 2003: 44-59). In the Kazakhstan-Russia border the results of the sample survey allow to say that the self-identification is an expression of loyalty and trust in the state in which they are living. There is a sufficient differentiation between the basic ethnic and age groups by this item.
Many researchers had argued that local territorial communities are not passive subjects at all, on which central authorities may influence. On the contrary, they actively influence as on a real mode, character and perception of the border in neighbor countries as on the identity formation. The particular identity is formed on the basis of specific interests and culture in local territorial communities, sometimes – trans-frontier, especially if the inhabitants of the close-to-border regions are like in language and culture.

So, Kazakhstan-Russia border is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon, in many ways at odds with the universal conceptual explanation. Different approaches to the conceptual explanation of this phenomenon with varying degrees of adequacy reflect different aspects of the problem. However, the complex overlapping of ethnicity, rather peculiar history of the formation of boundaries, the complexity of modern processes of cross-border interaction complicate the creation of a universal concept which would allow to develop a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.
Chapter 4
Research questions and hypotheses

This chapter is dedicated to the formulation of research questions and hypotheses. Choosing a research question is the central element of both quantitative and qualitative research and in this case it is preceded construction of the conceptual framework of the study. Working hypothesis are constructed as a statement of expectations, which is linked to the exploratory research purpose in empirical investigation and are used as a conceptual framework in qualitative research.

4.1 Research questions

In accordance with the purpose of the study, the main focus is on determining the specificity of the Kazakhstan-Russia border and the problems of frontier migration of the population in border regions.

1. Features of Kazakhstan-Russia borders

The consideration of many factors is required in assessing the potential of collaboration and cooperation of border regions, including: resource base, availability, interconnectivity and the possibility of development of infrastructure, political background, practical steps taken by official and other structures to promote cooperation, etc. Among the long-term factors affecting the nature of the above mentioned interactions, the resource potential of border territories plays an important role. As for the Kazakhstan-Russia border, its potential is significant, including such valuable resources such as oil, agricultural products, livestock products, etc. The presence of these and other resources contributes, on the one hand, to the development of cross-border cooperation and preservation of industrial relations, on the other hand, favors to cross-border activity of the population. Therefore, we have attempted to answer the following questions in the seventh chapter:

- What are characteristic features of the Kazakhstan-Russia border?
- How does the border length, landscape conditions, communications and resource potential affect the magnitude and direction of?
- How does the legislation affect frontier migration?
In this chapter, the main attention is focused on the characteristics of the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands (the length and administrative-territorial characteristics, landscape conditions, communications and resource potential, cross-border cooperation) and their effect on frontier migration.

2. An ethnic-demographic situation in frontier regions

It is almost impossible to determine the extent of these processes in the study of frontier migration under the present conditions. However, if we analyze the overall migration between Kazakhstan and Russia, we can identify some trends and directions of frontier migrations. In addition, the demographic background of the borderlands has some impact on frontier migration. Over the past twenty years, a significant decline in the total population has taken place, which occurred due to the outflow of the Slavic population of Kazakhstan that is mainly settled down in the neighboring Russian regions. Thus, a considerable human resource has formed on both sides of the border, the migratory direction of which is determined by kinship, economic and other ties with the former place of residence. In addition, these people are the main basis of existence and development of frontier migration. In our opinion, the presence and the living conditions of the Kazakh diaspora in Russia and the Russians in Kazakhstan are one of the determining factors in the development of frontier migration. Therefore, in the eighth chapter, the main focus is put on the analysis of ethno-demographic situation, and the following research questions are being debated:

- What is the ethno-demographic situation in the border regions of Kazakhstan and Russia, and how it affects frontier migration?
- How the level of migration from Kazakhstan to Russia affected the overall demographic background of borderlands?
- What is the main basis for existence and development of frontier migrations?

3. Frontier migration in the western site of the Kazakhstan-Russia border

Frontier migration has a special place in the overall migration flow, which greatly exceeds all other types of population movements in the CIS countries. In the existence of a single Soviet Union, this migration was considered as movements between the republics. In the present situation, when the residents of border regions at once became citizens of different countries, frontier migration has acquired a new legal status. The process of arrangement of the boundaries and legal settlement of border relations is quite natural and necessary, so the flow of cross-border movements have become more controlled. However, there were a lot of problems that were negatively perceived by most people. Therefore, in the ninth chapter we discuss the following questions:

- What is the composition, the nature of frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia?
- What are the intensity and direction of frontier migration?
- What role does frontier migration play in ethno-demographic processes?
• How the border control affects the lives of the borderlands’ population, the intensity of contacts?
• What are the benefits and disadvantages faced by the people living adjacent to the border?
• For what purposes do they cross it?
• Does the frontier migration affect the formation of the relationship between Kazakhstan and Russia, between the people of border regions?

We tried to answer all these questions related to Kazakhstan and Russia in the ninth chapter. The analysis is based on the results of a sociological survey of the population conducted by the author in West Kazakhstan and Orenburg regions. One of the busiest routes of frontier migration connects these two regions. This is due to historically established relationships and existing transport routes, both rail and road, which are practically the western gates from Kazakhstan to Russia.

### 4.2 Research hypotheses

The main hypothesis of the dissertation research is based on the premise that frontier migration is the most common and encompassing most of the population of Kazakhstan and Russia, and despite the establishment of border barriers it is much greater than all other types of population movements.

In addition to the basic hypothesis, we have formulated the following hypotheses associated with the specific features of the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands:

1. **Hypotheses about features of Kazakhstan-Russia borders.**

   Population movement in the Kazakhstan-Russia border area is largely dependent on such features and conditions as:

   • The length of the border (the Kazakhstan-Russia border is almost 7.5 thousand km; its length contributes to the involvement of many people living along the border on both sides in frontier migration);
   • Landscape conditions (lack of natural barriers facilitates contacts between neighboring territories);
   • Communications and resource potential (movement of populations in the border zone is largely dependent on such conditions as availability of roads, the remoteness of settlements, development of commercial, medical and other services, etc.).

2. **Hypotheses about the ethnic-demographic situation in frontier regions.**

   This hypothesis based on the assumption that the significant human resource has formed on
both sides of the Kazakhstan-Russia border, the migration orientation of which is
determined primarily by related, economic and other ties with the neighboring country. It is
defined by the ethno-demographic situation in the border zone. Thus, the Kazakhs are the
fourth largest ethnic of Turkic people in Russia and the eleventh among all ethnic groups of
the country. The border territories of the Russian Federation adjacent to Kazakhstan are the
main area of settlement of Kazakhs. The same can be said about the Russian population in
Kazakhstan. The Russians in Kazakhstan are the second largest group after the Kazakh
population. Border regions of Kazakhstan are the regions where much of the Russian
population is concentrated. Therefore, the hypothesis is based on the premise that:

• The emigration of Russians from Kazakhstan to Russia in the 1990s had a significant
impact on the ethno-demographic situation in the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands: in
Kazakhstan – reducing the numbers and percentage of the Russian population; in Russia –
increasing the population of border regions.

• Massive emigration from Kazakhstan to Russia is now over; frontier migration plays an
increasing role.

• The Kazakh population in Russia and the Russian population in Kazakhstan are the main
basis for the existence and development of frontier migrations.

3. Hypotheses about frontier migration in the western site of the Kazakhstan-Russia
border.

• Despite the division of borders and the strengthening of controls at border checkpoints, a
common space of social and economic ties between the populations of the Kazakhstan-
Russia borderlands is preserved.

• The regulation of border controls since the introduction of the state border between the
Republic of Kazakhstan and Russia has significantly influenced the extent of migration and
its mobility.

• The causes and direction of frontier migration are determined primarily by related
economic and relative ties.

• The larger and further away a settlement is from the border, the less contacts with the
border areas of Russia, and, conversely, the closer a settlement is to the border, the more
contacts with the nearby settlements of the neighboring country.

• The intensity of frontier migration is influenced by the social characteristics of respondents
(age, sex, education, marital status, household income, nationality, citizenship, place of
permanent residence and country of permanent residence).
Chapter 5
Data availability and quality: a critical review

The research of frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia is based on a wide range of sources. Many of them are first introduced to the scientific expressions. They represent both the primary documents to record migration, as well as generic information provided in the form of sample surveys, reference and statistical publications. Departmental statistics are also important. In the study frontier migration, the author used data from all sources, ensuring their compatibility and identity, since these data have significant limitations in terms of the coverage of migrants and migration flows.

Because the chronological framework of the study covers the period since the Soviet collapse and the formation of new independent states, such factors as time and place of writing, the nature of the sources, authorship and direction were considered in the analysis of the materials and documents, i.e. the degree of reliability of data used, their comparability were determined. The dependence of the source on the nature of the historical moment, political or other conditions was taken into account.

The volume and diversity of materials required grouping according to the source categories. Therefore, we divided the full amount of the sources into several groups, taking the types of sources as a basis:

- Statistical sources – census and the current migration statistics;
- Departmental statistics (Reports of border guards);
- Materials of sample surveys.

5.1 Statistical sources. Census and current migration statistics
The population census is the collection of demographic and social data that characterize every resident in the country or a particular region at a particular time. Data on migration are among the benefits resulting from the census information on population, for each person (gender, date of birth, language ability, citizenship, nationality, marital status, educational characteristics, sources of livelihood, occupation, economic activity, etc.).

Not only can the census contain complete and accurate information about the population at any given time, but it also makes it possible to compare the different characteristics of the population. For example, data on migration can be obtained by separate age groups, nationalities, married people (not married), etc. However, a census development program includes limited data on migration because of the high cost of processing and publication of its effects.

In Kazakhstan, the population census was conducted in 1999 and 2009. Separate census was devoted to migration. However, it should be noted that census data in one country do not provide information on the number of migrants traveling outside the country during the intercensal period, as they are not considered the people of this country after the date when they leave. We can not know the true extent of arrivals using data from the Kazakh population census, as it is unknown how many people from those arriving to the country have left it during the same period – either to the place of former residence or to a third country. Also, census data do not provide information on the extent of short-term migration, including frontier migration.

One way to assess the migration according to the census data is to analyze the dynamics of the ethnic population. With regard to Russia and other former Soviet Union countries, this criterion can not be considered as reliable because these countries were the multi-ethnic ones for many centuries. However, the dynamics of individual nations can be used to indirectly assess the effects of migration in the period elapsed since the last census. The 2009 census data show that the decline of the Russian population and some other people in Kazakhstan could be achieved only through international migration, including unreported data of current statistics.

Current migration statistics of the population in general and migration in particular, is the main source of information about the changes in the number and individual characteristics of population in the intercensal period. Unlike the census, it allows to estimate the true number of migratory movements, as well as get timely information on changes in the migration situation in the country and its individual regions. The current migration statistics allow us to study the direction of migration flows, their structure. At the same time, the systematic record deals, as a rule, with migration for the purpose of permanent residence only. The temporary migration which is not associated with the change of place of residence is not taken into account.

The current migration statistics of long-term migrants are traditionally carried out by bodies of internal affairs, which carry out the registration of the population according to the place of residence. With the introduction of this system, the cases of change of residence for more than 1.5 months were subject to records. It does not take into account those who arrived or left for the
country house for a period of the summer season, vacation or treatment in resort areas, spa resorts, rest houses etc., for a study, on a business trip for a period of up to 1.5 months. The moves from one rural settlement to another rural settlement within the administrative district, or within the same settlement (except for the movements within the cities divided into districts) were not considered as the migratory movements. Therefore, frontier migration as a type of short-term migration can not be subject to the current migration statistics of the population.

As questionnaires are used as the primary instrument during the census, in the same way, the current migration statistics is not possible without the primary records. The current migration statistics were based on statistical record cards of arrivals and departures, specifically designed for statistical development in statistics authorities. Cards are filled in the time of registration (de-registration) of the population together with address forms of arrival and departure, which are used by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the targeted and reference works.

Cards are filled out directly in the passport offices for every person inbound and outbound for permanent residence who has reached the age of 16. They contain the following information about a migrant: name, country, nationality, place of arrival (or departure), the purpose of the visit, social category, education level, marital status, as well as information on all arriving family members (name, gender, date of birth, nationality) who came with him. Statistical cards are filled out for children less than 16 years of age, who arrived (or departed) independently (without parents or guardians).

The resulting data are summarized by regional offices of statistics, then a republican body of statistics – National Statistical Agency of Kazakhstan. Annual development of statistical data on migration is reflected in the newsletter “The results of migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan”, which was launched in 1991. Statistical data on migration in it are represented by regions: it shows nationality, sex and age composition of migrants, their educational level and profession. Details are given in migration exchanges with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS and Baltic States) and abroad. Thus, the newsletter “The results of migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan” is a major source of migration processes, as it contains detailed information.

Unlike the census, the current migration records allow to determine the extent of population movements, as well as timely get information on developments in the characterization of the migration situation in the whole country and in individual regions. Current migration statistics allow to study the direction of migration flows and the social composition of migrants. In this case, one of the weaknesses of the above sources is the lack of data on frontier migrations.

5.2 Departmental statistics. Reports of the border guards
**Departmental statistics** have a special place in the information structure. Departmental statistical observations are conducted in order to obtain in-depth information about specific categories of migrants. Usually it is organized and maintained by the structures interested in information. For example, obtaining in-depth information on repatriates in Kazakhstan was made possible after the formation of the Republic of Kazakhstan Agency for Migration and Demography in 1992. It organized a collection of statistical information on the number and socio-demographic characteristics of repatriates.

The Border Service of the National Security Committee is another departmental authority. The bodies of the Border Service maintain departmental statistical records of foreign nationals crossing the Republic of Kazakhstan border legally in specially organized border control points. The above information includes data on the country of origin, the nationality of persons crossing the border, forms of transportation they use, the purpose of the trip. The purpose of the trip is divided into: business trips, tourism, private trips, trips for the purpose of permanent residence, transit trips, and trips taken by staff members. However, these data are published and used within the department. It should be noted that the data do not show the number of persons crossing the border, because one person can take occasional trips a few times, but give information about the intensity of the short-term visits to individual countries. In addition, on the basis of these data, unwarranted conclusions are often made about the number of “illegal migrant” who are in the country.

While working on this research, we used records of the Border Service of National Security Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan in West Kazakhstan region. However, the statistics presented here are not complete, since there are no data in the context of ethnicity, age and sex structure of migrants, and it does not give a complete picture of migrants crossing the border.

### 5.3 Materials of sample survey

Sample surveys are another important source of information on migration. In situation when information is required for the purpose of situational analysis and forecasting of migration, that can not be obtained from the processing of census data and the current migration statistics, sample surveys are carried out. It can be said that the worse the statistical information base is the bigger is the role played by sociological methods of its preparation as a source of information. In some cases, surveys are the only source of information, for example, in the detection of migration sentiments of the population, motivations, factors and causes of territorial mobility of the different socio-demographic groups at the decision stage to move and during settling down in a new place of residence. Sample surveys, in contrast to census data and the current migration statistics, provide information not only about the actual migration, but also about the potential migration. However, both censuses and sample surveys are carried out rarely, and migration is a very dynamic process.
Therefore, the current migration statistics are often used to study migrations. In addition, the method of the expert survey is used in case the opinion of experts needed, who are knowledgeable about the processes of migration due to their employment status or occupation (employees of migration services, labor and employment agencies, passport offices and etc.), about the main trends and causes of migration and its possible consequences, ways of rationalization. Departmental statistical observations are conducted to obtain in-depth information about specific categories of migrants. A sample survey of the population has become the only source of information in the study of frontier migration.

Thus, statistical information on migration is based on data from a one-time survey and the current population statistics. Sample survey data (especially population census) can obtain information on the magnitude, direction, intensity, causes of migration, the descriptive characteristics of migrants. The current migration statistics make possible to obtain migration data at certain intervals. At the same time, census data and the current migration statistics often differ: firstly, because of incomplete coverage of the population (e.g., migration arrivals are traditionally registered in a better way than departures) and secondly, not all migrants are registered. The population statistics (census and the current population statistics) give an idea of an actual, accomplished migration, while survey data provide information on potential migration.

Thus, analysis of sources of information on migration has shown that with the increasing attention to the problem, complete and reliable statistics on frontier migration are still missing. Migration statistics still remain a weak link in studies of frontier migration not only in Kazakhstan, but also in the CIS countries as a whole, where similar studies were conducted. In almost all studies that examine frontier migration, the analysis of statistical information is often presented in combination with the data of sample surveys.

The above sources do not show the actual magnitude of migration, and even more so – the undocumented migration. The Kazakhstan’s system of collecting data on migration is in need of serious reform. For the time being, the existing systems of collecting data allow to analyze the frontier migration only approximately. It should be used very carefully, keeping in mind all the limitations that the analysis of data used is bound to.

In addition, the statistical system is expected to solve several problems related to migration. Firstly, it is necessary to deepen the knowledge of concepts and definitions, as a wide range of practitioners should be aware of the concept of migration. The development of terminology is another problem, since the terminology is very important for international migration. In addition, dialogue needed between developers and data users. Investments needed in data sources: more cooperation between statistical agencies and immigration authorities. It is necessary to analyze whether it is possible to change the situation in order to obtain better data; do not rely on administrative sources: investments should be directed to census and sample surveys.
Sample survey. The recording of data on the number of migrants crossing the Kazakhstan-Russia border is almost impossible, so is difficult to give absolute data on the number of migrants. Even the theoretical calculations contain a large percentage of errors, which makes all attempts to identify some general figures doomed to inaccuracy. This is due to the nature and variety of such migrations. For a specific analysis to identify the nature and characteristics of processes of this type we have carried out Sample survey to analyze frontier migration in the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands.
Chapter 6
Methodology and adopted approaches

The section of research methodology is one of the important parts of the dissertation, which helps us how the results of the study were achieved. Therefore, this chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the research methodology. The first part of this chapter describes the main approaches used in the study of frontier migration. The second part describes in detail the methods and tools of the study.

6.1 Adopted approaches

A set of basic principles of scientific methodology for the analysis of historical and demographic and migration processes developed in the studies of major domestic and foreign historians, demographers, limologists, geopolitics, geographers and sociologists served as theoretical and methodological base of the research.

The interdisciplinary nature of this study required the use of methods and approaches relating to the social sciences:

- **Interdisciplinary approach** implies the application of disciplinary variables, conceptual frameworks and perspectives for understanding and explaining some empirical phenomena. Internationalization is understood as a qualitative characteristic of knowledge, which means its wide application and universal significance, regardless of national and regional boundaries.

- **A historical approach** was used to study the historical background of the frontier migration formation and to study of formation of Kazakhstan-Russia border. The principles of historicism (the study of the historical background of frontier migration for an adequate assessment of contemporary migration processes), the principle of ethnic composition analysis, mental and cultural characteristics of the population, natural resources and economic specialization of the border area, are at the heart of the historical approach.

- **Economic-geographical approach** was used to study the extent and the administrative-territorial characteristics, landscape conditions, communications and resource potential, cross-border cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia.
Demographic approach was used to study an ethno-demographic and migration situation in frontier regions of Kazakhstan and Russia.

Sociological approach was used to study the migration behavior of the population in Kazakhstan-Russia frontier regions.

The concept of Border Studies is applied in the latest scientific research on the problems of borders. This term is largely equivalent to the notion “limology” – the science that deals with borders. Border Studies is the discipline that lies at the intersection of politics and geography. We can hardly speak about the existence of established theories within its framework, but rather it is a very general conceptual approaches or perspectives, through the prism of which frontier migration issues may be considered.

In evaluating these or other data the author is guided by the principles of historicism, scientism and objectivity. The principle of historicism requires the study of sociopolitical, ethno-demographic and migration processes in their historical context and specifics, in the combination of objective and subjective conditions. This principle helps to identify the logic of the studied problems in the research period, and have a comprehensive assessment of the changes occurred. The principles of scientific objectivity use only strictly valid and verified facts, together with the elimination of bias and subjectivity. The implementation of the principles outlined promotes rational conclusions and generalizations of the study made on the basis of the necessary source base.

Understanding of the principle of objectivity as a prerequisite for scientific work was observed by the author, starting from selection of sources and to the theoretical conclusions (conclusion) of the dissertation. In order to obtain an objective picture, the author relied not only on reliable static sources, the results of survey of the participants of frontier migration, etc. The holistic approach to those and other sources has allowed the author to provide an objective assessment of the processes in the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands, bearing in mind that her point of view has a right to exist only in compliance with the principles of scientific and objectivity.

The combination of analytical and historical approaches is used for a comprehensive scientific study of the history of the formation of boundaries, ethno-demographic and migration processes. It contributes to a comprehensive understanding of the processes, reveals the logic of the interaction of social and political spheres on the basis of a systemic view of the problem. In this case, there is an opportunity for more in-depth analysis of historical and ethno-demographic processes. In fact, this material in combination with methodological techniques provides opportunities to study ethno-demographic processes.

The proposed classification of scientific approaches in studying the problems of border territories and frontier migration leads to the conclusion: the border territories and frontier
migration are one of the few social phenomenon’s, which are the subject to the study by a number of sciences, and the analysis of which suggests the complexity of the study.

6.2 Used methods

Scientific and special methods were applied to implement the objectives and specific tasks of the dissertation research. These methods are a set of special methods for study the history of formation of Kazakhstan-Russia border and historical background of the frontier migration formation, ethno-demographic situation and the migration behavior of the population in frontier regions. Such methods as identification and ordering of material, compilation, analysis, synthesis, comparison, induction, deduction, systemic-structural analysis were used in the process of writing a dissertation, because they are in a dialectical unity, relationship and supplement each other. This eventually allowed the author to consider the topic from the standpoint of objectivity.

The following methods have been used in this dissertation:

- **Comparative analysis** is a description and explanation of the similarities and differences (mainly differences) conditions or the results of development of larger social units, usually regions, countries, societies and cultures. This term causes special difficulties because is difficult to imagine an analysis that would not be comparable in the social sciences. This method is used for studying the ethno-demographic situation, the characters, causes and extent of frontier migration on both sides of the border, in different settlement of the bordering regions.

- **Statistical analysis** – a method of statistical analysis used to identify the specific ethno-demographic situation and migration in various regional areas of the borderlands. In addition, we have used other methods and tools of investigation, details about them are in the following sections.

6.2.1 Sample survey specification

In order to study the problem of frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia, we conducted a survey called “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of the West Kazakhstan” in August, 2009. The purpose of the survey was to reveal characteristics, causes and directions of frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia, to analyze the degree of development and the impact of frontier migration on the formation of relationships between the neighboring states and the population of adjacent territories.

Sample survey was conducted on both sides of the border, using face-to face principle: in West Kazakhstan (Kazakhstan) and Orenburg regions (Russia). The choice of settlements was determined by the proximity to the border, as well as the location of border and customs posts near those places.
The research program includes surveys of residents in following settlements:

- Regional centers: Uralsk (Kazakhstan) and Orenburg (Russia)
- District centres: Aksai (Kazakhstan) and Sol-Iletsk (Russia)
- Settlements located close to the border: Chingirlau (Kazakhstan) and Linevka (Russia)

The sample size was determined to ensure obtaining a representative calculation of key indicators of frontier migration for the country as a whole and for urban and rural areas. The 1,200 people were interviewed during the survey conducted (including 600 residents of the border region of Kazakhstan and 600 residents of border region of Russia). Table 1 shows the distribution of the respondents surveyed in each settlement.

Out of these, 300 people (or 50% of respondents) were from the cities of Uralsk and Orenburg (region centers), 200 people (or 33% of respondents) – from the district centers Aksai and Iletsk and 100 people (17% of respondents) living in the villages Chingirlau and Linevka.

**Table 1 – Settlements, where a survey was conducted and number of respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlements</th>
<th>Kazakhstan</th>
<th>Russia</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name of settlements</td>
<td>Number of respondents</td>
<td>Name of settlements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region center</td>
<td>Uralsk</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Orenburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District centers</td>
<td>Aksai</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Sol-Iletsk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Chingirlau</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Linevka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009

The survey was conducted through a questionnaire, and questionnaires were filled out by the respondents. The questionnaire consisted of two parts, each of which covers important issues in accordance with the objectives of the study. The survey was conducted by place of residence on the itinerary. Sample representative by sex, age and nationality. Nationality, age-sex composition of respondents corresponds to the general population (entire assembly). For the general population (entire assembly) was taken population of polled the settlement. The people of frontier regions of Kazakhstan who had visited Russia and people of frontier regions of Russia who had visited Kazakhstan were surveyed.

Data processing is carried out by using professional statistical package SPSS.

**6.2.2 Generalized Linear Models**

Regression analysis is the research of ties regularity between the phenomena (processes) which depend on many, sometimes unknown, factors. The essence of the regression analysis comes to an
establishment of a regression equation, i.e. of a type of a curve between the random varieties (arguments x and function y), to a valuation of ties closeness between them, to an authenticity and adequacy of measurement results. The regression analysis is one of the methods of factors modeling of population migration. It obviously allows to check the hypothesis of migration dependence from factors, its determinants.

However in social sciences we often deal with categorical variables not metric ones. Therefore in such cases we need another statistical model, such as Generalized linear models. So we use Generalized linear models in the given work.

Generalized linear models refer to more difficult regression models. They are used in such cases when the diagnostics have shown a failure of simple regression models.

Generalized linear models is a generalization of linear regression model which allows us: to include the categorical predictor variables along with the continuous ones.

In the given work we pay more attention to the last case when the model includes the categorical predictor variables.

The purpose of the chapter is to analyze the influence of some independent variables $x_1, x_2, \ldots, x_n$ (age, sex, education, marital status, household income, nationality, citizenship, place of permanent residence and country of permanent residence) on the dependent variable $y$ (intensity of frontier migration) (See: Pic. 1).

*Pic. 1 – Variable $y$ depends on independent variables $x_1, x_2, and x_3$*

Analysis of the problem is done using Generalized linear models, implemented with the help of an application program package SPSS. For analysis was used the data of the sample survey.
Chapter 7
Kazakhstan-Russia borders: features and problems

This chapter is dedicated to defining the specifics of the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands, including resources, communication, ethno-demographic and other potential of the borderlands, the problems of cooperation, etc., that has a significant influence on the frequency and magnitude of frontier migrations.

7.1 Specificity of the Kazakhstan-Russia border

The border between Russia and Kazakhstan is a unique, unparalleled political and geographical phenomena of Eurasian and global scale. Regarding its length, it is the world's longest continuous land border\(^2\) that separates not only the largest courtiers in the post-Soviet space – Kazakhstan and Russia, but regions – Russia and Central Asia as well. The problems of border territory development, which comprises a large part of the potential of Kazakhstan, are crucial for the development of the country. The Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands stand out by most of the key characteristics out of all border zones. The densely populated territory on both sides of the border is an important characteristic of the Kazakhstan-Russia border. In fact, in many places, except for the western and eastern segments, the new border between Kazakhstan and Russia runs through the middle of the main settlement zone of the former Soviet Union (Mkrtchyan 2002: 52).

7.1.1 The extent and the administrative-territorial characteristics

\(^2\) Only the border between the U.S. and Canada is longer (8,891 km), but it includes 2,475 km of the Canadian border with Alaska.
Kazakhstan-Russia border consists of continuous land borders and maritime borders in the Caspian Sea. The length of the Kazakhstan-Russia border is more than 7 thousand km. It should be noted that data from a number of sources regarding an assessment of the extent of the Kazakh-Russian border, significantly differ among themselves by more than 1,000 km. According to the Federal Border Service of Russia, the length of this border is more than 7,598.6 km (Federal’naya pogranichnaya sluzhba 2003: 178). The Federal Service of Geodesy and Cartography has similar data, according to which the border length is 7,512.8 km, including: land border – 5,936.1 km, water border – 1,572.7 km (Expert 2001: 62). At the same time, according to the assessment of “The World Factbook”, the length of the border between Kazakhstan and Russia is 6,846 km (The World Factbook), and according to the date of Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan – 7,591 km (Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan). These data diverge significantly from the above figures. One of the reasons for this discrepancy, according to the researchers, can be the difference in the assessment of border length in the Caspian Sea.

Industrialized and densely populated regions, which play an important role in the economic and cultural development of both countries, are adjacent in regards to administrative-territorial aspect. On the Russian side 12 subjects of the Russian Federation are adjacent to the border. The Orenburg region has the greatest length of the border with Kazakhstan – 1,880 km, or 25.1% of the total length of Kazakhstan-Russia border, following Omskaya (1,020 km), Chelyabinskaya (869 km), the Altai Kray (844 km), Kurganskaya (574 km), Saratovskaya (552 km), Astrakhanskaya (518 km), the Altai Republic (517 km), Novosibirskaya (317 km), Volgogradskaya (240 km) and Tyumenskaya (168 km). The Samarskaya region also lies near the border – the length of border zone with Kazakhstan is 5 km and it is located at the junction of the Saratovskaya and Orenburgskaya regions. On the Russian side 70 administrative districts with more than 1,500 communities to over 3 million people are directly adjacent to the border (Vardomsky and Golunov 2002: 456).

These border regions of Russia, located on the perimeter of the Kazakhstan-Russia border, play a leading role in the development of socioeconomic relations between Kazakhstan and Russia. They are the zone of real cooperation for both countries. They form the five economic zones – Caspian, Lower Volga region, Southern Urals and Southern Siberia, which are strategically important for Russia. A total area of the border regions of Russia adjacent to Kazakhstan is about 20% of the entire Russian territory. It should be noted that these territories are economically and geopolitically, “glued together” with Kazakhstan, and have a permanent and natural influence of the neighboring state.

The current dotted nature of the border delimitation can be explained by these connections, as well as by a large extent of the border. The Kazakhstan-Russia border is more or less equipped only

3 The length of sea border — 85.8 км
in those regions of the Russian Federation where joint economic activities are carried out intensively.

**Fig. 1 – The length of the Russian Federation regions’ borders with Kazakhstan**

![Bar chart showing the length of borders between Kazakhstan and Russian regions.](image)

**Source: Novaya politica.**

These include, first of all, Astrakhan and Orenburg regions. In contrast, in the Volgograd region which has no strong economic ties with Kazakhstan, the border is not demarcated. And all this despite the fact that its Volgograd section stretches for 240 kilometers. The Kazakhs make up about 46% of the population in the Pallasovka border district of the Volgograd region, and the Russians are the minority here. Their proportion in the population of the district is only 23%.

The seven regions out of 14 from the Kazakhstan side are adjacent to the border: Atyrauskaya, West Kazakhstan region (with the regional center of Uralsk), Aktobinskaya, Kostanayskaya, North-Kazakhstan (with regional center of Petropavlovsk), Pavlodarskaya and East Kazakhstan regions (Ust-Kamenogorsk) (see Map 1, 2).

Here, the West Kazakhstan region has the most extensive and longest border with the Russian Federation regions – 1,532 km (see Fig. 2).
Map 1 – Location of border regions of Kazakhstan and Russian

Sources: A collection of world, country and city maps.
Map 2 – Location of Kazakhstan administrative regions

Note: Kazakhstan has 5 economical and 14 administrative regions. From a political point of view, Kazakhstan is divided into 14 regions (comparable with provinces in other countries). Each region is subdivided into districts (rayons). Some large cities like Astana and Almaty have a special political status. The 14 regions are grouped in five economical regions.

Sources: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan.
The border zone between Kazakhstan and Russia is a densely populated strip which includes the economically developed areas, with a strong industrial base, high level of urbanization, the branched structure of communications.

The most intense contact between the regions takes place in the western sector of the Kazakhstan-Russia border. The western section of the Kazakhstan-Russia border separates Volgogradskaya, Astrakhanskaya, Orenburgskaya, Samarskaya and Saratovskaya regions from the Russian side, and Atyrauskaya, Mangistaukskaya and West Kazakhstan region from the Kazakhstan side (see Map 1). They are the most intensively incorporated into the sphere of the Kazakhstan-Russia cooperation, both formal and informal. The rail and road transport corridor from Central Asia to Russia and further to the EU countries goes through them. This corridor is controlled by the Border and Customs Service of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation.

In order to evaluate the potential of cross-border cooperation it is necessary to take into account the presence of many factors, including resource base, interconnection and the opportunities in economic infrastructure, etc.

**7.1.2 Landscape conditions, communications and resource potential**

The frequency and magnitude of the movements of the population are affected by landscape conditions, communications and resource potential of the borderlands.

The main part of the Kazakhstan-Russia border is located in the steppe and a semi-desert area with few natural obstacles.
The border rivers, such as Kigach River (flows across Atyrau and Astrakhan regions), Maly Uzen River (West Kazakhstan and Saratov regions), the Ural and Ilek Rivers (Aktobe, West Kazakhstan and Orenburg regions) and Uf River (North Kazakhstan, Chelyabinsk and Kurgan regions) have a boundary function on the stretch of no more than 150 km. Only a small area between the East Kazakhstan region and the Altai Territory, the East Kazakhstan region and the Altai Republic is rough (barrier). Both sections are located in the mountainous terrain, which makes cross-border communication difficult.

The landscape conditions are generally favorable for such communication. They make the Kazakhstan-Russia border quite accessible in regard to possible transportation links. Currently, around 20 rail lines, 200 roads, 12 of which are motorways, cross the Kazakhstan-Russia border. In addition, 36 paved roads cross the border. All of them are two-way roads. However a huge number of local roads which are difficult to calculate, have a greater significance for cross-border contacts. The border services of both countries confirm the absence of accurate data on the availability of this type of roads on the maps of border regions.

The system of transportation links established during the Soviet period creates certain difficulties for migrants at the border movements. The transport infrastructure formed in the Soviet era was created as a single complex, and in some cases it was designed without taking into account the administrative borders between the Union republics. As a result, some roads and railways cross the state border twice on short sections returning then to the territory of their country (see Map 3).

This creates additional problems for the movements of the citizens of both countries. There are five such areas of the railway roads on the Kazakhstan-Russia border. Kazakhstan’s most important international communication routes to the West pass through Russia. Also, the sections of railway tracks connecting the various cities and regions of Kazakhstan pass through the Russian territory. Thus, communication between the regional center of West Kazakhstan region Uralsk and other parts of Kazakhstan goes through the territory of the Orenburg region of Russia. There is located the section that includes the Ilek station which belongs to the Kazakh railway company “Kazakhstan Temir Joly”. The status of the section connecting the cities of East Kazakhstan – Semipalatinsk and Ust-Kamenogorsk is the same.

In turn, communication paths that have high economic and strategic importance for Russia run through the territory of Kazakhstan. Thus, South-Ural Railway crosses the border of Kazakhstan nine times. The railway which passes through Volgograd and Astrakhan regions crosses the Kazakhstan border twice. This section, including its Kazakhstan’s segments of the railway, is subordinated section to the Russian Privolsky Railway.

Currently, both countries adopted a policy to reduce the dependence of internal transportation on the use of the adjacent territory. To this end, the Russian side has repeatedly put forward the proposal to hand over to Russia some border areas of Kazakhstan through which the railroad tracks pass (usually on the condition of the exchange).
Map 3 – The railways cross the state border of Kazakhstan and Russia.

Sources: Karty zheleznykh dorog Kazakhstana.
However, these areas are an important part of Kazakhstan's transport infrastructure providing communication between the border communities of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Therefore, such proposals, as well as the requests for changing the status of subordinate Kazakhstan railway stations on Russian territory have not been satisfied (Gorshenin and Kalinin, 1999: 39).

In order to reduce the dependence of its transport infrastructure on the adjacent side, Kazakhstan took a number of concrete steps in this direction. A section linking the Semipalatinsk with Pavlodar was commissioned into service in late 2000. This allowed to establish communication between two cities without use of the Altai Territory. There are plans of the Kazakhstan side to build a section, designed to connect directly Semipalatinsk with Ust-Kamenogorsk. In this case, the communication dependence of the North-East of Kazakhstan on Russia will be significantly reduced.

On the other hand, there is a trend and development of new cross-border transport routes to facilitate communication between the border territories of Russia and Kazakhstan. Large-scale projects are available, particularly in the Russian regions – Astrakhan and Volgograd regions striving to develop relations with the Atyrau region of Kazakhstan, which is the richest oil-bearing region of the country, and at the same time the territory through which the strategically important railway line passes, connecting the Southwest Russia with Central Asia.

Thus, there is a network of communication in the border regions of Kazakhstan and Russia which provides wide opportunities for movements of the people on both sides. The quality of roads and their proximity to settlements play an important role in shaping migration flows in the border areas. However, for such a long border as the border between Kazakhstan and Russia, the number of rail and road routes is clearly not enough.

The West Kazakhstan region borders five Russian regions, but it has only one rail and three road links. There are practically no equipped roads with the Volgograd and Astrakhan regions. Therefore, the border checkpoints were established only on these routes, which greatly complicate communication between the people in the border areas, since cross border registration is required under the visa-free regime. Insufficient development of transport infrastructure and the small number of checkpoints significantly restrict the contacts between the people in the border areas. Therefore, most border crossings are made in violation of existing border controls. More often illegal border crossings occur between settlements located close to each other on both sides of the border.

Infrastructural links between Russia and Kazakhstan are not limited to transportation and manufacturing industries. In particular, the relationship between objects of military infrastructure along the border has a definite significance. Some of these objects are of key importance in the context of military cooperation, which can be illustrated by the example of the test site Ashuluk located in the Astrakhan region, which regularly hosts joint CIS Air Defense exercise. In some cases, parts of the same object are located on the territories of both states, as it is the case,
particularly regarding the test site Kapustin Yar which has a track-measuring system of the State Test Flight Center and other facilities that go far deeper in the territory of Kazakhstan (2 million hectare territory of Atyrau and West Kazakhstan regions). It is used by the Russian side on a leasehold basis, in accordance with agreements signed in 1995 on the division of military equipment.

The resource potential of border territories has an important role in cross-border cooperation. This potential is quite significant in the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands. It includes such resources as oil ( Astrakhan, Orenburg, West Kazakhstan and Atyrau regions) and ore minerals (Orenburg, Chelyabinsk and East Kazakhstan regions), coal, timber, agricultural products (primarily grain), livestock (cattle) and farmland, etc. Even after the collapse of the Soviet Union and a partial break of the existing industrial relations, a close interdependence of the industrial complex of border territories of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation still remains. Such interdependence in itself speaks of a fairly high degree of compatibility of the productive potentials of border regions.

The border regions of Kazakhstan differ substantially in their natural resource, raw materials and communication potential. The main part of the potential of Kazakhstan is located in the western and northern regions bordering Russia. The richest deposits of oil and gas, coal, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, the majority of processing enterprises, as well as mechanical engineering, electric power and other industries are located exactly in these regions. 4 oil pipelines, 4 gas pipelines, and 11 electric power lines cross the Russian border (Vardomsky and Golunov, 2002).

Problems of development of border areas where much of the potential of Kazakhstan is concentrated are essential for the development of the country. The Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands stand out in regard to most of the key characteristics out of all the border zones.

7.1.3 Cross-border cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia

Cross-border cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia has a diverse character. We can distinguish the interaction of the border regions of Kazakhstan and Russia in security and regulatory regime of border crossing, production, trade, commercial, financial, transportation, humanitarian (social, educational, cultural), environmental and other fields. We will consider the situation in these fields in detail.

Cross-border cooperation in the manufacturing industry is largely determined by the need to develop infrastructural, technological and other potentials that were laid during the Soviet period. However, despite the challenges and new priorities for the post-Soviet period, the cooperation in this area still requires interaction to ensure product development process.

The extraction of mineral resources in Kazakhstan using the Russian equipment with the subsequent supply of raw materials to Russian enterprises, and in some cases, return the finished product (semi-finished product) to the territory of Kazakhstan is one of the priorities of this
cooperation. Thus, the development of rich oil fields of western Kazakhstan (Karachaganak, Tengiz and Kashagan Caspian shelf, etc.) is carried out using the Russian drilling equipment supplied from Astrakhan and Volgograd regions.

The bulk of Kazakhstan's mineral raw materials is processed at Russian facilities of border regions, in particular, Samara, Orenburg and Omsk regions. The development of relations between JSC “Orsknfteoergsintez” and the Kazakh company “Akto-bemunaigaz” annually supplying up to 2 million tons of oil to Russia plays a key role in cross-border cooperation of the Orenburg region, as well as Orenburg gas processing plant with suppliers of gas (up to 4.5 million cubic meters per year) from the Karachaganak field (Mirkitanov 1999: 13). It is indicative that, according to the results of 2009, the mineral fuels delivered to the enterprises of Orenburg region amounted to 95.6% of total imports of this product from Kazakhstan.

Other raw minerals are supplied for processing at the Russian enterprises of border regions. These are the deposits of non-ferrous metals (manganese, titanium, lead, chromium, zinc). The part of finished steel products are returned to Kazakhstan. A similar scheme operates in the supply of coal which used in Russia for the needs of not only heavy industry, but also for the energy industry, which enables counter delivery of electrical energy to Kazakhstan (as in the case of Novotroitsk GRES located in the Chelyabinsk region).

Despite the severe crisis in mechanic engineering, a refocusing of the Russian consumers on products manufactured in Russia and other countries, the examples of effective cooperation in this area continue to exist. Pavlodar tractor plant which supplies tractors to Russia, in turn, depends on supplies of Russian components. Another example of this kind of activity are Ural automobile plant (UralAZ) and Kostanay diesel plant (Vashanov 2000: 73). It is possible to give many other examples of the close interdependence of border regions.

For the majority of the border regions of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan is one of the priority partners in the sphere of trade and commerce, taking the first place in the foreign trade of 5 out of 11 border subjects of the Russian Federation. In turn, Chelyabinsk and Orenburg region firmly occupy the top two places as the Russian regional partners of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Vashanov 2001: 72).

In turn, Russia ranked first in the foreign trade of almost all the bordering regions of Kazakhstan. Its share in this case is from 36 to 80% (Vashanov 2001: 72). The Russian Federation has the smallest share (36%) of foreign trade of the most advanced in the industrial plan the East Kazakhstan region, including 61% of its imports, but only 16% of exports (Plotnikov 2000: 30).

The general pattern can be traced in the structure of foreign trade turnover of the border regions of the Russian Federation: the finished products of machinery and metal, metallurgy, petrochemical, light and food industries dominate in the export; minerals, chemicals and agriculture – in the import. Such a structure is generally preserved from the Soviet period, although in times of crisis of
industries producing finished products, the importance of raw materials in trade has increased significantly.

However, there are quite significant structural differences. In cases with 8 out of 11 border regions of the Russian Federation there a noticeable dominance of exports over imports, but the priority partners in foreign trade cooperation with the Republic of Kazakhstan – Chelyabinsk, Orenburg and Novosibirsk regions are characterized by the opposite pattern. Adjacent territories are much more important for these regions as suppliers of mineral raw materials, rather than sales market, as evidenced respectively by 6, 4 and 2 place of Kazakhstan in the structure of regional exports (Plotnikov 2000: 30).

In the border territories **humanitarian cooperation** takes place in such fields as ethno-confessional relations, national culture, science and education, media, medicine, physical education and sports, protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, social protection and employment. All these priorities are fixed in the Program of humanitarian cooperation of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2001– 2003, adopted February 15, 2001. In fact, the emphasis is on promoting of cultural events of the official or semi-official nature: celebrations of national cultures, festivals, exhibitions, exchange of theatres guest tours, sporting events, etc. There is support for dissemination of printed publications, organizing television broadcasting in adjacent territory, construction and restoration of objects of cultural values, cross-border contacts of national and cultural associations.

Information and education are key areas of humanitarian cross-border cooperation in the present circumstances. Interaction in these areas is most conducive to the preservation of Russian-speaking cultural area.

**In the field of information and cooperation**, we are talking mainly about the distribution of printed media (newspapers, magazines) and electronic media (television, radio, Internet) of Kazakhstan in the border regions of the Russian Federation, while the Russian media, even without the support from Kazakhstan maintain very strong position. With the assistance of regional administrations in Astrakhan, Orenburg and other regions, there are programs broadcast by media, newspapers are published in the Kazakh language (because these areas are the places of compact residence of the Kazakhs of the Russian Federation).

The mutual support of primary and secondary education in national languages, training of Kazakhstan specialists in higher and secondary specialized educational institutions of the neighboring Russian regions are the main areas of cooperation in **education**. There are Kazakh schools or classes with intensive study of the Kazakh language in many border regions of the Russian Federation. Most textbooks and manuals on this and other subjects come from Kazakhstan.

The poor material equipment of similar schools is a major problem. The decision is seen in the exchange between adjacent regions, books in Russian and Kazakh language, but this kind of interaction does not always receive sufficient support at the official level. Unfortunately, in the
humanitarian field, priority is often given to one-time events that can cause public interest, whereas the plans requiring persistent long-term efforts and financial expenses for their execution, in practice, sometimes prove to be only declarative.

A noticeable difference of professional educational potential of border regions of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan (caused by the migration of Russian-speaking specialists from Kazakhstan to Russia) explains the preferential orientation of appropriate cooperation to ensure the training of Kazakh specialists in Russian secondary and higher education institutions. A well-developed legal framework used in the framework of this cooperation (agreements, arrangements, developed in the framework of the International Association of Universities of Kazakhstan and Russia “KazRos”, association “The Open University of Western Siberia”, etc.), which recognized the opportunity to study in universities, postgraduate and doctorate education centers, joint research projects, conferences, exchange of staff and faculty members. This is a targeted training of Kazakh and Russian students in the universities of the adjacent country with issuance of mutually recognized diplomas to graduates, continuing education of students who started their studies in Kazakh universities in Russia, postgraduate education centers and internships of teachers of higher educational institutions of Kazakhstan in Russia, the participation of Russian experts in certification and accreditation of universities in the Republic of Kazakhstan and work of dissertation councils of the latter, dissertation defense by the Kazakh candidates in the Russian Federation (Vostrikov 2001: 134-139).

The opening of branches of universities of the neighboring Russian regions in Kazakhstan was another form of cooperation. Thus, education and college counseling center of the Customs College of the Orenburg State Agrarian University opened in Aktobe in the top liberal arts college and educational center “Dunie”, which trains more than 100 students. There was an agreement on cooperation concluded between the Orenburg State University and the Eurasian State University named after L. N. Gumilev (Astana). It became a tradition to hold Days of Kazakh culture, in which the public from the border regions of Kazakhstan participates. There are regularly maintained creative exchanges of art exhibitions, exchange of theatres guest tours. The idea was born and supported by the public to build a monument of Kazakhstan-Russia friendship in the Orenburg border region. The popularity of Russian education and some preferential terms of training granted to the students from CIS countries caused the need for opening the centers in the Russian territory preparing for admission to the universities in Russia. For example, preparatory courses for admission to the universities in Russian cities (Samara, Saratov, Orenburg, St. Petersburg, etc.) operate in the regional center of the West Kazakhstan region Uralsk in many urban public schools for high school Russian-speaking students.

By Decree of the President Republic of Kazakhstan, the executives of the Orenburg State Agrarian University: President N. I. Vostrikov, Rector S.A. Soloviev and Director of the Customs College at the University Yu. I. Korovin were granted the state awards of the Republic of Kazakhstan
for outstanding contribution to the development of friendly relations between the peoples of Kazakhstan and Russia.

However, there are still many unsolved problems in the framework of cooperation between the border territories.

Cooperation in health care is also evolving under the conditions of noticeable differences of potentials of the neighboring regions. If the largest near-border regional centers of the Russian Federation have the widest range of opportunities to provide public health care, the similar resources of Kazakh partners are generally much more modest. In addition, the Kazakhstan's health system ceased to be public since 1994, resulting in dramatically increased the number of the Republic of Kazakhstan citizens crossing the border to seek medical care. Thus, health facilities in nearby Russian cities of Orenburg, Samara and Saratov are the most visited by the residents of West Kazakhstan region.

The need to provide qualified medical services to the population of border territories of the Russian Federation led to the opening of branches of Russian centers in the corresponding regions. It is, in particular, the activities of Orenburg Branch of SI IRTC “Eye Microsurgery” which organized the joint department of operational diagnostics in the Aktobe region, and mobile structures that work in other neighboring regions of Kazakhstan. Orenburg doctors resorted to such original ways to create mobile medical vans as the use of an operating unit and a diagnostic bus, as well as the equipment of a car clinic.

In the framework of cross-border cooperation in the economic sphere, the emphasis is on restoring production and processing chains associated largely with the processing of raw materials from Kazakhstan in Russian enterprises existing in the Soviet period. It is those Russian regions that operate under this scheme (in the first place, Chelyabinsk and Orenburg regions) that have the highest trade turnover with the Republic of Kazakhstan and have achieved the greatest success in developing the legal framework of their cross-border cooperation. The progress in such important areas such as the establishment of mechanisms for mutual settlements, a well-established system of wholesale trade, the development of cross-border infrastructure and others is much more modest.

For the time being the main obstacles to improve effectiveness of cross-border cooperation is insufficient diversification of its trends, as well as economic difficulties, lack of funds to invest in large-scale projects, weakness of mechanisms for ongoing and operational cooperation, excessive centralization (especially in the case of Kazakhstan) that hampers local initiative, and number of other factors. This suggests that the specificity of cooperation in the area of Kazakhstan-Russia border in the foreseeable future casts doubt on the possibility of adoption of the European or American model for its development.

In the present circumstances, neither Kazakhstan nor Russia is able to resolve the most serious transboundary problem by one-sided effort. This creates the need for transboundary cooperation on
bilateral as well as on a multilateral basis, involving, where appropriate, relevant third countries and international organizations.

*Customs Union.* On July 1, 2011, all customs checkpoints on the Kazakhstan-Russia border were closed down. This is the most important step in forming the Common Economic Space between three states: Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. From now on, the control over the transportation of goods will be carried out only at the external borders of the Customs Union. The customs border between Russia and Belarus was removed in 2010. The advantages are obvious: the trade between the states has increased and accordingly more revenue was earned.

Removing barriers is particularly important for those who cross the border by car: so far people have had to wait in line for a few hours to go through customs checkpoints. Truckers complain that the process of passing formalities sometimes lasted more than one day. Now it is all in the past. However, the border guards remain at checkpoints: in particular cases, when timely information is received, they will inspect suspicious vehicles. i.e., all control procedures will be assigned to the border authorities in the absence of other control authorities at the border. They will implement customs, sanitary and phytosanitary control.

For the citizens of the Customs Union member states all restrictions on the movement and transportation of goods and cargo through the territory of Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus had been removed. There are no luggage weight restrictions for individuals crossing the border between these countries. The restrictions to carry the amount of money (currency) not exceeding three thousand dollars were also abolished (the sum over three thousand shall be subject to declaration). Goods carriers will be checked only at the external borders of the Customs Union. It is now sufficient to presents a document proving the origin of the goods at the internal boundaries. All these regulations come into force on July 1, 2011.

The main document of the Customs Union – Customs Code entered into force in 2010, but now experts notice an increase in commodity turnover in the Kazakhstan-Russia border. The Customs Union member states have a plan to create a single economic space on their territory. But in order to do so, it is necessary to unify customs duties on all product groups. According to experts, out of several thousands of positions in the Common Customs Tariff, less than 100 left to agree upon.

### 7.2 History of formation of the Kazakhstan-Russia border

The question of the borders of Kazakhstan is widely examined in the scientific community by specialists of various human sciences: political scientists, sociologists, jurists and historians. There are many mass media publications, not only in Kazakhstan and in Central Asian states, but also in Russia, China, etc. Such an interest is due not only to scientific reasons, but to the urgency of the
problem - determining the nature of the formation of territories and boundaries of modern states in the former Soviet space.

Kazakhstan is an independent and sovereign state since 1991. During this period the country has solved a series of strategic political and economic issues, which have provided modern economic growth, and the state has consolidated its leading position in Central Asia.

In regard to the foreign policy, Kazakhstan became a full member of the international community. Treaties were concluded with more than 100 countries, including all the major powers. The country is a member, or co-chairman in international organizations, pursuing an active policy to strengthen its position on the world stage. The nature and direction of Kazakhstan's foreign policy determine its geopolitical position. That's why one of the main goals was to achieve international recognition of the existing legal relations with neighboring states.

Of particular importance are the issues that define the geopolitical position of Kazakhstan. Historically, the country shares borders with countries such as Russia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and China. Relationships with them were formed during a long historical time, so many of today's problems have a long historical basis. With the strengthening of independent positions in the world community and formation of foreign policy, relations with neighboring states move into a new phase, are gaining in importance and urgency.

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The most important among them is a clear and legally formalized definition of the state borders. The total length of the Kazakhstan borders is more than 13,394 kilometers (Kazakhstan v 2009 godu. Statisticheskiy ezhegodnik Kazakhstana 2010: 9). The borders with neighboring states are as follows: the border with Turkmenistan has a length of 426 km, with Kyrgyzstan – 1,241 km, with China – 1,782 km, with Uzbekistan – 2,354 km, with the Russian Federation – 7,591 km (Kazakhstan v 2009 godu. Statisticheskiy ezhegodnik Kazakhstana 2010: 9). Kazakhstan ranks 9th in the world in terms of this aspect. Regarding is territory: Kazakhstan covers 68% of the total land area of the Central Asia countries. Therefore, Kazakhstan is the largest state in the region and has the longest border in the CIS, after the Russian Federation. For this reason, the border issues play a special role in foreign and domestic politics.
Fig. 3 – The length of Kazakhstan border with neighboring states

Sources: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan's position is clear in its foreign policy actions. It is aimed at a clear legal registration of the state borders by concluding international treaties. Delimitation and demarcation of Kazakhstan state borders are the necessary measures to strengthen national security and sovereignty. The general peace and stability in the region depend on how the issues of joint borders are solved together with neighbors.

At the present stage, such factors as the growing scarcity of water and land resources, the complex demographic situation and the deteriorating environmental situation have a significant impact on the nature of cross-border relations. The sporadic appearance gangs of terrorists and extremists in Central Asia countries cannot help but adversely affect the situation in the region. Criminalization of the border which due to the increasing flow of narcotics, dramatically worsens the situation.

The modern border between Kazakhstan and Russia is 7,591 km long, including water lines. Terrestrial section of the joint border is the longest land border in the world. It is 5,886 km long. The process of fixing the border acquired a modern character since the 19th century, as determined by the geographical coordinates registered in the appropriate maps.

The border lines were established in the middle of the 19th century, when the process of colonization of Kazakhstan by Russia was completed, and then it developed in Soviet times. The final contours of the boundaries were fixed during the twentieth century.

The origin of the modern border was associated with the processes of national-state demarcation, which took place in 20–30 years of the twentieth century. From the first steps of the process...
Soviet government to reform the administrative-territorial division of Kazakhstan and until the proclamation of the Kazakh SSR in 1936, the status of the territory around the perimeter of the Kazakhstan-Russia border had been the subject of disputes and claims from both Russian regions and the Russian-speaking Kazakh leaders. Well known such facts as the request of the Siberian authorities, petitions of heads of several northern regions of the Kazakh ASSR with a request to transfer the districts populated by the Russians and Cossacks to Russia. Disputed areas were located in the territory of modern East Kazakhstan, North Kazakhstan, Pavlodar, West Kazakhstan, Kokchetav, Kustanai, Akmola, Aktobe and Atyrau regions. In turn, the heads of young Kazakh Soviet autonomy took a firm position in the territorial issue, justifying their claims by referring to the history of Kazakh people and the history of colonial expansion in Kazakhstan by Russian tsarist government. In other words, the question of defining the territory and the designation of the borders became a sharp political issue. Under conditions of Single state, a hard line policy of the central government allowed to stop manifestations of chauvinism and local separatism.

The “Regulations on the Kirghiz (Kazakh) Revolutionary Committee (Kirrevkom)”, adopted on 10 July 1919, was the first document of the new government which laid the foundations of the administrative-territorial structure of Kazakhstan. The Kirrevkom’s decree established that its jurisdiction includes Ural, Turgay, Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions. The same document proclaimed a policy of the unification of Kazakh lands. Much of the Astrakhan province populated mainly by Kazakhs was passed under the authority of Kirrevkom. There was planned transfer of other areas, still remaining outside the boundaries of the Kazakh region, based on an agreement between the governments of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation, and the Republics neighboring Kazakhstan.

A decree was issued on August 26, 1920 on the formation of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. The Republic's territory was defined as follows: Semipalatinsk region with counties: Pavlodar, Semipalatinsk, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Zaysan and Karkaralinsk; Akmola region with counties: Atbasar, Akmola, Kokchetav, Petropavlovsk and part of Omsk county; Turgay region with counties: Aktobe, Irgiz and Turgay; Uralsk region with counties: Uralsk, Lbischensk, Temirsk and Guriev; Mangyshlak county, 4 and 5 Adaev districts of Krasnovodsk county of the Transcaspian region, and part of Astrakhan region.

The process of transfer of these lands to the Kazakh ASSR was implemented gradually. So, Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions fully joined the Kazakh ASSR only in April 1921. In autumn 1920, the city of Orenburg was transferred to the Kazakh ASSR, as well as the following districts of the Orenburg region: Krasnokholmsk, Ilets, Sharlyksk, Isaevsk, Orenburg-Pokrovsk and Petrovsk. Orenburg and Turgay provinces formed Orenburg-Turgay province by merging. It was composed of Turgay, Irgiz, Temirsk and Aktobe counties of Turgay province, the Orenburg Province districts mentioned above, as well as Adamovsk and Mozharovsk districts. On September 16, 1920, the
Kustanai county was transferred to the Kazakh ASSR by resolution of the executive committee of the Chelyabinsk and joined the Orenburg-Turgay province.

In 1920, Adaevsk county was also transferred and received the rights of province, as well as Bukey Horde which used to be part of Astrakhan province and changed its status to Bukey province.

So, this ended the first stage of the formation of the territory and borders of Kazakhstan as the Kazakh national Soviet state. The territory of the Kazakh ASSR was more than 2 million square kilometers. Its border neighbors to the West were Astrakhan, Samara and Tsaritsyn provinces, to the north – the Bashkir ASSR, Chelyabinsk, Tyumen and Omsk provinces, to the East – Tomsk and Altai provinces, and Mongolia, and to the south – Turkestan ASSR and the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic.

The process of defining the territory and borders took place in very difficult circumstances. Poor socioeconomic situation, unemployment, economic chaos and hunger, weakness of the new government organs and banditism determine the historical background of the time. Many decisions on the transfer of land were met with stiff resistance and rejection on the part of not only population, but also of some leaders. The secretary of Sibkraykom of Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Eiche opposed the transfer of the Siberian lands to Kazakhstan. The head of the party organization of the Ural Petrovskii repeatedly applied to Sovnarkom and Narkomnats with a request for surrender of Uralsk and adjacent lands to the Russian Federation. The main argument of their complaints was the point about the small size of the Kazakh population in these areas and the total absence of national cadres of communists in the local organizations of the party. They proceeded not from national, but political considerations, saying about a possible threat to the Soviet government from the bourgeois nationalists (Abdirov 2000: 130).

Subsequently, their view laid the basis for the positions of contemporary scholars who claimed that the transfer of certain lands was carried out in order to strengthen the Soviet government because of the weakness of its authorities in Kazakhstan and the small number of Communists – the Kazakhs.

This opinion, in our opinion, can not be accepted as reasonable. At that time, party organizations were few in number not only in Kazakhstan, but also in Russia itself, especially in the provinces. It was one of the most serious and major problems in the party, which can be confirmed by referring to the history of Siberia, Altai, the Volga Bolshevik organizations.

The ideological and political level of many communists accepted in the party during the civil war was inadequate. Also, the thesis of the arbitrariness of the Soviet government in defining boundaries cannot be fully accepted.

In the first half of the 20s, the process of clarifying the boundaries was going constantly. Narkomnats RSFSR analyzed many cases, and mutual claims on certain lands. In our view, the decisions made at that time on territorial issues were objective and historically grounded. They
relied not on the political “considerations”, but on historical traditions, taking into account the ethnic composition of the population. This applies particularly to the disputed land on the border with Russia. The Soviets could not have another approach. The proclamation of the equality of all nations and peoples and the right to self-determination meant a complete rejection of the old colonial policy of tsarist Russia, regarding all the controversy of matching the real actions to the declared statements.

The points of view of local communists were taken into consideration in determining the border. On many issues, the Kazakh Bolsheviks took quite firm position.

In the initial period, the problem was quite acute not just regarding the issue of borders and territories, but also the principles of the formation of the Kazakh Soviet autonomy. On October 9-10, 1920, there was a meeting of senior officials in Moscow to discuss the issue of territorial-administrative structure of the Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The propositions of A. Ermenkov about the establishment of autonomy and its inclusion in the the modern territories with assigning the city of Orenburg as a provisional capital, met the resistance of representatives of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee, Turkkomissija (VTsIK Commission on delimitation of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and the formation of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), Chelyabinsk, Omsk and other provincial executive committees. Firm position and reasoned point of view of the Kazakh side, supported by the statements of A. Ermenkov, A. Dzhangildin and A. Baitursynov, led to a decision to create the Kazakh autonomy similar to that of Turkestan, with the help of employees of the central authority and strengthening the position of local authorities.

Friction between the Kazakh and Russian communists emerged on specific areas and sections of the border. The request of Kirrevkom to VTsIK and CPC expressing strong protest against the impending transfer of the Kustanai county to the RSFSR is well known. Local authorities motivated its protest referring to ethnic composition of the county, which was mostly Kazakh, and to existing economic ties with Turgay region. Similar petitions were sent regarding the Akmola region, when the fate of Petropavlovsk, Omsk, Kokchetav, Akmola and Atbasar counties was decided (Zubkova and Konstantinov 1991: 16-29).

The territories with a predominantly Kazakh population were included in the Kazakh ASSR, which corrected the mistake of pre-revolutionary division.

In 1921, 19 districts and the entire Bukhtarminsk county, as populated predominantly by Kazakh population and having stronger economic ties, were handed over to Kazakhstan. They became part of the Semipalatinsk province. In particular, the districts: Chistopolsk, Bobrovsk, Vladimirsk, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Glubokoe, Predgornensk, Bolsherechensk, Cheremshansk and Bystruhinsk were transferred to Ust-Kamenogorsk county from Zmeinogorsk county of Altai province. Vozdvizhensk, Novo-Pokrovsk Kaindinsk, Vydirhinsk, Aleksandrovsk, Koasnyorsk, Kovosh – Ulba, Chernovsk, Borodulikhin and Bogoslovsk counties were transferred to Semipalatinsk county of the same province.
Five districts of Ishim county of Tyumen province were transferred to Akmola province by decree of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, dated September 8, 1921. In 1922, the border with Bashkortostan was clarified twice. It was related to the fact those two new independent provinces in the Kazakh: Kostanay and Aktobe were separated from the Orenburg-Turgay province. Thus, the clarification of the Kazakh-Russian border area was generally completed in the early 20s. In subsequent years, no significant changes were made. In 1925, the CEC adopted a decision on separating the Orenburg province from the Kazakh ASSR and the establishment of new borders between Russia and Kazakhstan.

The next stage of the revision of the border between Kazakhstan and Russia began in the 50s. On April 20, 1956, the southern district Dzhanybek district of West Kazakhstan region was transferred to the Vladimirsk district of Astrakhan region, under decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR “On partial amendment of the boundary between the Kazakh SSR and the RSFSR” and the relevant decrees of the Supreme Soviets of the two republics. At the same time, lands in the upper part of Katun which were used by maral farms of Kazakhstan were transferred to the East Kazakhstan region from Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region. The exchange of territories between Kustanai region and the Chelyabinsk region was legislated in 1962. The farmland area of 381 hectares was transferred to Karabalyk district, and some part of this district was transferred to Vernensk district of RSFSR. In 1965, the land of 1,833 hectares was transferred to Troisk district of the Chelyabinsk region from Komsomolsk district of Kustanai region, under another decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Once again, changes were made regarding the border between Kazakhstan and Russia. These changes of administrative-territorial borders of the republics were mainly associated with the economic specialization of border regions and districts. In such a state, administrative-territorial boundaries became the state border between Kazakhstan and Russia in the 90s.

Since the collapse of the USSR, Kazakhstan and Russia officially take the position of preserving the existing borders, which is fixed in the Declaration on the inviolability of borders, signed in August 1993 by Kazakhstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. The document contained the following provision stating that the parties assume collective responsibility for the inviolability of the borders with third countries, and consider the provision of the inviolability of the state borders as a sphere of common vital interests.

The most important problems were the implementation of the border delimitation and demarcation. Delimitation is the first and crucial stage, whose main objective is to clarify the entire common border providing its detailed description, followed by ratification of both sides. For both sides it was a very difficult task, since the land border between Kazakhstan and Russia passes through the Volga steppe, southern Urals and southern Siberia, and is the longest in the world – about 6,000 kilometers (Granitsy Rossii 2002: 122).
The commissions were established to carry out all work by the governments of both countries. On July 13, 1999, the Russian government signed a decree №1803 "On formation the delegation on delimitation of state borders between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan." It stipulated the rights and powers of the head and members of the delegation representing all the interested organizations and government agencies.

In December 1999, the regular meeting of the governmental delegations of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation on the delimitation of the border took place in Astana. Following the results of the meeting, the documents were adopted, based on mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. The procedure and implementation of the delimitation were determined. The parties agreed that the next meeting would be held in the first quarter of 2000.

In December 2000, the first tangible results of the delimitation were achieved in Astana. It was then agreed upon the border between West Kazakhstan region of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Orenburg region of the Russian Federation (Kalinin and Boltenkova 2000: 76). In practice this meant that the fourth part of the joint border has been agreed upon by the parties. It is 1876 miles long. The Kazakh and Russian border guards began to perform service at the border since 2000. On the Russian side, it initially started in four districts of Saratov region, when not more than 550 km of the border was brought under control border. Here were 6 border checkpoints and 2 border commandant's offices.

Specific areas of the border were discussed at meetings of the joint commission. On 19–23 March 2002, in Petropavlovsk, the regular inter-governmental meeting on the delimitation of the Kazakhstan-Russia border took place, and on March 24, the meeting continued in Omsk. During negotiations, it was agreed upon and fixed 310 km of the border of North-Kazakhstan region of Kazakhstan with the Kurgan, Tyumen and Omsk regions of the Russian Federation. It established 20 checkpoints and 3 commandant's offices. Among them, 8 checkpoints were already established in 2001. The work of government commissions and delegations of both sides continues.

Delimitation process is nearing completion. This is an event of enormous historical importance, as Kazakhstan and Russia establish an agreed joint state border for the first time in their history. But there are some controversial issues remain. Among them are the area of 23 hectares, where located the railway crossing Kommunisticheskii in the Pallasovka district of the Volgograd region.

The border line divides this crossing in half, creating difficulties with border and customs services. Now, the work to find a solution to this issue is almost completed. In exchange for the transfer of the railway crossing, an equal area of territory in the same area will be transferred to Kazakhstan, and the section of the state border will be moved into the Russian territory.

On November 13, 2002, a meeting of representatives of Kazakhstan and Russia on delimitation of the border between the Kostanai region of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Chelyabinsk region of the Russian Federation took place in Magnitogorsk. The main topic was to discuss the problems of the village Ogneuporny, whose solution shows the complexity of the nature of the border issues.
The overwhelming majority of village residents are the citizens of Russia, but the village itself is located in the territory of Kazakhstan. The fact that its economic role in the budget for the entire region is very high plays a significant role in determining the status of the settlement. Buskulskoe Mining Group OAO “Magnitogorsk metallurgical complex” is in charge of the village. It provides a valuable raw material to the plant – refractory clay. However, due to the fact that the settlement is located on the territory of Kazakhstan, does not allow people, in fact the workers of the Magnitogorsk metallurgical complex, take advantage of social benefits provided by the plant. Magnitogorsk metallurgical complex has links with Sokolov-Sarbaisky mining complex and JSC Ispat-Karmet in Karaganda, which supplies coking coal to MMC. On the other hand, many issues concerning the daily life of the villagers are handled by Kazakh authorities who can require the compliance with their rulings. This situation confirms that new approaches and innovative solutions are required to solve border problems.

The negotiations on mutual issues continue. In December 2003, a regular meeting of the heads of delegations of Russia and Kazakhstan on delimitation of the state border took place Moscow. It was attended by deputy governors and governors of some border areas between the two countries. At the same time, the group of delegations continued checking descriptions of the border line and preparation of the necessary documentation to the draft agreement on state border (Kazakhstanskaya pravda 2003: 2).

As we see, there were no fundamental differences in approaches for solving the border issue and determining the border between Kazakhstan and Russia. All existing disputes were resolved in the framework of signed agreements through diplomatic means. The meetings of the regional leaders of Kazakhstan regions and Russia provinces around the perimeter of the border have become an important factor in a constructive solution of border problems. Such an approach is crucial to control and regulate migration flows of population of the two states, in particular frontier migrations.

For the time being, Kazakhstan has mainly solved territorial and border issues. The most difficult task was to determine the border relations in the framework of the former Soviet Union. In this case, legally registered administrative-territorial boundaries of the Kazakh SSR with Soviet republics existed since the Soviet Union, became the legal basis for the establishment of the state border. Kazakhstan has the longest border with the Russian Federation, which in Soviet times has not been thoroughly and completely topographically fixed. The great length and scope of work demanded more time, so the delimitation of Kazakhstan-Russia border is not yet fully complete, but close to completion.
7.3 Formation and evolution of a border policy between Kazakhstan and Russia

The growing importance of migration between the inhabitants of border regions has an important impact on the acceleration of the process of finding solutions to the border issues. With the overall reduction of migratory exchange between the populations of new states, movements in the border zone are becoming more and more the main type of intercommunication between people. This in turn requires the solution of many legal issues that arise when crossing the state border. This requires a clear definition of the border line itself, border management and clarification of its status, the introduction of border controls, etc.

In this case, the life activities of the population of border areas have shown that this area has important differences and distinct character. Therefore, determining the status of relations between the border regions of neighboring states in each case should be done in a special way. For example, Kazakhstan and Russia, having declared the desire to create a single economic space, thereby defined a soft border regime in the border strip. This is supported by many treaties and agreements between the Russian Federation's subjects and regions of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Article 10 of the Treaty of “friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation” dated May 25, 1992, states that “the parties recognize and respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of existing borders” between the states (Kazakhstansko-rossiiskie otnosheniya 2001: 109).

The need for a legal settlement of border issues was repeatedly considered at meetings at various levels between the leadership of both countries, and it is reflected in a number of agreements and regulations. In this case, both countries underlined the special nature of cross-border cooperation. The first document that sets standards of relations directly in the border zone, was an agreement “On the principles of economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between adjoining regions of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation”, signed January 9, 1993 by the heads of all the border states. Inter-regional commissions to resolve all issues, including implementation of agreed measures to regulate migration policy were created on the basis of this document. The agreement between the Ministries of Internal Affairs of Kazakhstan and Russia allowed the internal affairs authorities in border areas to establish direct contacts and sign cooperation protocols. At a meeting of heads of governments of Kazakhstan and Russia on March 28, 1994, an agreement was signed “on further deepening of integration, ensuring “a visa-free movement of its citizens with respect for the right to live freely and carry out economic activities not prohibited by law in the territory of either party”.

Direct cross-border contacts were directly regulated later on in a number of other documents, which greatly added to and expanded the possibilities of cross-border cooperation. In the Agreements “on cooperation of border regions of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian
Federation” dated January 26, 1995, and “on the cross-border cooperation of regions of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation” dated September 24, 1999, the principles of mutual relations between border regions were defined. The cross-border cooperation program was approved in 1999-2007, and a special subcommittee of the Intergovernmental commission on cooperation between Russia and Kazakhstan was created with the participation of representatives of border regions (Kazakhstansko-rossiiskie otnosheniya 2001: 406-409).

These documents declare economic self-reliance of the border areas regarding the conclusion of joint agreements between their administrations and business entities. It was allowed to conduct business activities of joint ventures, private entrepreneurs and other producers of goods and services. It provides for the simplification of border and customs procedures for citizens of Kazakhstan and Russia. In addition, it was agreed among states to provide mutual support to compatriots living in border areas, preserving and expanding humanitarian ties, including education, culture, science, health, social protection.

In a series of subsequent documents, in the joint statements of Heads of States, the development of cross-border cooperation has been declared a priority. In order to create favorable conditions for the development of communication between Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation, the agreement between both countries signed on December 23, 1998, established the multilateral and bilateral checkpoints across the state border. This document states that border crossing can take place both on foot and in vehicles. The border crossing procedure was established by guidelines and regulations of the relevant authorities of both countries.

Migration issues are most fully reflected in the Law “On Migration” of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Since 1999, work began on the delimitation of the border between Kazakhstan and Russia, and special delegations were formed to clarify the full range of emerging issues. Delimitation process has revealed many problems. Among them, the lack of clearly defined boundaries, the presence of the zones and facilities under the jurisdiction of a neighboring state in the adjacent territories (so-called disputed territories), etc. Consequently, the nature of the border regime, and hence the extent of frontier migrations depends on how the issue of establishing clear boundary lines will be resolved.

New historical conditions brought forth a number of problems in cross-border contacts, including the necessity of establishing border controls and cross-border registration of citizens of both states. Currently, simplified visa-free cross-border travel remains unchanged, permitting crossing the border upon presentation of a valid identity document (internal passport). In 2001, a foreign passport became such a document. Thus, the border crossing issues for the population of border regions were repeatedly discussed at various levels and have been largely resolved (see Appendix 1). Finally, this issue was resolved in early 2005 by signing of the Treaty on the Kazakhstan-Russia State Border by Presidents Nursultan Nazarbayev and Vladimir Putin.
Chapter 8

An ethnic-demographic situation in frontier regions

In this chapter, on the basis of statistical data will be considered the population and the dynamics of the population on both sides of the border, as well as analyze the level of migration from Kazakhstan to Russia in order to characterize the prevailing general demographic background of the borderlands, which undoubtedly has an impact on frontier migration.

8.1 Demographic situation in frontier regions

The existing common ethno-demographic background of border territories will undoubtedly influence the extent and nature of frontier migrations. We will analyze the ethno-demographic situation in border territories of Kazakhstan and Russia.

A densely populated region on both sides of the border is an important feature of the Kazakhstan-Russia border area. According to estimates for 2009, there are more than 26,680 thousand people live in the Russian regions adjacent to Kazakhstan or 18.8% of the population of Russia (see Tab.3). Out of these, 3 million live in the districts directly adjacent to the border.

The population of the Kazakhstan regions adjacent to Russia is 5,511 thousand people or 34.4% of the population of Kazakhstan (see Tab.3). As it can be seen, the demographic potential of border regions of Russia is in nearly 5 times higher than in the border regions of Kazakhstan.

The demographic potential of some northern and eastern regions, for example, the zone between the Altai Territory (with a population of 2,664 thousand) and the West Kazakhstan region (1,397 thousand people.) is the most comparable in this respect. On the contrary, the western part of the Kazakhstan-Russia border has the greatest contrast, where the sparsely populated West Kazakhstan region (with a population of 599 thousand) borders with Volgograd, Saratov and Orenburg regions of Russia with a total population of 10,455 thousand.

Here the preponderance of population is 17 times in favor of the Russian regions. Another North West region of Kazakhstan – Aktobe region (683 thousand) is three times less than the only
contiguous region of Russia – Orenburg region (2,112 million). Thus, the demographic proportions can be considered comparable in the zone directly adjacent to the border, although the corresponding potential of border regions differs in favor of Russia.

As for the level of urbanization, the majority of Russian regions greatly exceed their Kazakh neighbors. Moreover, the number of people living in rural areas in some cases is comparable (especially in the borderlands, given that, from the Kazakh side the proportion of the rural population living there in the whole population of the region is generally higher than from the Russian side).

This proportion reflects not only differences in the economic structure of adjacent regions (the agriculture share is much higher from the Kazakh side), but the social importance of border areas which is objectively not the same for them. On the Russian side, these areas which are, in the vast majority of cases, the peripheral areas, clearly play a secondary role in the social life of the corresponding regions, whereas the population of the Kazakhstan's border areas is quite an important social factor.

Demographic problems of the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands are closely intertwined with ethnic problems. In this case, the proportion between the titular ethnic groups of the neighboring countries – the Kazakhs and Russians is the most important indicator. The proportion of the Kazakhs and Russians in the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands is reflected in the tables below (see Tab.4, 5).

Very high levels of urbanization of Russian border regions make the prevalence of the Russian population overwhelming. Even in the Astrakhan region, where the Kazakhs make up the largest part of the population in the entire Russian borderlands, the number of Kazakhs in the regional center, according to the census data, did not exceed 3% in 1989. However, in the western part of the Kazakhstan-Russia border area the proportion of the Kazakhs and the Russians is similar. This is because the majority of Kazakhs in this region lives in rural areas and tends to gravitate to areas of compact settlement.

In many ways, a different situation is observed in the Kazakhstan part of the borderlands. There is striking difference between the “Kazakh” west and north-west and the “Russian” north and northeast. Despite the fact that the Kazakhs make up on average much more significant percentage of the population in rural areas than in urban areas, the size of Russian population in the surrounding border area, as a whole, is much higher than in rural areas.

The ethnic picture in the western section is not typical as compared with the northern and eastern sections of the Kazakhstan-Russia border. Here, on both sides of border the Kazakhs dominate in the area closer to the border.
Tab. 2 – Level of urbanization of Kazakhstan-Russia borderland, 2009 (in thou., %)

Map 4 – Population settlement of Kazakhstan (Number of people per sq. km)

Sources: Central and Eastern Europe, Caucasus, and Central Asia. Information programme.
Karzhaubayeva Ainur: Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of the West Kazakhstan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Urban population, in %</th>
<th>Rural population, in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Kazakhstan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atyrauskaya</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>53.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>West-Kazakhstan</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aktobinskaya</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kostanaiskaya</td>
<td>1,224</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Kazakhstan</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavlodarskaya</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Kazakhstan</td>
<td>1,767</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>15,778</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Federation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrakhanskaya</td>
<td>1,005</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volgogradskaya</td>
<td>2,599</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samarskaya</td>
<td>3,171</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Saratovskaya</td>
<td>2,573</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>25.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kurganskaya</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>43.1</td>
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<td>Orenburgskaya</td>
<td>2,112</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>42.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chelyabinskaya</td>
<td>3,509</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td>18.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Altai Kray</td>
<td>2,630</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omskaya</td>
<td>2,140</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyumenskaya</td>
<td>3,081</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novosibirskaya</td>
<td>2,782</td>
<td>75.7</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altai Republic</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>73.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>147,401</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Thus, the Kazakhs make up a significant majority in all the border areas of the Astrakhan region and in areas adjacent to the border of the Volgograd region. The Kazakhs clearly outnumber all other ethnic groups in the border areas of West Kazakhstan. According to data on 01.01.2009, the number of Kazakhs in Zhanibek district of West Kazakhstan region was 18,311 people, of whom 96.5% were Kazakhs, 2.6% – Russians. Data on Bokey Orda district are even more revealing. Here 17,949 people live, 99.9% out of them are the Kazakhs, and the Russian population is absent (West Kazakhstan in 2008-2010: 30).

In general, the ratio of the Kazakh and Russian population in the border regions of Kazakhstan and Russia is as follows. Three out of the seven regions of the Kazakhstan borderlands – Atyrau,
West Kazakhstan and Aktobe are dominated by the Kazakhs, three regions – Kostanai, North Kazakhstan and Pavlodar – the Russians.

Only the East Kazakhstan region has roughly the same ratio. Thus, the proportion of Kazakhs on both sides of the border is high in the north and west, and the Russians – in the central and eastern parts of the borderlands.

The social situation in the Kazakhstan-Russia border area is largely determined by such quality and demographic characteristics as age and sex structure of population, as well as its employment structure.

Unfortunately, comprehensive studies have not yet taken place that would allow to give a representative picture of these parameters and assess their significance within the whole border area, although there is a definite need for such studies.

Aging of population permanently living in the border areas should be noted among the post-Soviet tendencies. This is connected with a high percentage of older people among the Slavic population in the borderlands of the Kazakhstan side. This, in turn, is the result of the outflow of more mobile younger people to the border regions of Russia and the low rate of natural increase among the Slavic population of Kazakhstan, especially in northern regions.

In the early 1990s, under severe social and economic crisis conditions and political disintegration of the former Soviet Union, migration outflow from Kazakhstan has sharply increased. Migration processes had pronounced ethnic character. Slavic people moved largely in the neighboring Russian regions. As a result, ethno-demographic balance has changed in favor of Kazakhs in almost all regions of the Kazakhstan part of the Kazakhstan-Russia border areas (especially in the western zone).

We will consider the dynamics of the population development of border regions of Kazakhstan and Russia in the years 1989–2009 in detail, taking an example of changing of only one indicator of the total population. The data presented in the tables show that in 1989–1999 there was an increase in population in the border regions of Russia. The total population growth in the Russian regions adjacent to Kazakhstan was 474 thousand people, while the population increased overall by 138 thousand (see Tab.3 and Fig. 4a,b). During this period there was an overall decrease of natural population growth in Russia. The migration inflow mainly from Kazakhstan has played an important role in the growth of population. Thus, according to the researcher Mkrtchyan N.V, in 1997–2000, 498 thousand people moved to the Russian regions bordering Kazakhstan. 81.5% out of them were from Kazakhstan and Central Asia. In this case, as he notes, 46% of those who arrived from Kazakhstan settled in the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands (Mkrtchyan, 2002: 53). Thus, the migration flow from Kazakhstan has helped to stabilize the demographic situation in the Russian border regions, and compensate for a natural decline in population.

The situation in the Kazakhstan side of the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands is as follows. The data presented in the table show a drastic change in ethno-demographic situation in the border
regions of Kazakhstan. The population of border regions of Kazakhstan suffered heavy losses in the 1990s. During the period of 1989–1999, their population decreased by 815 thousand people, representing 65.5% of total population decline in Kazakhstan (see Tab.3 and Fig.4c,d).

At the same time, the greatest population decline occurred in areas closer to Russia, and it is connected to the outflow of the Slavic population in the neighboring Russian regions. Over the years 1989–2009, the size of Russian population of Kazakhstan was reduced to 2,268 thousand. About 997 thousand people out of them or 44% were the Russian population of border regions of Kazakhstan, adjacent to the Russian Federation (see Tab. 4, Map 3 and Fig.5b, 6b.).

The outflow of the Slavic population from the border regions of Kazakhstan that still have high proportion of the Russians continues in intensive form, although outflow of the Russian population tend to decrease in comparison with the previous period. The greatest loss was suffered by the East Kazakhstan region (here the Russian population decreased by 353 thousand in 1989–2009, or by 38.6%), North Kazakhstan (169 thousand, or 36%), Kostanai (154 thousand, or 29%), Pavlodar (141 thousand, or 33%), West Kazakhstan (81 thousand, or 37.3%), Aktobe (70 thousand, or 40.5%). The proportion of Russian population has fallen: in East Kazakhstan region from 59.7% to 40.2%, North Kazakhstan region from 64.7% to 50.43%, Kostanai from 52.6 % to 43%, Pavlodar from 53% to 38.8%. In Aktobe and Atyrau regions the number of Russians has declined nearly twice. (see Tab.4).

Over the previous 10 years (1989–1999), the Russian population in the border regions of Kazakhstan decreased by 649 thousand people. If in 1989, the percentage of the Russian population of the Kazakhstan's border regions was 48.10%, then over 20 years this figure has fallen to 32.85% (see Tab.4). However, 1,803 thousand Russian people live in seven regions of Kazakhstan bordering Russia, or almost 48% of Kazakhstan's Russian population, which exceeds the figure in 1989 – 46.2% (see Tab. 4). Consequently, the border regions of Kazakhstan are still the regions where the Russian population is concentrated (see Map.4, Tab.4 and Fig.5, 6).

The Kazakh population in border areas has increased slightly: in years 1989–1999 – by 317 thousand people, in 1999–2009 – by 306 thousand people. Over these 20 years, the increase amounted to 623 thousand people, or 31 thousand a year on average, which indicates that there is a serious crisis in its natural development (see Tab. 5). The number of Kazakhstan’s population has increased in all regions, except for the North Kazakhstan region where the number of Kazakhs tend to decline: in years 1989-1999 there was a drop of 16 thousand people, in 1999–2009 – 7 thousand. Low compared with other regions of Kazakhstan the natural increase of the Kazakhs is the main reason for decline in the number of Kazakhs.

Tab. 3 – Population development of the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia and of the border regions of Russia adjacent to Kazakhstan, 1989, 1999, 2009, (in thou.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Population change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thousand</td>
<td>Thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrakhanskaya</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>1,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volgogradska</td>
<td>2,694</td>
<td>2,750</td>
</tr>
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<td>Samarskaya</td>
<td>3,266</td>
<td>3,308</td>
</tr>
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<td>Saratovskaya</td>
<td>2,686</td>
<td>2,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurganskaya</td>
<td>1,105</td>
<td>1,103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orenburgskaya</td>
<td>2,174</td>
<td>2,230</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chelyabinskaya</td>
<td>3,624</td>
<td>3,684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altai Kray</td>
<td>2,630</td>
<td>2,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omskaya</td>
<td>2,140</td>
<td>2,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyumenskaya</td>
<td>3,081</td>
<td>3,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novosibirskaya</td>
<td>2,782</td>
<td>2,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altai Republic</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
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<td>27,846</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russian Federation</td>
<td>147,401</td>
<td>147,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of frontier regions, %</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Population change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thousand</td>
<td>Thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aktobinskaya</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atyrauskaya</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kostanaiiskaya</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavlodarskaya</td>
<td>1,224</td>
<td>1,017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Kazakhstan</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Kazakhstan</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
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<td>5,821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>16,199</td>
<td>14,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of frontier regions, %</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4a, b, c, d – Population change of the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia and of the border regions of Russia adjacent to Kazakhstan, 1989–2009, (in thou.)
Thus, these data indicate that the population of border regions in the 1990s entered a period of downward demographic development. Sharp drop in population growth is a characteristic feature for the two countries – Russia and Kazakhstan in general. In Kazakhstan, the situation has changed due to mass migration of the Slavic population from the country, whereas, in the border areas of Russia, it was an influx of population from neighboring regions of Kazakhstan that has helped to straighten out the demographic situation, while maintaining and even increasing the total population.

As a result, the ratio of population in the Russian and Kazakhstan borderlands has changed. The imbalance has increased in favor of Russia: in 1989, 4.12 times more people lived in the above-mentioned areas of Russia than in the border regions of Kazakhstan, in 1999 – already 4.78 times more, and in 2009 – 4.84 times more.

Thus, the demographic potential in the border regions of Russia is nearly 5 times higher than in the border regions of Kazakhstan, and it has a tendency to increase in favor of the Russian border regions, whereas an imbalance between the population of Russia and Kazakhstan has a tendency to decrease because of total population decline in the Russian Federation and the increase of population in the Republic of Kazakhstan over the last ten years.
Map 5 – Percentage of Slavic population in Kazakhstan regions, 2010 (in %)

Sources: Author’s calculations based on data of Statistics Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan.
Tab. 4 – Dynamics of Russian population in the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia, 1989, 1999 and 2009 (in thou., %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>Thousand</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Population change</th>
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</thead>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1999-</td>
<td>2009-</td>
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<table>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West-Kazakhstan</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aktobinskaya</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atyrauskaya</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kostanaiskaya</td>
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<td>430</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>-105</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pavlodarskaya</td>
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<td>287</td>
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<td>-89</td>
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<td>362</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>-108</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Kazakhstan</td>
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<td>695</td>
<td>561</td>
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<td>49.1</td>
<td>-219</td>
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<td>Total:</td>
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<td>38.9</td>
<td>-649</td>
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<td>3,794</td>
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<td>Percentage of frontier regions, %</td>
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<td>48.0</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Sources: Author’s calculations based on data of Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan
Tab. 5 – Dynamics of Kazakh population in the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia, 1989, 1999 and 2009 (in thou., %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thousand</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>399</td>
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<td>64.7</td>
<td>72.2</td>
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<td>+34</td>
<td>+82</td>
</tr>
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Sources: Author’s calculations based on data of Statistics Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan
Fig. 5a, b, c, d – Dynamics of Russian and Kazakh population in the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia, 1989, 1999 and 2009 (in thou.)
Fig. 6a, b, c, d – Dynamics of Russian and Kazakh population in the border regions of Kazakhstan adjacent to Russia, 1989, 1999 and 2009 (in %)
8.2 The Kazakh diaspora in Russia

A considerable human resource has formed on both sides of the Kazakhstan-Russia border. Its migratory direction is determined by kinship, labor, economic and other ties with the former place of residence. The Kazakh population in Russia and the Russian population in Kazakhstan are the main basis of subsistence and development of frontier migrations. Therefore, we consider the population dynamics and development of the Kazakh population in Russia and the Russian population in Kazakhstan.

The Kazakhs are the fourth largest Turkic ethnic group in Russia after the Tatars, Bashkir and Chuvash, and tenth among all ethnic groups of the country.

The number of Kazakhs in the Russian Federation, according to 2002 census data was 654 thousand people, or 0.45% of the total Russian population (see Fig. 7). Moreover, the number of men and women is almost the same. The majority of Russian Kazakhs live in rural areas – 67.5% (compared with only 23.3% Russian). The Kazakh population in Russia is considered one of the young – the average age of 30.2 years (compared to the Russians – 37.6 years, the Chechens – 22.8 years). Most marriages among the Kazakhs in the countryside take place in the Kazakh ethnic group; the number of inter-ethnic marriages is significantly less in cities. The preservation of the native language and culture is also an important factor in the migration of Kazakhs to Kazakhstan. Most Kazakhs in Russia speak Kazakh language, in the countryside – more than 90%, in urban areas – less.

Sources: Author’s calculations based on data of Demoscope.
<table>
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<th>Total, (in thou.)</th>
<th>Proportion of the Kazakhs, (%)</th>
<th>Proportion of Kazakhs in the region, (%)</th>
<th>Urban (%)</th>
<th>Rural (%)</th>
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Sources: Author’s calculation based on data of Russian Federal Statistics Service.

Almost all of the Kazakhs (98.3%) can speak Russian fluently (Demoscope), since only a minority of Russian Kazakhs live in areas where they form the majority of the population, and also because...
Russian is the language of schooling, even in areas where Kazakhs make up the absolute majority of the population. There are just few schools where Kazakh is taught, and even in them it is usually taught optionally.

Some Russian Kazakhs are moving to Kazakhstan and other countries, with most of the departures of Kazakhs take place in Kazakhstan where Kazakhs returned under the program of repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs (Oralman). Thus, over the period 1991–2009, 24,000 Kazakhs arrived in Kazakhstan from the Russian Federation under the repatriation program; also, 74,000 Kazakhs arrived via other channels. Some Kazakhs send their children to Kazakhstan, so that they can get education in their native language, or stay there to work in large cities (Almaty and Astana). According to the Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Statistics, more than 2,000 ethnic Kazakhs left the country in 2008, and over 7,000 repatriates arrived under the Oralman program (Department of migration and demography West Kazakhstan region).

The Russian regions adjacent to Kazakhstan are the main area of settlement of Kazakhs. The largest Kazakh community is in the Astrakhan region. It is home to 142.6 thousands of Kazakhs. They constitute 14.2% of the region's population – the second largest national community after the Russian population. They constitute the majority of the population in Volodarsky district. There are many Kazakhs in Harabalinsk, Krasnoyarsk and other areas of the region. Training in the specialty “Teacher of the Kazakh language and literature” is started in 2005 in the Astrakhan Pedagogical Institute.

In the Saratov region Kazakhs constitute 3.98% of the population - the second largest national community after the Russian population, in Volgograd region – 1.68% - the third largest community after the Russians and Ukrainians. A number of the steppe regions of Orenburg, Kurgan, Omsk and Chelyabinsk regions are historical camping ground of Kazakh tribes. The Orenburg region accounts for 125.5 thousand of Kazakhs, representing 5.76% of the population of the region. This is the third largest national community after the Russians and Tatars. The region has 18 Kazakh language schools. Most Kazakhs are employed in agriculture. They also constitute the majority of junior staff in hospitals and technical staff in schools (Murtazina, 1995: 21). Kazakhs constitute 3.92% of the population in the Omsk region – the second largest national community after the Russian population. The Altai Territory is home to 9.8 thousand of Kazakhs, which is only 0.37% of the total population, including in Barnaul – about a thousand people, in Kuldinsky district – 500 people, in Blagoveshchensk district – 600, in Mikhailovsky district – 1,488, in Burlinsky district – 1,542 people. Kazakh cultural center “Ata-Mura” opened its doors. The Kazakh village of Kirey in Kuldinsky district with a population of about 340 people can be singled out, which exists at this location since 1916. The Karakul school operates there, which is a unique school in Russia. All subjects are taught only in the Kazakh language since the school was established in the 1920s. The school staff follows the Kazakh teaching program “Atameken” for more than fourteen years, which is supported by the department of education of Pavlodar region. So far, the residents refuse to move
to their historical homeland despite repeated suggestions from Kazakhstan to do so, although many graduates continue their education in Pavlodar and remain in Kazakhstan. Kazakhs settled in the Altai Mountains in the second half of nineteenth – early twentieth centuries. They now constitute a majority of Kosh-Agach district, located in the southern part of the Altai Republic and bordering areas of Mongolia and China, which are also inhabited mainly by Kazakhs. 12.1 thousand Kazakhs live in the Altai Republic. They constitute about 6% of its population – the third national community after the Russian and Altai population. Despite a high birth rate, the number of Kazakhs in the region over the past 20 years has not changed, since a third of families became oralmans returning to their historic homeland.

8.3 The Russian diaspora in Kazakhstan

Political, economic and sociocultural and economic role of the Russian population in the history and contemporary life in Kazakhstan is enormous. Russian population of Kazakhstan was formed gradually in the course of the accession of Kazakhstan to Russia.

Russian migration to Kazakhstan began roughly in the middle of the eighteenth century. Originally it started as construction of military Cossack settlements. They were followed by mass migration of Russian-Ukrainian peasants. Peak migration occurs during the Stolypin reforms in 1906-1910. For example, in 1915, in West Kazakhstan the proportion of Russians was 25.6%, Ukrainians – 5% (Sdykov, 2004: 401). However, a significant flow of migrants was heading to the north-eastern regions of Kazakhstan. Revolution and Civil War halted the process, but it resumed after the victory of Soviet power in Kazakhstan, and by 1926, the number of Russians had risen to 1.3 million people, representing 21% of the population. The second wave of mass migration was caused by industrialization and collectivization, as well as evacuation of the population in Kazakhstan during World War II.

Third, the most powerful and significant flow of immigrants is associated with the development of virgin lands which took place in the 1950s. The number of Russians, according to the 1959 census, amounted to 3,974.2 thousand people, the percentage – 42.7% (see Fig. 8). Thus, during this period the Russians became the most numerous ethnic group in Kazakhstan, along with Ukrainians and Belarusians – the majority of the Republic’s population. In 1979, the number of Russians reached 5,991.2 thousand people. In 1979, Kazakhstan is home to 14,684.2 thousand people. Out of them the Slavic population was 48%.

After the collapse of Soviet Union, 6,227.5 thousand Russian people in Kazakhstan became the second largest Russian community living in the CIS countries (after the biggest one in Ukraine – about 11,355.6 thousand). According to the 1989 census, they were here the second largest ethnic group after the Kazakhs (Russians constituted 37.8% of the population). The main regions of the
Russians’ settlements in Kazakhstan were north-eastern regions: East Kazakhstan region where their proportion amounted to 65.9%, North Kazakhstan region – 65.9%, Karaganda region – 62.2%, Kostanay – 46.2%, Pavlodar – 45.4%, Tselinograd (now Akmola) – 44.7%, and Kokchetav - 39.5% (Perepis’ 1989).

**Fig.8 - Dynamics of Russian population development in 1959-2009 (in thou., %)**

![Graph showing the dynamics of Russian population development in 1959-2009](image)

*Sources: Author’s calculations based on data of Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan.*

In the 1990s, the outflow of the Slavic population from Kazakhstan increased, much of which had left in the period from 1990 to 1997. According to some sources, 1.2 million Russians left Kazakhstan for this period, which was almost 14% of the population (Vendina: 2011). Most of them (about 80%) moved to Russia (Karzhaubayeva, 2003).

The outflow of Russian population in the early 1990s mainly came from such regions as Mangistau, Kyzylorda, Alma-Ata, South Kazakhstan, and Aktobe. In the second half of the 1990s, Russian migration has shifted from the south, where their numbers were relatively small, towards central and northern Kazakhstan. The peak outflow of the population took place in 1994. This year’s migration balance amounted to “minus” 480 thousand people. This year, the Russians made up 35.8% of the population of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In 1999, the number of Russians was 4,479.6 thousand people (30%).

In 1995, there was a sharp decline of the population leaving the territory of Kazakhstan observed, which is associated with the war in Chechnya. However, in 1997, emigration increased again over the pension reform in Kazakhstan. Most people moved to Russia and Ukraine where the pension system from the Soviet period remained intact.
Researchers name a lot of reasons for emigration of Russians from Kazakhstan (Kudabayeva: 2007). In our opinion, the main ones are: political, socioeconomic and demographic reasons. Thus, after the collapse of the Soviet Union much of the non-indigenous people were “cut off” from the ethnic homeland, from relatives living across the border. In addition, the transition period after the collapse of the Soviet Union and formation of new independent states in the CIS countries, including Kazakhstan, was accompanied by economic recession, inflation, political instability in neighboring Central Asian countries. All this resulted in the erosion of people's confidence in the future. Demographic reasons are associated with people returning to their historic homeland, since by that time many states have adopted policies of repatriation (Germany, Israel, Poland), which caused large outflow migration of the Slavic population from Kazakhstan.

In subsequent years, migration flows started to decrease. Already in the early 2000s, economic growth in Kazakhstan and the consequent growing possibility of attracting professionals have led to decline in the departure rate of Russian population from Kazakhstan. Starting from 2004, Kazakhstan has enjoyed a positive balance of migration (Karzhaubayeva: 2003: 87).

Despite these difficulties, much of the Russian population still prefers to integrate in contemporary economic, social and political life in Kazakhstan rather than emigrate. The share of Russian specialists in the government of Kazakhstan, although gradually decreasing, but in the 1990s, the Russians were represented significantly – about a quarter of employees. Among them are the heads of departments of the Presidential Administration – V. Shepel, N. Belorukova, M. Baranova and others.


In today's Kazakhstan, there are a number of organizations and movements engaged in protecting the rights of the Russian population, development and maintenance of Russian culture. The most significant of them are Movement “Lad”, the organization “The Russian community in Kazakhstan”, Cossack organizations. Movement “Lad” has about 50,000 members and has 24 branches across the country.

Leaders of all the above mentioned organizations are members of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan – a consultative and advisory body of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, established on March 1, 1995.

Returning to the Russian population in Kazakhstan, it should be noted that a certain part of it are the citizens of the Russian Federation permanently residing in Kazakhstan. Their status is
governed by mutual agreements between Russia and Kazakhstan, namely, the Treaty between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation on the rights of the citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan residing in the territory of the Russian Federation and the citizens of the Russian Federation permanently residing in the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The majority of Russian citizens in Kazakhstan live and work at facilities rented out by Kazakhstan to Russia. First of all, these are the Baikonur Cosmodrome and the eponymous town, test sites “Sary-Shagan”, “Emb”, etc.

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Russian is the language of interethnic communication. According to Kazakhstan researchers, it is not in danger; most of Kazakhs can speak Russian, negotiations are conducted in the Russian, official documentation, publishing newspapers and magazines are published in Russian as well. He continues to play an important role in the country carrying out humanitarian function. It is indispensable to read literature in Russian, including the professional literature. Russian language in Kazakhstan remains largely the primary language for all ethnic groups living in the country, making available information, scientific and cultural values. About 80% of the mass media of Kazakhstan broadcast in Russian.

There are Russian schools and theaters. According to data released in 1998, in 42% of Kazakh schools classes are taught in Russian.

Unfortunately, despite all these positive aspects, dynamics of reduction of the Russian population in Kazakhstan continues to this day. As a result of the 2009 national census, the population was reduced to 3,797.0 thousand. The percentage of Russian population has decreased by 25.7%. This is just a smaller number than the number of Russians in Kazakhstan in 1959 (3,974.2 thousand, or 42.7%). East Kazakhstan Region, Karaganda region, Almaty region, Kostanay region, North Kazakhstan region are the areas of compact settlement of the Russians in Kazakhstan (See Tab.8).

The Russians in Kazakhstan are characterized by low fertility, high mortality and low rates of natural increase (which is also characteristic for the Russians living in other former Soviet countries, including the Russian Federation). The total fertility rate of the Russian ethnos was 8.6% (below the national average by 65.1% or 1.7 times), while the mortality rate is significantly higher – in 1.4 times. In 1999, the overall rate of natural increase of The Russians amounted to 5.1%. In 1999, the proportion of urban population of the Russian ethnos was 76.9%. The percentage of the Russian age group over 60 years is 17.0%, which means that among Russians this figure is higher than among Kazakhs by 2.8 times. In the period between 1990 and 1999, the Russian birth rate fell, and mortality increased. Given the birth rate and the average age of the Russians in Kazakhstan, it is predicted that the percentage of the Russian population will drop down to 10% by 2020 (Aubakirova 2005).
Tab. 7 – Russian population in Kazakhstan, 2010 (in thou., %)

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</table>

Sources: Author’s calculations based on data of Agency of Statistic of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In general, migration between Kazakhstan and Russia is a specific feature of the Russians in Kazakhstan, namely, the constant movement between the borders of two countries. Many of the Russians from Kazakhstan, having moved to Russia, regularly visit Kazakhstan doing business both in Russia and Kazakhstan. Since mid-2010, the period of stay for citizens of Kazakhstan in Russia and Russians in Kazakhstan without registration has increased to 30 days. As it is shown by illustrative examples, many Russians who moved from Kazakhstan to Russia are going back, unable to adapt because of the already existing eastern mentality, harsh northern climate and the absence of more affordable financing terms in Russia as compared with those in Kazakhstan.

Because of emigration and ethnic specificity of natural increase, the ethnic composition of the population in the country has changed dramatically since 1990. In early 1992, the Kazakhs (8.13 million people) already represented an absolute majority (52%) of the population, and the percentage of the Russian population was only 31.4% (Eshment 1999: 7). However, due to the worsening demographic situation in the Russian Federation, “the State Program for assistance to voluntary resettlement of compatriots living abroad to the Russian Federation” was adopted, designed to stimulate the resettlement of people – first and foremost the Russians who found themselves beyond the borders of the Russian Federation after the collapse of...
the Soviet Union and who want to move back to Russia. This program was adopted by Presidential Decree of June 28, 2006 (Rossiiskaya gazeta: 2006) and covers the period from 2006 to 2012.

8.4 International migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: history and current situation

The process of formation and development of the population has deep historical roots. All socioeconomic and political transformations that took place during the twentieth century in Kazakhstan, led to significant changes in the ethnic structure of the population, which for the most part, occurred because of inter-and intra regional migration.

West Kazakhstan is a region with significant migration potential, which was formed over the last century. The region has a vast territory bringing together four Kazakhstan regions – Aktobe, West Kazakhstan, Atyrau and Mangistau, with a population of 2,216.7 thousand people. Out of those, 80.0% are Kazakhs, 13.8% – Russian, 2.5% – Ukrainians, 3.7% – other nationalities (Regions of Kazakhstan 2008: 77). To a large extent, the formation of the population is largely dependent on the intensity of the influx of people from different parts of the former USSR. Transport and geographical location of West Kazakhstan which situated on the path of migratory flows, was of great importance. Oil and gas exploration has led to intensive industrial migration. The extent and nature of migration in the West Kazakhstan during the years of Russian and Soviet empires predetermined magnitude and direction of the current migration processes.

Until the end of the 19th century, the growth of Kazakh population was stable and high enough to become the absolute majority in the region. The completion of the accession of Kazakhstan to Russia and the transition to the active colonization of new territories initiated fundamental changes in political and socioeconomic development of West Kazakhstan. Significant changes had occurred in the ethnic and demographic development of the population. According to the 1897 census, the total population of the region amounted to 1,142.4 thousand people (Pervaya Vseobshaya perepis’ naseleniya Rossiiskoi imperii 1897: 48-49, 38-39, 58-59). The main national group of the region were Kazakhs, reaching 937.9 thousand, or 82.1%. Significant part of the Kazakh population lived in four regions: Bukeyev – 207.2 thousand people, Uralsk – 150.9 thousand, Lbishensk – 144.3 thousand and Aktobe – 109.6 thousand. In other regions the number of Kazakh population had not reached 100 thousand people. However, Kazakhs were prevalent in those regions where the penetration of immigrants had been small – in Temirsk, Irgiz, Bukeyev, Aktobe, Mangyshlak regions. Here, the proportion of Kazakhs to total population ranged from 93.0% to 99.1%. The decrease in the proportion of indigenous population was mainly influenced by the resettlement of
Russian and Ukrainian peasants which had begun in the 70s of the 19th century. At the beginning, the main flow of migrants was going from the neighboring Russian provinces, which significantly influenced the increase of Russian population in the region. Therefore, large ethnic groups, the second largest after the Kazakhs, were Russians. According to the 1897 census, their number amounted to 175.5 thousand, or 15.4%. As it was shown, the main part of the Russian population – 124.1 thousand, or 70.7% lived in the Uralsk region, where their proportion was 42.3%. In the southern regions the proportion of the Russian population was relatively lower. Tatars were the second largest community in the region after Russians. The increase in the number of Tatars occurred due to both natural increase and migration flows. According to the results of the census, the total number of Tatars in the region was 19.1 thousand people, or 2.1%. Of these, 75.4% lived in the Uralsk region and 11.8% – in Kalmikovsk region. The number of representatives of other nationalities in the region was 29.0 thousand people, or 2.5%. The main proportion in this category were Ukrainians – 4 thousand, Belarusians – 2.9 thousand, Mordovians – 0.8 thousand, Bashkirs – 0.7 thousand, etc. In addition, the region was home to 250 Poles, 161 Germans, and etc. 37 different nationalities had been recorded by the census in total. They lived in the economically developed regions of the territory – in Uralsk, Kalmikovsk, Aktobe and Guriev. The main flow of migrants had been directed to these four regions. For example, 70% of non-indigenous population was recorded in the Uralsk region. Unlike other regions, Kalmyks predominated in Bukeyev region among non-indigenous population, and Turkmens – in Mangistau region. This was determined by regions’ geographical position, close to places of compact settlement of these people, from where went their main flow in the region.

Thus, according to the 1897 census, the largest population of the region were Kazakhs. The small size and geographic distribution of other ethnic groups is the evidence of their recent emergence and trend changes in the ethnic and demographic structure of the population at the expense of the starting process of the resettlement.

Ethnic composition of the population of West Kazakhstan began to change noticeably in the late nineteenth century – the beginning of the twentieth century. The intensified colonization process was the main factor causing the changes. In West Kazakhstan, the resettlement had the agrarian character and took place in two stages (Sdykov 1995: 70). At the initial stage, covering 70-90s of the nineteenth century, the resettlement had been slow, and the number of immigrants was small, therefore it had no significant impact on the changing characteristics of the demographic processes. Dynamics and population growth rate actually remained the same.

A new stage in the resettlement had begun in the early twentieth century and it was connected with the Stolypin agrarian reform. The abolition of serfdom in Russia had not solved the agrarian question; therefore, the tsarist government intensified the policy of resettlement with the aim of defusing social tensions in the country and the further colonization of Kazakhstan. At this stage, the resettlement had become the most intense. The main areas of settlement were Uralsk and Aktobe.
regions. As a result of high rates of resettlement movement, the structure of the national population was changed dramatically. In the period from 1897 to 1915, the number of Russians increased by 2.5 times and amounted to 426.0 thousand, their proportion in the population increased from 15.4% to 26.0%. The Ukrainians, whose numbers increased by 24.6 times and amounted to 83.5 thousand people had especially high growth rates. Their proportion was 5.0% against 0.4% in 1897. The most notable was the growth of the Ukrainian community in the Aktobe province, where their number had increased by 57 times and made up 57.5 thousand people. About 68.0% of the Ukrainians in the region had already lived there.

The number of other ethnic groups who had arrived in West Kazakhstan – Tatars, Mordovians, Bashkir, etc., increased as well. In general, the total population increased from 1,142.2 thousand to 1,666.1 thousand people, or 31.4%. Intensified resettlement policy led to negative processes in the demographic development of the indigenous population. The only ethnic group, whose proportion had declined, were Kazakhs – from 82.1% to 67.7% (Overview of the Uralsk region 1916: 2-3). Their growth rates were much lower than that of migrants, their number during this period increased only by 16.8%. The main reason for slowing growth and the proportion of Kazakhs was the resettlement of population from outside. The resettlement of farmers accompanied by forced displacement of the Kazakhs as a result of the seizure of their land for the establishment of the resettlement fund and the placement of arrived peasant settlers. This led to a shift of the Kazakh population to the south of the region (Sdykov, 1996: 114).

Thus, as a result of the intensified resettlement process at the beginning of the twentieth century, the ethnic composition of the population of West Kazakhstan acquired multinational character. The largest ethnic groups in the region were Kazakhs, Russians and Ukrainians. The population distribution had changed: the Kazakh population predominated in the southern region by that time.

The most significant changes occurred in the Soviet period. The events in the region in 20-30s of the twentieth century brought about the beginning of these processes. During the uprising of 1916, the Revolution of 1917, the number of Kazakhs and Russians was greatly reduced. One of the reasons was the significant population displacement in the region. Mass mobilization, losses at the front, calling Kazakhs in the rear led to a decrease in population. Looting, violence forced the population to leave the territory of direct military action. As a result of the famine in 1921–1922, the situation had become extremely difficult, which led not only to death, but also to mass migration, both within and outside the region and to devastation much of the rural areas. During the years 1920–1922, the population of the Uralsk and Aktyubinsk provinces decreased by 213.5 thousand people, or by 21.8% (Collection of statistical data of the population 1925: 5-9; Sdykov, 2004: 401). Of these, 95.8% were people form villages, where most residents were Kazakhs. Changes in the ethnic and demographic development of the population were recorded in the 1926 census. Compared to the year 1915, the population of West Kazakhstan decreased by 423.9
thousand people, or by 25.4%. The decrease of the region’s population was mainly because of the decline in the number of Kazakhs and Russians. The number of Kazakh population declined by 205.8 thousand, or 18.2% and amounted to 921 thousand, or 74.2% (See: Tab.8). As a result of the mass departure of Russians to places of the original residence, their number decreased by 253.8 thousand people, or 59.6%. The recovery and economic development was accompanied by massive migration from the European part of the country as well. Therefore, the resettlement of a substantial number of Ukrainians in this period resulted in an increase in their number from 83.5 thousand to 113.9 thousand people, or 26.6% (Sdykov, 1996: 132).

The policy of collectivization of agriculture done during the thirties, which consisted in forcibly settling nomadic Kazakh population, dispossession, led to famine and mass migrations of indigenous people. The most difficult situation was in the Kazakh villages (auls). Many fled their homes, a lot of people migrated outside Kazakhstan. It is impossible to collect accurate data on those migrated outside the region, since the data on migration was not recorded. The return of the Kazakh population in the region began since the end of 1932–1933. However, a substantial portion of the migrants remained in relocation sites. Population loss was compensated by migration from Russia, Ukraine and other parts of the country. The data from censuses of 1926 and 1939 indicated the magnitude of the resulting changes. The number of the Russian population, whose proportion was 28.6%, increased from 172.1 thousand to 286.5 thousand in this intercensal period. The number of other nationalities increased from 33.9 thousand to 58.5 thousand people. At the same time, the number of the Kazakh population fell and amounted to 555.8 thousand, and their proportion had fallen from 74.2% to 55.4%. The number of Ukrainians was reduced by 10.4% mainly due to mass departure. In general, the population of the region decreased by 238.1 thousand people, or 19.2% and amounted to 1,002.8 thousand people (See: Tab.8).

The migration processes during the Great Patriotic War significantly affected the changes of ethnic and demographic composition of the population of West Kazakhstan. It was exactly at that time when a complication of the national structure had taken place, and there is a further change in the proportion of main nationalities: increasing the number and proportion of non-indigenous population, respectively, reducing the proportion of Kazakhs. For the most part, the changes were related to the mobilization of local residents for war and the defense industry. The deportation of repressed peoples played significant role in the resulting changes. Forced relocation to the territory of West Kazakhstan began in the late 1930s. The resettlement of Koreans was among the first mass deportations. 3,706 Korean families were deported in West Kazakhstan, of those, 1,874 families were displaced to the Aktobe region and 1832 families – to the West Kazakhstan region (Bugay, 1991: 151, 153). According to the results of the 1937 census, more than 10 thousand people of Korean nationality were registered in West Kazakhstan in total (Rezultaty Vsesojuznoi perepisu 1937 1991: 76-77).
With the beginning of the Great Patriotic War the scale of deportation grew bigger. First of all, the Volga Germans had been affected. In the beginning, the arrived in Kazakhstan Germans were resettled in all regions of the republic, except for the two western regions: West Kazakhstan and Guriyev, because they were close to the abolished the autonomous republic of the Volga Germans. Subsequently, there was the resettlement in these two regions as well. As the researchers note, there were two stages of relocation of Germans in West Kazakhstan. The first stage was the placement of newcomers in a designated area, and the second – the relocation of Germans already living there from the cities and surrounding areas to more remote places (Sdykov 1995: 173). According to the results of the All-Union 1959 census, 32,355 people of German nationality had been registered in the West Kazakhstan. This is 4.9% of the total number of Germans living in Kazakhstan in this period (Rezultaty Vsesojuznoi perepisu 1959 Kazakh SSR, 1962: 114-135).

In 1943–1944, in West Kazakhstan had been deported the Chechens, Ingushes, Karachays, Balkars, Kurds, Greeks, etc. In total, on January 1,1953, there were 41,611 persons registered as special settlers, including in the Aktobe region – 32,023, Guriyev – 8229, West Kazakhstan – 1,359 persons (Zemskov, 1994: 145-195). The mobilization of the male population for war and work in the defense industry had significant impact on the changing demographic characteristics of the population of the region. On the outbreak of war 202.8 thousand men were drafted in the army, of those 49.9% – Kazakhs, 34.0% – Russian, 10.0% – Ukrainians (Kinga pamyati, 1995: 274-275).

Thus, the analysis of ethno-demographic processes in West Kazakhstan has shown that the region during the war became the center of large migration flows as a result of deportation, mobilization of population. The number of Russians significantly increased. Most notable was the growth of the German population. During these years, mobilization for war and the draft in the labor army became one of the reasons for further decrease of the Kazakh population. Reducing the proportion of Kazakhs also occurred because of increases in the number and proportion of other nationalities, which arrived in the region during this period. Migration processes in these years changed the ethnic composition of the population and led to the further development of the population of West Kazakhstan as a multi-ethnic region.

The most intense wave of migrants to the region in the postwar period occurred during the development of virgin lands. The development of virgin lands had been mainly in two regions – Aktobe and West Kazakhstan. In the West Kazakhstan region, just for nine months only between March 1954 and January 1955, there were 13 state farms, whose names reflected the wide geography of migration flows in West Kazakhstan: Belogorsky, Poltavsky, Pugachevsky, Berezovskiy, Ulyanovskiy, Permsky, etc. The population of the virgin lands’ state farms was formed mainly by migrants arriving from the RSFSR, Ukraine, and Byelorussia. Most immigrants settled in the state farms in Chingirlau, Zelenovsk, Burlin districts. The greatest intensity of the arrival of virgin lands workers was marked in the second half of 1954 and in 1955. Out of the total mass of the people who had come there, most settlers were from Russia. Particularly large influx of
migrants in these years was observed coming from the Orenburg region. The main factor driving people to migrate was a bad harvest in the region. In addition, in this time increases the arrival of nomadic Kazakh population from the wave of 1928 – 1933 forced resettlements, in place of their original residence. This group of people will subsequently become the second largest among the settlers, who arrived in those years. Most nomadic settlers relocated in Chingirlauskii, Karatobinskii, Burlinskii districts of West Kazakhstan region and in the borderlands of Aktobe region.

As a result of the above-mentioned processes, the ethnic composition of the population has changed. Particularly notable was the shift in the ratio of the number and proportion of the major ethnic groups: Kazakhs and Russians. Thus, in the West Kazakhstan region, in the period from 1955 to 1959, substantially increased the proportion of Russians: from 35.8% to 41.5%, respectively, the proportion of indigenous people declined by 45.9%, down 4.5 percentage points. In general, the total population increased by 63,098 people and amounted to 381,181 people (Osnovnye Itogi perepisii 1991: 11-79). During this period, significant ethnic and demographic shifts occurred not only in rural areas, but also among the urban population. Industrial development in the Guriev region caused a large influx of new people.

By the beginning of 1960s, there was a significant outflow of virgin lands workers migrants in the areas of their initial residence, in the cities of the European USSR, and also the migration to the cities and towns of Kazakhstan itself took place. In the second half of 1950s, there was also the outflow of representatives of deported peoples. In 1953, the number of registered special settlers had been 41,611 people: the Germans, Chechens, Ingushes, and others, whereas by 1959 a significant part of the North Caucasus people returned to their former places of residence.

The region's population replenished by immigration of Kazakhs and other ethnic groups from the People's Republic of China. In August 1955, the first immigrants had arrived from China in West Kazakhstan – 35 families totaling 185 persons. They were settled at the state farm Shopykulu in the Karatobinskii district of West Kazakhstan region. In the future, those arriving in the region settled mainly in two regions – West Kazakhstan and Aktobe. Due to the small proportion of their population, immigrants from China did not have great influence on the change in population size and structure of the region.

As a result, in the period from 1939 to 1959, population increased from 1,002.8 thousand to 1070.2 thousand people. There was a substantial increase in the number of Russians – from 286.5 thousand to 323.1 thousand, or by 36.6%. At the same time, there was not much change from the previous data on the number of indigenous peoples (555.8 thousand people in 1939 and 555.7 thousand – in 1959). Also, a further decrease took place in their proportion (percentage of Kazakhs in the population fell from 55.4% to 51.9%) (See: Tab.8).
Thus, the migration processes occurring in the 1950s, changed the composition of the population and led to the further development of the population of West Kazakhstan as a multi-ethnic region.

In the 1960–1980s, population growth occurred due to direct impact of migration as well. The exploration and development of oil and gas in Karachaganak and Tengiz, and the creation of a new regional center in the city of Aktau, caused a significant influx of population from other regions of the USSR. Compared with other regions of the territory, particularly high rates of population growth were in Mangistau and Aktobe region, which was because of migration flows caused by the expansion of industry. Thus, in Mangistau region, oil and gas industry had priority development in these years, which has caused inflow of professionals and general workers to develop new complex. The traditional production and chemical industry which had all-union significance further developed in Aktobe region. The substantial inflow of migrants from outside of Kazakhstan led to higher rate of population growth. At the same time, in other areas of the region, this factor had no decisive impact. The census data showed population growth due to migration flows of population. The total population of the area in the years 1959–1989 increased from 35.8 thousand to 324.6 thousand, or 9.1 times. In this case the number of Russians increased by 98.6 thousand, or 7.4 times, Ukrainians – by 8.8 thousand, or 7.6 times, Tatars – by 4.5 thousand, or 7.6 times (Sdykov 2004: 400).

By the end of 1960 – the first half of 1970, against the background of a massive influx of migrants from outside, there was a weak trend of departure of the Russian-speaking population outside the country intensifying with each passing year. The peak of this tendency comes at a time of the Soviet collapse. The resulting situation can be explained by the following factors. With increasing social activity of the indigenous population, increasing the percentage of local skilled workers, the influx of Russians in West Kazakhstan, as well as in the whole Republic, gradually began to decline. On the one hand, this led to decrease in the inflow of people, on the other hand, resulted in the outflow from the Republic. The beginning of the outflow of Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians and other nationalities has resulted in a slowdown in their growth and decrease in their proportion of the population. As a result, from 1959 to 1989, the number of Russians increased by 237.2 thousand, or 42.3%, the increase of Ukrainians was 18.0 thousand, or 15.4%. Their proportion decreased accordingly, from 30.2% to 26.6% and 9.2% to 5.5%. The proportion of other ethnic groups declined as well: from 8.7% to 8.1%. Kazakhs started to predominate in the ethnic structure, amounting to 1,261.4 thousand people, or 59.8% (See: Tab.8). The number of the Kazakh population started growing, even though slowly.
**Tab. 8 – Ethnic structure of population of the West Kazakhstan (Aktobe, Atyrau, West Kazakhstan, Mangistau regions) according to census data, 1926, 1939, 1959, 1979, 1989 and 1999 (in thou., %).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kazakhs</th>
<th>Russians</th>
<th>Ukraïns</th>
<th>Other nationalities</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thou.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Thou.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>937.9</td>
<td>79.6</td>
<td>175.5</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>1,178.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>172.1</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>1,240.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>555.8</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>286.5</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>1,002.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>555.7</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>323.1</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>1,070.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1,023.4</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>543.9</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>1,838.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1,261.4</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>560.3</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>2,110.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1,520.6</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>2,054</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Author’s calculations based on data of Demoscope.

Large migration inflow of population from outside resulted in the accumulation of large migratory potential, which was restrained for a certain time by the unity of state space. The events that took place in the 1990s: disintegration of the USSR and the emergence of independent states caused massive emigration. For West Kazakhstan, as well as for the whole Republic, a mass outflow from the Republic became a decisive factor. During the years 1991–1999, 287.9 thousand people have left West Kazakhstan; the number of departures was 2.4 times higher than the number of arrivals. The negative balance reached 168.5 thousand, which amounted to about 8.0% of the population of the region in 1989 (Karzhaubayeva, 2003: 94). Destabilization of the economy, adverse developments in the social sphere predetermined the large outflow of population in 1992 – 1994. In the future, the migration processes stabilize, the rate of migration loss is gradually decreasing, although it stayed at a high level until the end of the 1990s. A large emigration of the population which was observed throughout the 1990s had a negative effect on population dynamics of the region. During the years 1993–1999, this number decreased by 110 thousand people, or 5.1% and amounted to 2,057.1 thousand people.

The magnitude and nature of migration in the West Kazakhstan during the years of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union largely determined the magnitude and direction of migration processes and their recurrent nature. The greatest migration exchange occurred between West
Kazakhstan and Russia. In the years 1993–1999, 327.9 thousand people participated in the migration exchange between West Kazakhstan and Russia, of which 227.2 thousand people had left. The region lost about 187.7 thousand people, which is more than 8.0% of its population. Emigration was 3.6 times higher than immigration into the region. However, in the 2000s, positive changes in the economy of Kazakhstan, as well as the exhaustion of the main migratory capacity have led to a gradual reduction of emigration to Russia. The number of emigrants in 2001 was 10.9 thousand people, which is 4.5 times less compared to 1994, and 1.8 times less compared to 2000 (Karzhaubayeva 2003: 95). An observing decline in emigration of Russian-speaking population from the region can also be explained by adaptation of the population to new socioeconomic realities.

Together with the migration outflow began the process of the brain drain of skilled professionals and qualified workers. Analysis of statistical data on the West Kazakhstan for the years 1993–1999 shows that, for the most part, those who left were people of active working age with higher general education. Among the emigrants, the persons with secondary education prevailed – 32.2%, higher or incomplete higher – 14.9%. Of these, 20.4% – specialists with technical education, 16.3% – educational specialists, 15.8% – agricultural specialists, 7.5% – health workers, 4.9% – economists, 4.2% – lawyers, 4.1% – specialists with architectural and construction education, etc. (Results of population migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan. 1993-1999, 1994-2000).

Since the late 1980s, an intensive process of returning Kazakhs from outside the Republic begins. During the years 1993 – 1999, 34.1 thousand Kazakhs arrived in West Kazakhstan in total. 33.3 thousand people emigrated from the CIS and Baltic countries, which makes up 97.7% of all immigrants.

The highest flow was observed coming from the border regions of neighboring states – Turkmenistan (43.1%), Russia (34.8%) and Uzbekistan (20.8%), accounting for about 98.7% of all immigrants. This is associated with a high proportion of the Kazakh population in these countries. For example, from 1,814.9 thousand Kazakhs living in CIS countries, 53.3% live in Uzbekistan, 37.9% – in Russia, 4.8% – in Turkmenistan, etc. (Asylbekov and Kozina, 2000: 84). The proximity of major donor countries –Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Iran causes a large influx of Kazakhs in Mangistau region. It is exactly the place where 68.3% of repatriates went, or 22.7 thousand people. The emigration of Kazakhs is 37.7% less compared with their immigration and relatively small in the proportion of the flows of those who have left – 9.8% (Results of population migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan. 1993-1999, 1994-2000). In total, during the years 1993-1999, 21,230 persons emigrated from West Kazakhstan in the neighboring countries and far abroad, representing 1.4% of the Kazakh population of West Kazakhstan in 1999 (Results of population migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan. 1993-1999, 1994-2000). Emigration of Kazakhs in neighboring countries, like immigration, had a regional character. The most attractive country for immigrants was Russia.
77.5% out of all Kazakhs who had left went there. During the same period, 182 Kazakhs left West Kazakhstan and went to far-abroad countries. The major destination countries for immigration of Kazakhs were: Germany – 77 persons, Turkey – 31 persons, USA – 16 persons and Israel – 6 persons. In general, the number of Kazakhs, emigrating from countries near and far abroad, decreased from 6,772 people in 1993 to 2,303 people in 1999, or 66%. At the same time, the scale of emigration declined both in the whole territory and in the regions from 3,374 people to 2,593 people, or by 23.1%.

The migration processes that intensified in the early 1990s, have led to significant changes in the national structure of the population of West Kazakhstan. The positive balance of migration and relatively high natural growth ensured an increase in the number and proportion of the Kazakh population. Over the period 1989–1999, the number of Kazakhs increased from 1,261.4 thousand to 1,520.6 thousand, or 20.5%, while their proportion in the population of the region amounted to 74.0% against 59.8% in 1989 (Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan). At the same time, the number of Russians declined from 560.3 thousand people to 373.1 thousand, or 33.4%, while their proportion in the population fell from 26.5% to 18.2%, respectively. The number of Ukrainians fell by 38.2% and amounted to 72.0 thousand people, or 3.5%. The most noticeable decrease was in the number of Germans – from 38.7 thousand people to 14.4 thousand people, or by 2.7 times. Significant reduction of the German minority was observed in the Aktobe region – by 3 times, where, according to the 1989 census, had lived about 81.7% of all Germans of West Kazakhstan. Also decreased the number and proportion of other ethnic groups – from 133.2 thousand to 74.2 thousand people, or by 44.3%. The proportion, compared with 1989, declined from 6.3% to 3.6%. In general, the total population of the region declined from 2,111.1 thousand to 2,054.3 thousand people in 1999, or by 2.7%.

The massive emigration of the population became the major factor in the population decline in West Kazakhstan, which peaked in the first half of the 1990s.

Thus, there have been significant changes in the ethnic and demographic development of the West Kazakhstan during the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries. Migration processes have played an important role in shaping the modern population of the region. They became the major factor in changing the ethnic and demographic structure and led to the formation of multi-ethnic population. Until the end of the 1960s, the main source of the formation of the population of West Kazakhstan was external migration, due to political, socioeconomic transformations. Significant migration flows over the last century has led to the accumulation of large migratory potential. The collapse of the USSR and the emergence of independent states caused mass emigration of the population. The extent and nature of migration in the West Kazakhstan during the years of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union largely predetermined the magnitude and direction of migration processes, as well as their recurrent nature.
Chapter 9

Socio-demographic characteristics of the Orenburg and West Kazakhstan regions

For specific analysis of frontier migrations, we have conducted a sample survey in two border regions – West Kazakhstan and Orenburg. This is the longest section of the Kazakhstan-Russia border. It is characterized by busy routes of frontier migration. This is due to historically established relationships and existing transport routes, both rail and road.

The first part of the chapter gives a short insight of socioeconomic and demographic situation in regions where the survey was conducted – West Kazakhstan and Orenburg regions.

The purpose of this chapter is to reveal how the nature of frontier migration in the post-Soviet period has changed, to examine the degree of development and the impact of frontier migration on the formation of relations between the neighboring states and a population of adjacent territories.

9.1 Orenburg region

9.1.1 Social and economic characteristics

The Orenburg region takes a special place in the relations between Kazakhstan and Russia:

- This region in the 1920s had been a part of the Kazakh SSR, and Orenburg was the first capital of the Kazakh Autonomy;
- Later on, this Russian region stood out in the level and scope of relations with Kazakhstan regarding economic and political cooperation;
- This region has the longest border with Kazakhstan, which accounts for one-third of the Kazakhstan-Russia border.
Map 6a – Location of Orenburg region

Sources: A collection of world, country and city maps
Map 6b – Location of Orenburg region

Note: Total area of Orenburg region is 124,000 sq.km (0.7% of the Russian Federation and 15% of the Ural economic district)

Sources: A collection of world, country and city maps
The Orenburg region is one of the largest regions of the Russian Federation. The region is located at the meeting point of Europe and Asia and is part of the Ural economic district. It borders on the Republic of Bashkortostan and Chelyabinsk region in the north, Kazakhstan in the east and south, and Samara region in the west. It occupies a huge territory in the Southern Pre-Urals, as well as territory along the middle Ural River and the Sakmara, Samara, and Ilek river basins, with a total area of 124,000 sq.km (0.7% of the Russian Federation and 15% of the Ural economic district). The region extends 750 km from west to east; its border with Kazakhstan is 1,876 km long (see Map 6a). The region is made up of 35 districts, 7 city districts (4 of them in the city of Orenburg), 12 cities (11 under regional jurisdiction and 1 (Sol-Iletsk) under district jurisdiction), and 24 industrial communities. The largest cities are Orenburg, Orsk, Novotroitsk, Buzuluk, and Alexandr Gai (Map 6b).

### 9.1.2 Population development

In terms of population, the Orenburg region occupies one of the leading places in the southern Urals territory. The region occupies the 24th place in the Russian Federation in terms of population, and the 60th place in the degree of urbanization. The population of Orenburg region as of January 1, 2009, is more than 2,112 thousand, and the population density is 17.9 people per square kilometer. The city of Orenburg is the regional capital and one of the largest cities in Orenburg land. It has a population of about 544,600 people. Owing to its geographical location, the region is multinational, with representatives of more than 80 nationalities among the population. Ethnic structure of population, according to 2002 census is as follows: Russians form the largest nationality (72.3%), followed by Tatars (7.3%), Kazakhs (5.1%), and smaller numbers of Ukrainians (4.7%) and others (10.6%) (see Tab. 9 and Fig.: 8).

Russians spread evenly in the most of territory and their number is largely predominant. The exception is Yasnensky district, where 52.5% of the resident population are Kazakhs. Kazakhs occupy third position in the structure of the population of the region according to their ratio, after Russians and Tatars, and live in compact communities in the following districts: in Yasnensky, where they constitute 52.5% of the total region population, Adamovsky – 32.1%, Dombarovsky – 41.5%, Akbulaksky – 24.4%, Belyaevsky – 23.0%, Sol-Iletsky – 22.5%, Pervomay – 22.3%. Those Kazakhs, who live in the Orenburg region, as seen from the above-mentioned list, mostly gravitate towards the area which borders Kazakhstan. There are 13 districts and towns in the region, in the Orenburg stretch of the Kazakhstan-Russia border. Most Kazakhs live in rural areas.

The demographic situation in the region remains quite complicated. There was an annual increase in population in the region observed prior to 1996. The dynamics of population growth until 1991 was defined by the natural population growth. Before 1992, natural population growth remained positive only because of potential growth gained by its age structure.
Tab. 9 – Ethnic structure of population of Orenburg region in 1989 and 2009 (in thou., %)

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>1,568.4</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>1,611.5</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>158.6</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>166.0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakh</td>
<td>111.5</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>125.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukran</td>
<td>102.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>-25.1</td>
<td>-24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mordvinians</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>-16.4</td>
<td>-23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bashkir</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>-29.5</td>
<td>-62.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuvash</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>-4.3</td>
<td>-20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byelorussian</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>-1.6</td>
<td>-14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>129.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbek</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>94.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jew</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-2.2</td>
<td>-52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chechen</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gipsy</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udmurt</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>-12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,156.3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2,147.8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-8.5</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Author’s calculation based on data of Russian Federal Statistics Service.
In 1993, natural population growth began to decline. Under present conditions, there is a natural decline in population, so the role of net migration increase has grown significantly. In 1994, there was the largest net migration increase of 24.2 thousand people and the increase in population of 17.5 thousand people over the past 30 years.

Since 2001, the number of people arriving in the Orenburg region from the CIS and Baltic states has declined. Net migration has kept a positive value, but it does not compensate for the natural decrease in population. The positive balance of migration persists because of the influx of people from Kazakhstan and Central Asian countries. 64.1% of the migrants who arrived in the region came from Kazakhstan.

**Fig. 9 – Ethnic structure of population in Orenburg region, 2002 (in %)**

![Ethnic structure of population in Orenburg region, 2002 (in %)](image)

*Sources: Author’s calculation based on data of Russian Federal Statistics Service.*

The Orenburg region is the land of various underground resources. 2,500 deposits numbering over 75 kinds of economic minerals have been explored in the bowels of the Orenburg region. In the western part of the Region there are resources such as: oil and gas, as well as asphalt, brown coal, oil shale; rock and potassium-magnesium salts, phosphorite; chalk, gypsum, building sand and sandgravel aggregates, brick clay. The eastern part of the Region is rich in nonferrous and ferrous metals; lode and placer gold; asbestos; high quality chalkstones, dolomite, quartzite for metallurgical industry; bentonite, expanded, ceramic and brick clays; cement materials.

Rich natural resources favor the economic development of the Region. Industrial sectors of the Region are: fuel, power, metallurgical, chemical and petrochemical, machine-building, light and food industries. The most developed are fuel, gas and oil, metallurgical and machinebuilding complexes, producing about 80% of all industrial products.
9.2 West Kazakhstan region

9.2.1 Social and economic characteristics

West Kazakhstan region is one of the developed industrial regions of Kazakhstan, located in the western part of the republic. The territory of the region is 151,300 square kilometers. The only substantial river of the region is Ural River, which crosses West Kazakhstan region north-south. West Kazakhstan region has unique geographical position – it is situated in the center of Eurasian continent and is closely connected with financial, cultural centers of Eastern and Western Europe. Utilization of Ural as a main way to the countries of Caspian basin are of strategic importance for the Republic of Kazakhstan. In the north West Kazakhstan region borders on Orenburg region (Russia), in the east – on Aktobe region (Kazakhstan), in the south – on Atyrau region (Kazakhstan) and Astrakhan region (Russia), in the west – on Volgograd and Saratov regions (Russia), in the north-west on Samara region (Russia). About the half of the population of West Kazakhstan region are Kazakhs, the remainder being mostly Russians and Ukrainians; about 57% of population is rural.

The administrative center of the West Kazakhstan region is Uralsk (also spelled Oral) located along Ural River. Uralsk has the population of about 211 thousand (2009). There are regular trains available to new and old capitals of Kazakhstan – the cities of Almaty and Astana, the capitals of Russia – Moscow and of Ukraine – Kiev. The airport Akzhol is located 16 km from Uralsk city. It is an international one after the reconstruction of 1990s. Beside the inner flights there are flights to Moscow and Amsterdam available. The industry in Uralsk is presented by power engineering, machine-building, food and flour-grinding, light and construction industries. Machine-building industry began developing in the city after a number of plants were evacuated there from Leningrad. As a result a plant was organized, which changed its digital name into the name Voroshilov (“Zenit” nowadays). Among the main products are military ships and cutter production. In the development of Uralsk city industry Karachaganak oil and gas condensate deposit is of great importance. It is located 150 km from Uralsk on the territory of Burlinsky district. This is not only one of the most important natural gas object of Kazakhstan but also a large liquid hydro-carbon deposit.

West Kazakhstan region industry is concentrated in Uralsk city. Aksai is the home town for Karachaganak oil and gas field project. Due to powerful western investments into gas and oil industries West Kazakhstan region along with Atyrau region acquires big industrial importance. Karachaganak oil and gas field in Burlinsky district is the main factor.
Map 7 – Location of West Kazakhstan region (region)

Sources: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan
Main industries of the region are machine-building, food industry, oil and gas industries: oil and gas extraction at Karachaganak and Chinaryovski deposits. Agriculture plays important role in the economics of West Kazakhstan region, with stock breeding (sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and camels) predominating. Wheat, barley, and other grains are grown, mainly in the north and in river valleys of West Kazakhstan region. There are also extensive hay lands, and there is fishing in Ural River.

9.2.2 Population development

On 1 January, 2010, the population of the region amounted to 624 thousand persons. The average population density over the region is 4.1 people per square kilometer. The regional center is located in Uralsk, on the border with the Russian Federation and has rail and road links with Russia. There are 240,500 people living in the city, or 39.1% of the total population of the region. The region has 12 rural districts, 2 small towns and 476 villages.

The demographic situation in the area remains tense. The population of the area in 2009 decreased by 5 thousand people as compared with 1989, or by 0.8%. Ethnic structure of population during the 1990s has undergone significant changes. Census data for 1989, 1999 and 2009 for the West Kazakhstan region allows to determine the ratio of these changes. The number of Kazakhs increased from 351 thousand to 433 thousand people and, respectively, their proportion rose from 55.8 to 70.4% in the general population. The second largest is the Russian population, but their numbers declined from 217 thousand to 144 thousand people and, respectively, their proportion fell from 53.2% to 23.4% (Fig.10 a, b). Population decline occurred among almost all other nationalities living in West Kazakhstan region.

Thus, there was a significant decrease in the total population in 1990s, which took place because of the outflow of non-indigenous population from the region. The largest number of migrants was from Russian, Ukrainian and German communities. Most of the German population migrated to Germany, but Russians, Ukrainians and migrants of other ethnicity migrated to the neighboring Russian regions. Thus, substantial human resources were formed on both sides of the border. Their migration direction is determined by kinship, labor, economic and other ties with the former place of residence. In our opinion, exactly these people constitute the base of existence and development of frontier migration.
### Tab. 10 – Ethnic structure of population of West Kazakhstan region, 1989, 1999, 2010, (thou., %)

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kazakh</td>
<td>351.1</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>399.0</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>445.9</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>94.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>216.5</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>174.0</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>140.1</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>-42.5</td>
<td>-33.9</td>
<td>-76.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>-8.5</td>
<td>-4.7</td>
<td>-13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>-2.6</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
<td>-3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarus</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
<td>-2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chechen</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>-2.2</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
<td>-3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mordvins</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-0.8</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijani</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>-2.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>629.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>616.8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>624.3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-12.7</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>-5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Author’s calculations based on data of Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan
Fig. 10 a, b – Kazakh and Russian population of the West Kazakhstan, 1989–2002, (in thou., %)

Sources: Author’s calculation based on data of Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan
Chapter 10

Results of own empirical research. Frontier migration between West Kazakhstan and Orenburg regions

10.1 Descriptive analysis of frontier migration

10.1.1 Socio-demographic profile of respondents

Age and gender structure. Six age groups covering the adult population were singled out according to sex and age distribution of the West Kazakhstan region's population, which was recorded in the Census 2009. Among the respondents surveyed, 38% were under 30 years, 38.7% – middle-aged (30 to 49 years), 23.3% of respondents – older age (50 years and above). An almost equal number of people were questioned by gender. 49.3% of the respondents were male, 50.7% – female. In the Orenburg region, 27.5%, 33%, 39.5% were surveyed, respectively, and 51% of the respondents there were female and 49% – male.

Ethnic composition. The survey covered representatives of twenty different ethnic groups. The ethnic composition of the respondents reflects the ethnic picture of the settlements, where this sample survey was conducted. Among the respondents of West Kazakhstan region, Kazakhs constitute – 70.3%, Russians – 23.5%, and other nationalities – 6.2% (Ukrainians, Tatars, Belarusians, Germans and others) (see Fig.13a).

Citizenship of respondents. The vast majority of all respondents has Kazakhstan citizenship – 93.5%, while among Kazakhs – 99.3% and Russians – 90.7% have Kazakhstan passport. About 9.2% of the respondents are citizens of Russia, even though living in the West Kazakhstan region. This figure is higher in older age groups. As it becomes clear during the research, not all who have obtained the citizenship of Russia actually leave Kazakhstan, especially the elderly.
Fig. 11a, b, c, d – Age and gender structure of respondents

Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009
Fig. 12a, b – Ethnic structure of respondents

Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of the West Kazakhstan”, 2009.
One of the main reasons is the difficulty of adapting to a new location, as many of these people have lived in Kazakhstan most of their lives. Russian citizenship for this group of people serves as a kind of “security guarantee” or “in order not to feel isolated from Russia”. The survey can describe the extent of a serious problem – the presence of a group of people among the population of Kazakhstan with the residence and apartment in Kazakhstan while being the citizens of another state, in this case Russia. For this group of people, it is quite obvious to have high migration mobility. This group is very significant for the border areas, since only the territorial proximity increases the mobility of people and promotes the formation of such groups.

In the Orenburg region – 72.3% of the respondents were Russians, 5.1% – Kazakhs and 22.6% – other ethnicities (see Fig.12b). Most of the respondents had citizenship of Russia – (536 pers.) 89.3%. A number of people who have Kazakhstani citizenship were small – 12 people, or 2% of the respondents. Generally, they were the ones who have recently moved to Russia from neighboring regions of Kazakhstan.

Education and employment. The level of education of the respondents breaks down as follows: 34.5% of the respondents have higher and 18.3% – incomplete higher education, 29.5% of respondents received a special secondary education, 15.3% have secondary education and 2.4% – incomplete secondary education. About 44.1% of the respondents are employed in state-owned enterprises, including 11.7% – in budgetary institutions, 22.8% – in the private sphere. 5.7% of the respondents were students, with every other student having additional work. 9.9% were pensioners. Among the respondents, 5.3% were housewives, 12.2% of the respondents had no permanent job, neither working nor engaged in private trade. In the Orenburg region, 42.7% of the respondents work in state-owned enterprises and budgetary organizations, 22.7% – in the private sector, 12% are students, 12.6% – pensioners, 3% – housewives and 7% – unemployed.

Source of livelihood. The characteristics of the survey participants can be completed by the information on the sources of livelihood. For the most part, 67.9% named employment as the main source of income, of those, 9.9% named private farming. Among the second group of the respondents, 24.0% are the people who have no independent source of income – pensioners and dependents. 2.2% named scholarship as the source of livelihood, 4.4% – government assistance of various kinds, among which the social benefits are the most important, and 1.5% – the income from renting or leasing property. That is, characteristics of the respondents according to the level of livelihood coincide with a similar structure of the entire population of the region.

Thus, the survey covered various social and demographic groups. This really allows to find out what part of the borderlands population is involved in cross-border movement on the Kazakhstan-Russia border and determine the nature of frontier migration and population problems.
Respondents’ self-identification. On researching the frontier migrations an important value was the issue of self-identification of border territories population.

For determine the self-identification respondents were questioned “Whom do they feel in the first place?”

1. Citizen of Kazakhstan
2. Citizen of Russia
3. Member of his ethnic group
4. At the same time the citizen (of Kazakhstan) and the member of his ethnic group
5. Soviet man
6. Inhabitant of his region
7. Other
8. Find difficulty in replying

The question about the respondents’ self-identity showed that most people primarily identify themselves as citizens of their country. So, in response to this question, (536) 89.3% of those surveyed said they considered themselves to be citizens of Kazakhstan, (15) 2.5% of the respondents – citizens of other countries, in this case Russia, (20) 3.3% consider themselves as citizens of both Russia and Kazakhstan. There are still people remained who consider themselves as Soviet citizens – (12) 2.0%. More than half of them are older than 50 years, but there are some young people as well. (5) 0.8% of the respondents in the first place consider themselves as representatives of their nationality and (12) 2.0% – as representatives of the West Kazakhstan region (Fig.13). Among urban Russians, there is slightly higher proportion of those who prefer to consider themselves as citizens of another state – as Soviet citizens or simply as residents of the West Kazakhstan region. Thus, the vast majority considered themselves as citizen of Kazakhstan. This is a significant change, since, according to the previous studies, more than 12% (in 2001) and 7% (in 2005) of the respondents referred to themselves as “Soviet” (Karzhaubayeva, 2002: 116).
According to self-identification of the respondents, among those who consider themselves as citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan by nationality – 97% of Kazakhs, 70.6% – Russians and 76% – other nationalities. In the Orenburg region, 93.7% of Russians and 78.6% of Kazakhs feel themselves primarily as citizens of Russian Federation, and only 4.8% and 15.3%, respectively – as representatives of their nationality.

Among the older people there are men who associate themselves with “Soviet men” up to date, and among the young people (regardless of nationality) great number associates with “Citizen of Kazakhstan”.

It was interesting to find out that how the self-identification influences on migrants mobility degree. The mobility, migration frequency and residence time in neighbor state territory (Russia), was higher among the people who associates themselves with “Citizen of Russia”. And among the respondents feeling themselves representatives of their region (West Kazakhstan), half of them does not leave its region. In the given case, if follow the concept of German researcher L.Pries (Pries 1996: 456-472), the respondents who associate themselves with “Citizen of Russia” are trans-migrants, who are living in “sending” (Russia) and “accepting” (Kazakhstan) communities and forming trans-national community simultaneously. As researches show, often trans-migrants do not orientate on integration, which is confirmed by our researchers as well. The trans-migrants crossing international borders and staying in other country keep a social relation with their native country.
So, as self-identification analysis of population of Kazakhstan-Russia border area has shown, the problem of identity is closely connected with many factors, though the territorial, ethnic, age-related factors have the most influence on frontier population identity. In addition, as the given research displays, self-identification of population, can be reflected on other indexes of frontier migration – on the population mobility, frequency and etc.

Many researchers had argued that local territorial communities are not passive subjects at all, on which central authorities may influence. On the contrary, they actively influence as on a real mode, character and perception of border in neighbor countries as on the identity formation. The particular identity is formed on the basis of specific interests and culture in local territorial communities, sometimes – trans-frontier, especially if inhabitants of close-to-border regions are like in language and culture.

10.1.2 Frontier migration: reasons, directs and characters

Studying of causes, directions and migration character has an important value on researching the frontier migration.

As the research has shown, the presence of relatives and other close ties causes permanent contacts and trips of residents of the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands to each other. These connections are stable, despite the re-establishment of the border between the two countries and control at the checkpoints. A survey has shown that almost half of the respondents have relatives and friends in the neighboring country, namely 40.7% of the respondents have relatives and other close ties in Russia. In spite of the distance and borders, in four out of five cases, the people who had relatives maintain permanent contacts with them (one in three respondents). Women are more likely to have and maintain contacts with relatives in Russia. Only 15% of women and 30% of men do not maintain a relationship with the relatives they have there.

The respondents aged 30 to 49 years are more often to stay in contact with the loved ones. For elderly over 60 years it is difficult to maintain contacts with relatives, while having had them, 60% of the respondents in this age group do not stay in touch with their relatives. The residents of district centers and villages have (every second) relatives from the Russian Federation and frequently communicate with them. Among the respondents who have relatives, maintain regular contacts with them: 84.6% of district centers residents, only 68.6% of village residents and 77.7% of Uralsk residents. The respondents were asked to indicate the purpose of their trips to Russia in the past three years. 43.5% of the respondents have said that they did not go there during this period. Let us analyze the responses of those who have traveled there in these years (339 respondents).

The study showed a variety of reasons why Kazakhstan residents traveled to the neighboring country over the past three years. They can be broken down into four groups:
1. Trips related to contacts with relatives;
2. Business trips (buying goods);
3. Treatment in Russian clinics;
4. Trips related to business and study.

Most respondents named a meeting with relatives and friends as the primary reason for their trips to Russia (43.5% of those who have traveled in the last three years). Among all respondents, in general, one in four went to meet with them. In this group, the number of people who maintain permanent contacts with relatives and family living in the neighboring country, much more than those who travel primarily for communicating with them. Thus, 66.5% of these respondents went to visit them in those three years. In addition, one-third of those who do not stay in touch with relatives in Russia now, have also visited them in these three years.

On the other hand, there is a counter-flow of people coming to Kazakhstan to visit their relatives and friends – 58% of the respondents. Of those, more than 80% said that they had previously lived in Kazakhstan and, accordingly, just for this reason, crossed the border repeatedly.

The second most common reason for trips is the purchase of food products and goods and for home use. For 26.9% of the respondents who traveled, it was an affordable way to reduce expenses for their household budget. As it is known, the price difference in food products and goods between the two countries has long been very noticeable, which in turn increased the flow of goods transported by private individuals. Thus, 13.1% of the respondents in this three-year period were involved in buying food products and goods in Russia (including spare parts for automobiles, household appliances, Russian kitchen utensils and others). Significantly fewer people (2.1% of those who traveled), in turn, brought food products and goods for sale in Russia. From the Russian side, it was especially noted by the residents of village Linevka who had also traveled to buy goods for home use. They buy Kazakh flour, tea and alcoholic beverages, which are better quality than Russian ones (as noted by the respondents themselves).
Fig. 14b – Reasons for the respondents’ trips to Russia in the past three years, to all samples (in %)

- Meeting with relatives and friends: 1%
- Purchase of goods and products for home: 2%
- Treatment: 1%
- Transit: 3%
- Business trip: 6%
- Study: 11%
- Recreation: 23%
- Purchase of goods and products for sale: 37%
- Sale of goods and products in Russia: 6%
- For work: 1%
- Lived there: 2%
- Other: 34%

Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009
The third common reason for trips to the neighboring country is the treatment in Russian clinics. 12.7% of the respondents went to Russia for medical treatment. The population of the West Kazakhstan region continues quite actively receiving medical services in the neighboring state. This is due to several reasons: proximity of the small frontier settlements to major Russian cities, where the large medical centers are located with a high quality medical care, although with more expensive services. On the other hand, this is due to the remoteness of the West Kazakhstan region from major cities of Kazakhstan. For example, the distance from Uralsk to Almaty is 2,200 km, from Uralsk to Astana – 1,747 km, whereas from Uralsk to Samara – 180 km, from Uralsk to Orenburg – 365 km, from Aksai to Orenburg – 201 km.

Next, the fourth reason for trips is related to official business and studying in the neighboring border territories (one in ten). According to some reports, there are more than 16,000 students from Kazakhstan studying in the major cities of Russia, including the Samara, Orenburg, Saratov, etc. According to the survey, in the last three years, 6.6% of the respondents have traveled to Russia with the purpose of study and 6.6% – business trip. 4.1% made transit through Russia. However, when compared with the results of the previous surveys in 2009, the trips performed for commercial purpose declined – from 17.5% to 2.1%. The low proportion of people traveling for commercial purpose indicates that small and medium business market has practically developed and reflects the overall decline in shuttle trade.

Another very important issue in the recent past is labor migration, especially for residents of border regions of the Russian Federation, who often came to work in the Karachaganak deposit, Aksai, Atyrau and Aktau. The survey has also shown that cross-border contacts with the purpose of employment were insignificant – only 2% of the respondents travel to Kazakhstan for this purpose.

Therefore, both Kazakhstan and Russian citizens living in the borderland area are quite closely related to each other in their daily lives. Contacts between inhabitants of frontier territories are predetermined by existence of historic, cultural, economic or political bonds between countries. And according to a theory migration system: probability of an international migration is especially great between the former colonial states and their former colonies (that Russia and Kazakhstan were). The reason is in administrative, transport, communicational, investment, cultural and linguistic and other bonds which were established in the soviet period. Stability of migratory bonds is determined by migratory systems – kindred and other bonds of inhabitants of these states. And the main basis for existing and developing of such migratory systems is Kazakh diaspora resident in Russia and Russian diaspora in Kazakhstan.

Here in a concept of “international” culture is applicable which is forming among the inhabitants of frontier regions, turning to advantage from frontier contacts, so far as a sufficient part of migrants comes out into neighbor country for solving its personal problems – purchasing, studying, medical purposes and etc.
10.1.3 The intensity and seasonal nature of frontier migration

The respondents were asked how often they had to cross the Kazakhstan-Russia border in certain periods of time. Note here that the number of respondents who did not answer the question varied from 12.6% to 25.7%, depending on remoteness of the estimated time period (see Tab.10). This, unfortunately, did not allow to have a clear picture of frontier migration in the past 15 years. The difficulties of the respondents regarding the review of frequency of their visits can be explained by the forgetting of remote events and, apparently, by the difficulty of an unambiguous assessment of the proposed unequal periods of time (in the last year, in the last three years, in mid-1990s, until the 1990s). Nevertheless, this kind of question allowed to differentiate the degree of people’s involvement in frontier migration, to identify the changes in its intensity for this group of respondents, at least to have a general idea.

*Tab. 11 – Intensity of West Kazakhstan residents’ trips to Russia, (in %)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of the trips</th>
<th>Almost every day</th>
<th>Several times a month</th>
<th>Several times a year</th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>No answer</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Last year</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last three years</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the mid 1990s</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Until the 1990s</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009*

Let us consider the intensity of population trips to Russia in the last year. As it was noted by 38.1% of the respondents, this year they have crossed the border at least once. 14.3% of the respondents often travel to the Russian Federation (daily and several times a month), 41% of them travel almost every day. 61.9% of the respondents have not traveled there this year. It promotes frequent contacts.

The survey revealed some of the socio-demographic characteristics of the population group which actively travels to the neighboring country. Among women, the proportion of those who travel is 5% higher than among men. In age group 20-49 years, which is the most active and mobile part of the population, the proportion of those who frequently crossed the Kazakhstan-Russia border was slightly higher (3-5% above average). Half of the respondents who travel at the age of 15 to 39 years cross the border every day or several times a month. Whereas the 40-year-old group travels less in 70% of the cases – a few times a year. The intensity of trips decreases with age and reduced to a few trips a year for the older generation.

By ethnicity, specific differences were not detected. Unlike other respondents, all Russian respondents went to Russia during this year, 41% of them go there almost every day or several
times a month, because the distance between some Kazakh and Russian settlements (villages) can
be only a few kilometers. In other words, the farther a Russian village is from a large settlement, the
closer it is to a Kazakh settlement (usually a Kazakh village or a regional center).

The presence of kinship and friendship ties in the neighboring country has a significant impact
on the very fact of trips and their intensity. Among those who maintain ties with relatives in Russia,
69.5% have traveled there during the final year at the time of this survey. This is three times higher
compared with those who do not have the relatives there (only 22.5% of them traveled). The
number of people crossing the border is low as well among those who do not currently stay in touch
with their family and friends (28%).

About one third of residents of the borderlands cross the Kazakhstan-Russia border regularly or
occasionally. Among respondents who crossed the border in the past three years, 72% traveled to
the Russian Federation once or several times a year, 23% – several times a month and 5% were
there almost every day. Among those who went there in the period up until 1990, the ratio of the
frequency of their trips was the same (65, 24 and 11% respectively). Thus, over the last 15-20 years,
there have been significant changes in the intensity of trans-boundary trips – these trips became less
frequent. In our view, this reflects a general downward trend in the level of relationship between
Kazakhstan and Russia, their transition to a new qualitative state, which clearly indicated the
emerging increase in regional disparities between citizens of both countries. As a result, the
frequency of cross-border trips has become less regular. The survey showed that the trips made "a
few times a year" became the most common type of trips.

Let us find out how the migratory behavior changed for the groups of respondents who had
actively traveled to the neighboring country during a selected 15-year period, prior to independence
of our countries. To do this, let us compare the frequency of trips to Kazakhstan until the 1990s and
in the last three years. This will give us a better idea of the dynamics of frontier migration.

In general, in the group of respondents who had traveled freely in the neighboring country
during those years increased the number of those who traveled infrequently or did not travel at all.
This is influenced not only by the socioeconomic and political factors, but also by the aging factor
and reducing mobility of people in the older age groups. In most cases, the predominance of the
former type of migration activity was revealed, although there was a decrease in the intensity of
their trips by one position.

The most visited cities in the Russian Federation. More than 40.5% of all respondents (half of
those who traveled) often visit the Russian cities of Samara and Orenburg, which have the
necessary economic and social infrastructure and are located near the border. 27% of the
respondents named other destinations for trips, for example, Sol-Iletsk salt lake recreation area, as
well as borderland settlements, such as Ozinki, Ilek, Pervomai etc.

Ozinky village is often visited because here there is frontier and customs point on the gates from
West Kazakhstan to Russian towns Samara, Saratov, Moscow and others. It is more convenient for
the inhabitants of Aksai and Chingirlau to visit Russia through Orenburg region which is conditioned by geographic nearness as well as the availability of the railway connecting these centers. Samara region is more often visited by the population of Uralsk town. The most visited is Samara town which recently has been used as a transit for flight of the inhabitants of Uralsk to Europe (for examples, the time of flight from Prague to Samara is 3.40 and it takes about 2 hours to get from Samara to Uralsk by car).

**Tab. 12 – The most visited cities of the Russian Federation, (in %)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlements</th>
<th>Place of residence of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uralsk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samara and Samara region</td>
<td>88.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samara</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ozinki</td>
<td>88.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orenburg region</td>
<td>89.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orenburg</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sol-Iletsk</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009*

The reasons for a reduction in the number and duration of trips. Reducing the number of trips has caused a decrease in the total length of stay. In the questionnaire, where the respondents marked the duration of trips to Russia, this relationship can be traced quite clearly. In general, the reduction in stays of Kazakhstan citizens in the neighboring Russian regions was recorded. As the shortest time of the visit, they noted the following duration: not more than 1 day – 40.1% and a few days – 47.2%. As the longest period of stay in Russia, the respondents indicated a period of several weeks, but such responses had been recorded significantly less – 12.1%. However, about 1% of the respondents lived in Russia for several months.

The reasons for the reduction in the number of trips and their duration is, in our view, primarily dependent on the nature and purpose of trips, which are defined by the changed current conditions of the Kazakhstan-Russia border crossing and living in Russia. We have already noted that the Kazakhstan residents made the main trips in order to visit relatives and solve other issues, which naturally involves a short stay.

Financial difficulties the Kazakhstan residents face can be named among the reasons for the reduction in the number of trips. Even with an overall stabilization of the economic situation in Kazakhstan, increase employment and welfare, material concerns of the people continue to play a leading role. For example, analysis of bus and rail road fare prices of trips between Kazakhstan and Russian cities showed that over the past 10 years, the fares have increased by almost 3 times. This
happened mainly due to increases in the cost of gasoline, which price in Kazakhstan is 10-12% more expensive than in the Russian Federation, as well as because of the reduction in the number of buses and trains between the two countries. Therefore, auto transport remains the main means of transportation.

**Seasonal character of frontier migration.** Trips to Russia became clearly a matter of seasonal nature. According to the survey, 80% of all visits were performed in the summertime. These survey results are also confirmed by the Border Service of Kazakhstan’s Department of National Security Committee in West Kazakhstan region. There are about 19 thousand people crossing the Kazakhstan-Russia border monthly. For the most part, these trips take place during the summer months – June, July, August and September. At this time, more than 21 thousand people cross the border monthly. In winter, cross-border flow of migrants is reduced by 30% and amounts to 13 thousand – 14 thousand people a month. However, the number of migrants from the Kazakhstan side outnumbers those who come from Russia (Border Service of Kazakhstan 2009).

### 10.1.4 Migration intentions of the borderland residents

One of the objectives of this research is to identify a potential of the borderland population regarding frontier migration, which expressed as the intention to move to another country. As has shown the study of emigration behavior of the population in post-Soviet era, one of the dominant factors in its revitalization is the economic one. We will analyze how the residents of West Kazakhstan and Orenburg regions evaluate the well-being of the population and the economic situation in their place of residence, and how it affects their willingness to move to another country.

**Estimation of the economic situation.** Among respondents in Kazakhstan, two-thirds of the respondents characterized the current economic situation in the following statement: “everything is not so bad, and it is quite possible to live”. One in four respondents said that “endure”. Only 2% of the respondents believed that “it is not possible to endure our miserable conditions any longer”.

Among the respondents aged under 40, there is generally more optimistic evaluation of the standard of living than among people above 40 years of age. Thus, 73.9% of the respondents from the first age group noted that “everything is not so bad, and it is quite possible to live”, compared with 64.8% from the second group of people. Accordingly, the latter often choose the answer that “life was hard, but one can endure” (30.6% vs. 23.2%). The most optimistic respondents were twenty years of age, whereas life seems more difficult for people over 60 years. A positive fact is that only few people describe the situation as disastrous, when it is no longer possible to endure the miserable conditions.

Comparative analysis of the responses of respondents from different ethnic groups showed that the Kazakhs and representatives of other nationalities (many of them Asians) evaluate living standards more positively. More than 75.3% of Kazakhs, 72.6% of other ethnic groups and only 53.5% of Russians believe that it is quite possible to live well in Kazakhstan. Among the Russians,
twice as many those who think that life is difficult for the population. Increased dissatisfaction with personal living conditions strengthens migration intentions of Russian residents of the borderlands, as will be shown below.

For the analysis of survey results, the evaluation of economic situation in the two neighboring regions – West Kazakhstan and Orenburg regions by the participants of this survey is very important. In general, most Kazakh respondents evaluated the situation in Kazakhstan as more favorable. Thus, the positive responses arranged as follows: “the situation is much better” – 6.7%, “the situation is better” – 16.0%, i.e., 22.7% in total. The negative responses: “the situation is much worse” – 3.4% and “the situation is worse” – 14.1%, i.e., 17.5% in total. As we see, more survey participants appreciated the nature of economic reforms in Kazakhstan than in Russia. However, 21.6% of the respondents consider the economic situation as the same, indicating that their evaluation of the changes has no major differences. Whereas 37.9% of the respondents in the Orenburg region believe that economic situation in the Russian Federation is the same as in Kazakhstan, 16.2% – “we have much better situation” than in Kazakhstan and 6.1% of the respondents evaluate it as “our situation is worse” and “our situation is much worse”.

It should be noted that during the survey, 36.6% of the respondents in Kazakhstan and 34.8% of the respondents in the Russian Federation found it difficult to make an unambiguous comparative analysis of the economic situation both in West Kazakhstan and in the Orenburg region, explaining that they do not have sufficient information in the neighboring state. It can be partially explained by the fact that 46.5% of the respondents have not visited Russia for the past 2-3 years, and 49.3% – in this year. To some extent, this is a confirmation of the growing alienation between the people of the two neighboring countries and a partial interruption of cultural and economic relations.

Migration intentions of the borderland residents. According to the survey, 73.7% of the respondents do not have any plans to emigrate from the country (see Fig. 16). More than 1.9% of the respondents intend to do it this year and 6.9% – in the next two or three years, i.e., approximately every tenth respondent has definite plans to move from Kazakhstan. 15% of the respondents would like to move to another country some day.

Data analysis showed that there is no specific difference in responses between men and women. There are more respondents aged 20 to 39 willing to go to another country in the next three years (10.9%), whereas in the age group of 40-50 only 6.7% would consider this option.

The number of people who are going to move in the coming years is 4.1% more than average among the respondents with higher education. Young people under 20 years (many of them are students), more often than others dream of moving some day (19.1%). A higher level of immigration sentiments also found among people aged over 60 years, which is apparently explained by the desire to reunite with their children and other relatives who had left earlier. 10.9% of them are going to leave Kazakhstan in the next two or three years, with almost everyone planning to go to Russia.
There were differences revealed in the attitudes towards migration based on ethnicity. Kazakhs are benefited the most culturally and politically from sovereignization. They represent the core of ethnic people of Kazakhstan and, accordingly, are strongly attached to their native land, even though among them there are some persons ready to leave their historic homeland.

The survey has also revealed that among the Kazakhs most of those who are not going to go anywhere (94.3%), among other nationalities they represent 73.0%, among the Russians – 63.1%. As we see, despite the stabilization of the socioeconomic and political situation in Kazakhstan, people still continue to see a move to other countries is one of the most successful ways to improve their lives.

The desire to move expressed most clearly among the Russian community in Kazakhstan. Among Russian respondents, 5.0% reported that they were going to move this year, 8.5% – in the next 2-3 years, 21.3% – some day and 63.1% do not plan to move. Among the representatives of other nationalities (other than Kazakhs and Russians), the following results were obtained: 5.4% want to move this year, 10.8% – in a few years, 10.8% – some day and 73.0% are not going to leave Kazakhstan. Also, in general, the Russians more often are willing to leave some day. Among them more those who definitely know the direction of their move, whereas among Kazakhs and representatives of other ethnic groups (Tatars, etc.) there is only a general idea to go somewhere. 59.3% of Kazakhs, 37.2% of Russians and 28.6% of other nationalities could not name the country where they wanted to move to (See Tab.13; Fig.16a, b, c, d).

Tab. 13 – Countries where respondents intend to move to, depending on nationality (in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Kazakhs</th>
<th>Russians</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CIS Countries</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe and the US</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The proportion of those who are going to leave</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009
Fig. 15a, b, c, d – The intention to move to another country, depending on nationality

Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009
Fig. 16a, b – The intention to move to another country, depending on gender

Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009
Every fifth Russian respondent would like to move to Russia, with half of them – in the coming years. Every second Russian, who has made plans to move, is going to move to Russia. The Kazakhs, as well as representatives of other nationalities often just dream of going to a more economically developed country and, therefore often name the United States and Western European countries as desirable for immigration (one in three wants to leave). Every third representative of other nationalities named CIS countries such as Russia, Kazakhstan (other regions of Kazakhstan) as the country of their destination.

Their willingness to stay or leave depends on how deeply people perceive their relationship with Kazakhstan, with the place of their residence, what is their readiness to realize themselves in this country. Among the respondents who primarily consider themselves as citizens of Kazakhstan, there are a higher proportion of those who are not going to go anywhere.

Thus, 78.4% of the respondents in this group are not going to leave the country, compared with 51.4% of those in this group who identify themselves primarily with their nationality.

According to the survey, as expected, the mobility of Kazakhstan’s population towards the Asian countries was nonexistent. For Kazakhs, from the neighboring countries, only Russia remains attractive for relocation. In general, there is no strongly expressed immigration sentiment among population, except for the part of Russian community.

Among Russian respondents in the Russian Federation, nobody was willing to move to Kazakhstan. With regards to immigration sentiment of the Kazakh population in Russia, many Kazakhs plan to return to their historical homeland. This percentage is particularly high among young people, who, for the most part, would like to live and work in Astana and Almaty.
Fig. 18a, b, c, d – The intention to move to another country, depending on nationality

**Kazakhs**
- The proportion of those who are going to leave: 14%
- CIS Countries: 6%
- Western Europe and the US: 24%
- No answer: 31%
- Other: 5%

**Russian**
- The proportion of those who are going to leave: 30%
- CIS Countries: 34%
- Western Europe and the US: 10%
- No answer: 20%

**Other nationalities**
- The proportion of those who are going to leave: 25%
- CIS Countries: 24%
- Western Europe and the US: 22%
- No answer: 21%
- Other: 8%

**Total population**
- Western Europe and the US: 10%
- CIS Countries: 22%
- No answer: 35%
- Other: 19%

Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009
10.1.5 Motives for migration sentiments

The main reasons given by respondents who are willing to move to other countries, was named not only by those who have expressed a desire to do it, but also by a quarter of those who are not going to move. Their responses are also interesting because, as a whole, they reflect the main reasons that compel people to migrate outside the country as well as within it. Comparative analysis of the responses of those who wish to leave and those who responded to the question has shown that they are similar and have the same sequence in order of importance.

Let us consider the responses of those who wanted to leave in the coming years and in the distant future. They justify their attitude in the following reasons: 39.2% of the respondents in this group have indicated that they want to leave “to better provide for themselves and their families”, 36.8% of them named “the lack of prospects for their children”. At this, men do not see prospects for their children more often and mention the worst living conditions (see Tab.14). People are more easily inclined to move, when they have family or friendly ties that will facilitate their local integration in the country of destination. More than 21.6% of the respondents noted that they are going to move following the invitation of relatives, 8.7% – because of marriage. Women mention these reasons more often.

More than 7.2% believe that in Kazakhstan there are “worse living conditions”, and for 8.7% of the respondents, the desire to relocate is related to the lack of work. In general, the main causes are socioeconomic in nature, associated with such a live position, where people put their own personal interests in the foreground. They are considerably inferior to such problems as “a sense of isolation from the historical homeland” – 12.8% and “the problems with the Kazakh language” – 8.9%.

Those who intend to leave in the next two or three years, were motivated by the desire to create better opportunities for children. They are often invited by relatives, they have stronger sense of isolation from the historical homeland and, it is more difficult for them to break down internal barriers and learn the Kazakh language. In other words, their migratory intentions are affected by both economic and sociocultural reasons.

The next group of the respondents, which think of changing their place of residence in an indefinite future, say, on average, more than others that they would like to have a better way to provide for themselves, and that “there are worse living conditions in our country”. They associate improving their welfare with living in an economically prosperous country. This part of the respondents who are not going abroad, but think of moving within the country, primarily justify this by the desire to create better conditions for themselves and their families (43.3%) and to ensure better prospects for their children (26.7%). At the same time, many would like to live in the capital city of Astana.
Tab. 14 – Motives for migration sentiments, (in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for the desired departure</th>
<th>Everyone who is going to move</th>
<th>Going to move to another country:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This year</td>
<td>In the next 2-3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The desire to better provide for themselves and their families</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of prospects for children</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitations of relatives</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling of isolation from their historical homeland</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems with the Kazakh language</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have worse living conditions</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of work</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Respondents could chose three answers at once

Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009

Russian respondents most often than others have noted reasons such as: the lack of prospects for children (46.7% of all who chose this answer), problems with the Kazakh language (43.7%), invitations of relatives (42.4%), and feeling of isolation from the historical homeland (40.5%). This confirms once again that the Russians, in comparison with other non-indigenous nationalities, have still not fully accepted the realities of the disintegrated Soviet space, and not all of them want to be citizens of an independent Kazakhstan. Moreover, often as Kazakhstan’s residents in the first or second generation, they have not become deep-rooted here and ready to return to Russia.

What keeps people from moving? To find it out, let us compare the responses of those who are not going to leave Kazakhstan and those who want to leave. Among the respondents not planning to leave, in the first place – 69.3% justify this by saying that Kazakhstan is their homeland, and 59.4% say they have relatives and friends here (see Table 15). In general, as a whole, these two factors are important to 75.6% (the percentage for women is slightly higher) and 47.6% of respondents, respectively. One in four has said that work and owning a business keep them from moving, while for men it is more important. As we can see, the most significant restraint factors include attachment to their native land and well settled life.
Tab. 15 – Reasons keeping the respondents from moving to other countries, (in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Total percentage</th>
<th>Percentage of those who are not going to leave</th>
<th>Percentage of responded to the question, among those who are going to leave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan is my homeland</td>
<td>75.6</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here are my relatives and friends</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have work, business here</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This will not solve my problems</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are no means to move</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High costs associated with the settlement in the new place of residence</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties of obtaining the residence permit and citizenship</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Respondents could chose three answers at once.
Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009

More than 16% of the respondents, adequately assessing their capabilities regarding the conditions in both Kazakhstan and Russia and making no serious differences between them, responded that the move to Russia “will not solve their problems”.

Considerably smaller proportion of the respondents was stopped by the difficulties in relocating and establishing in the new place. A relatively large group of the respondents, in the first place, among the reasons which do not allow them to move to Russia, named financial difficulties – 8.5%. 7% of the respondents are held back by the high costs associated with the settlement in the new place of residence. 3.4% of them are hampered by the difficulties of obtaining the residence permit and citizenship in the new place. This group of respondents reflects the opinion of that part of the population, which living standards are not high enough and the move is an insolvable problem for them. Those are mainly the unemployed and pensioners, constituting about 20% of the respondents. These reasons are seen more frequently as barriers by those thirty years old. Twenty years old persons who are mobile and optimistic less concerned about it.

Even though 23.8% of the respondents intend to leave Kazakhstan soon or some day, more than a third of them have indicated the reasons that keep them from leaving the country. Among those
who want to leave in the next two or three years, one in four also has weighty arguments against the
departure. The study of these factors is useful for creating conditions that hold potential migrants in
Kazakhstan.

Approximately one third of the respondents are being held back by the facts that here is their
native land, their relatives and friends live there. However, the departure is considered by them as a
real way to improve their lives. Only 8.2% of the respondents believe that it will not solve their
problems. Their departure is postponed due to the lack of necessary means to move (the
significance of this reason is 2.6 times higher than among those who are not going leave), the lack
of means for the settlement in a new location (1.7 times higher), as well as complicated procedures
for obtaining citizenship (2 times higher). It should be noted that the last obstacle in Russia has
become a considerable obstacle even for the ethnic Russians after passing a new Russian citizenship
law in 2002.

The survey showed that attempts to move to the neighboring country have not always ended
successfully. Among all surveyed respondents, 11.2% of them at least once attempted to move to
another country, 3.8% did so repeatedly. Among those who intend to leave within the next two to
three years, 19.6% have already made one attempt, 13% have tried it repeatedly. Interestingly that
those who want to leave some day, had the highest number of attempts to move (27.8% and 7.6%
respectively). 8.6% of those who do not plan to move made such an attempt in the past.

The respondents attempted to move to Russia most often (3% of the total number of
respondents and 55.5% of those who attempted to change their place of residence), and further
abroad (2.8% and 42.4% respectively).

The survey has also shown that among men more those who once attempted to change their
place of residence (6% of men and 4.2% of women), but among women more those who have made
a similar attempt more than once (2.3% of women and 0.5% of men).

What kinds of issues had people encountered when they tried to move to another country? The
most difficult problem in a new place for the respondents, who had already tried to settle in another
country, was impossibility to find a job (one in three of them). The second major problem was the
fact that they could not buy a home (for each fifth of those who tried to leave). These difficulties
together with work and housing are named 2 times more often by those who had repeatedly tried to
move. For those who had tried to move only once, difficulties in obtaining citizenship (one in four)
and registration procedure, residence permits and other documents (one in five respondents),
became more significant obstacles.

Thus, the analysis of responses to this set of questions indicate that the migration potential in
West Kazakhstan region had been exhausted as a result of mass outflows in the first half of the
1990s. The proportion of people wanting to move to Russia or those who do not exclude this
possibility is relatively low. And with the favorable socioeconomic development of Kazakhstan it is
quite possible to reduce the number of people in this group.
10.1.6 The problems of cross-border trips of people between Kazakhstan and Russia

The formation of independent states and the resulting urgent issues of their security have resulted in the establishment and strengthening of border controls. Because of the increased threat of terrorism and religious extremism in the region, drug trafficking and smuggling of goods in the recent years, the procedure of crossing the Kazakhstan-Russia border constantly gets more complicated. This certainly restricts people’s freedom of movement and leads to a decrease in their migration mobility. Since 2003, first the Russian Federation, then Kazakhstan have established the registration of border crossings and imposed migration cards. The average procedure of filling out the required documents and crossing the border between Russia and Kazakhstan takes at least 2 hours. That’s why the respondents mentioned difficulty in crossing the border, as one of the reasons restricting the possibility of movement.

Inconvenience for the citizens at border crossings. However, the results of this survey showed that, compared with the previous survey, people’s complaints about the inconveniences caused by the crossing of the border had decreased (Fig.19).

To the question “What kind of inconveniences do you experience while crossing the Kazakhstan-Russia border” – 34% of the respondents, who have traveled in the last three years, noted that they had experienced no inconvenience. 23% of the respondents believe that all inconveniences are justified as long as they protect the interests of the state and nation. Thus, the majority of the respondents (57%), who personally traveled to Russia in recent years, did not have significant difficulties and inconveniences during their trips – i.e., the survey showed that, in general, the number of people dissatisfied with intensified customs inspection and border control has decreased.

On the one hand, this is related to the improvement of these services, but, for the most part, to the fact that people have become more accustomed to the need of going through this kind of procedures.

Less than half of the respondents (43%) noted the presence of a number of barriers they had faced in the trans-boundary movements. 17% complain about strengthened customs inspection and 15.8% – about needlessly strict border control. 4.7% have reported disrespectful manners of customs and border services officers towards people. A study conducted at the Russian-Kazakhstan border in the Omsk and Orenburg regions (the Russian Federation) by the researcher at the Institute of Economic Sciences Forecasting Florinskaya Yu., also found that “among the CIS nationals who had enter Russia through official channels, a third had problems at border, with respondents dissatisfied with the Russian border services three times more than those services in Kazakhstan.
Characteristically, that the complaints about border inspection services do not depend on the nationality of the respondents" (Florinskaya 2002).

*Fig. 18 – Inconveniences to the citizens at border crossings, 2009, (in %)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inconvenience</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I do not experience any inconvenience</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All inconveniences are justified and protect the interests of the state and nation</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthened customs inspection</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needlessly strict border control</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disrespectful manners of customs and border services officers</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The need to fill out a large number of papers</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demands for bribes at border crossings</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties in exchanging and transportation of currency</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009*

For 3.8% of the respondents, crossing the border becomes exhausting due to filling out a large number of papers. About 1.2% faced demands for bribes at border crossings. These interviews conducted with people engaged in commercial activities, also showed the prevalence of illegal practice of payment to customs services officers for the transportation of goods. More than 0.5% of the respondents noted the inconvenience due to the need of currency exchange and difficulties associated with its transportation at the border crossing.

Several informal interviews has shown that people generally understand the need for such control and noted that there were no special problems both for people transporting goods and for other travelers as long as they comply with the law. However, the procedure of crossing the border and customs control is an exhausting one and often results in loss of time (from 2 to 6–8 hours). Particular difficulties were noted during the campaign of tightening border control because of the increasing threat to the national security, fight against drug trafficking, etc.

Other difficulties the people face, arising when they are in a neighboring state. In recent years, in all CIS countries, the monitoring of foreign citizens within the territory of the country has increased. Under the rules, the newcomers must register within three to five days upon their arrival. To the question "Have you faced any difficulties during your stay in a neighboring state?" – 62.5%
of the respondents, who visited Russia in the past three years, said they had not experienced any problems during their stay there. Every third respondent, however, faced some inconvenience while temporarily staying in Russia. First of all, 14.8% of respondents noted suspicious attitude or even Russian police bias against foreigners. In addition, (41) 6.8% of those who traveled noted the presence of the domestic nationalism, discrimination on ethnic grounds. From a certain time, a trip to Russia has been perceived by the part of Kazakhs as a risky venture because of the threat of becoming a victim of terrorist attack or extortion by unscrupulous police officials. Ethnic Kazakhs also fear of being attacked by skinheads. Given that such cases have occurred in the borderlands and other regions of Russia, this fear, unfortunately, is not unfounded. Taken into account these considerations, plus a fairly large distance between the centers of the border regions, it is no surprise that for those Kazakhs who do not have family connections and sustained interest in Russia, there is less motivation to visit our country, for example, as tourists.

**Crossing the border by passing the border and customs posts.** In the recent years, quite significant work has been done on the delimitation of the border. In has resulted in a reduction in the number of illegal border crossings (see Fig.19a, b, c). Among the respondents from West Kazakhstan, who had to cross the Kazakhstan-Russia border in the past three years, 2% admitted that at least once they had made it by bypassing the border control and customs checkpoints. More than 1.2% of the respondents who traveled, did it continuously, 0.3% did it more than once; 0.5% at least once crossed the border by bypassing the border posts and 1.0% of the respondents did not answer. Among residents of the Orenburg region, the number of violators is slightly less – 1.6%. 0.8% did not answer. In general, the vast majority of respondents, both from the Kazakhstan and Russian sides, legally cross the border – 96.5% and 97.5% respectively. 22 people who indicated that they had always or frequently crossed the border in the wrong place, often referred to such reasons of their trips as: visiting relatives (10 cases), purchase of goods and food products for sale (4 cases), training, medical treatment and rest (for 8 cases).
Fig. 19a, b, c – Have you crossed the Kazakhstan-Russia border by bypassing the border and customs posts?

- **West-Kazakhstan region, 2009**
  - No: 1.0%
  - Yes, many times: 0.6%
  - Yes, once or twice: 2.2%
  - Yes, several times: 0.3%
  - No answer: 95.5%

- **West-Kazakhstan region, 2005**
  - No: 2.3%
  - Yes, many times: 1.5%
  - Yes, once or twice: 1.2%
  - Yes, several times: 95%

- **Orenburg oblast, 2009**
  - No: 0.8%
  - Yes, many times: 0.5%
  - No answer: 0.3%
  - Yes, several times: 97.3%
Violators of the state border crossing rules indicated the following main reasons for bypassing of border and customs posts:

- Post was too far – 41.7%;
- There was no proof of identity – 8.3%;
- Because of the need to pay bribes at border crossing – 16.7%;
- Customs service officers did not allow– 16.7%;
- Carried large amounts of goods – 8.3%.

8.3% of the respondents, who crossed the border in the wrong place, did not mention the reasons for their actions.

**Fig. 20 – The reasons for bypassing of border and customs post, (in %)**

There are several possibilities to cross the border by passing customs checkpoints. The main factor here is a considerable length of the border with the presence of a small number of border and customs checkpoints. Secondly, those checkpoints are located at quite a big distance from the border (18–40 km). Sometimes decent law abiding citizens prefer to be illegal aliens. One example – the border towns on either side of the border at a distance of 3–7 km, where the residents have long had a variety of relationships (friendship, kinship, etc.). So, in order to have a brief visit for a few hours, people must cross the border, traveling 30 km to the nearest customs and border checkpoint, paying for using a car, otherwise, they will be considered as violators. Naturally, the majority prefer the shortest route across the border. It should be noted that both the Kazakhstan and
Russian sides have taken measures to improve the situation. Recently in the West Kazakhstan region and Orenburg regions, 12 border checkpoints have been established, but the border guards themselves acknowledge that they still have not enough checkpoints yet.

10.1.7 The attitude of borderlands population to strengthening of the border control

A survey revealed the people's attitude to the possibility of introducing the visa regime between Russia and Kazakhstan. The residents of West Kazakhstan region in general have expressed the negative attitude towards such innovation (83.8%), including those who do not support such a decision at all – 57.5%, rather do not support – 26.3%. Only 6.3% among the respondents support completely or rather support the introduction of the visa regime. And 9.9% of the respondents found it difficult to make a choice. Such an attitude shows understanding of the population of the borderlands the fact that, in case of introduction of the visa regime, the problems related to cross-border passage will increase sharply.

It was not just by chance that the responses to the question "Will you go to Russia if the visa regime is introduced?", are overwhelmingly negative: 47.9% of the respondents do not see any opportunity for themselves to visit the neighbors, 32.5% - would consider a trip only as a last resort. In other words, 80.4% of the respondents believe that in this case, a trip to Russia will be for them virtually impossible. A positive answer was chosen by 13.0%, but more than half of them said that they would be doing so much less. 6.5% of the respondents did not answer. Therefore, the introduction of the visa regime is seen by the West Kazakhstan region residents extremely negatively.

**Tab.16 – The attitude of respondents to the idea of introducing the visa regime between Russia and Kazakhstan, (in %)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Answers of the respondents of West Kazakhstan region (RK)</th>
<th>Answers of the respondents of Orenburg region (RF)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fully support</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather support</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total support:</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather do not support</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not support</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not support, in total:</td>
<td>83.8</td>
<td>81.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to answer</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009
This is even more evident in the borderlands area, where is the higher level of relationships between the residents of neighboring regions between Kazakhstan and Russia, and the migratory exchange is more intense.

The attitude of the Russian respondents to the idea of introducing the visa regime between Kazakhstan and Russia also represented the full range of possible views.

About 12% of the respondents supported the introduction of the visa regime between the two countries, 61% opposed to the idea of introduction of the visa regime and 27% of the respondents found it difficult to give an answer.

For comparison, consider the opinions of the respondents in West Kazakhstan region about the idea of introducing the visa regime with the countries of Central Asia. Here, the idea of introducing the visa regime with the Central Asian countries was supported by 28.8% of the respondents, i.e., almost twice higher than in the previous case (9.3% were in favor of introduction the visa regime with Russia) (Karzhaubayeva, 2005). As we have seen, personal concerns about problems of drug trafficking, illegal migration, the threat of the spread of terrorism leads to the fact that one in four is ready to introduce tough measures to eliminate them, as well as to accept the consequent restrictions for the population to enter into neighboring countries. This is largely due to the fact that the above-mentioned threats come, for the most part, from the southern borders of Kazakhstan. The cases of illegal entry of illegal aliens form far abroad via Central Asia as their transit route, have received particularly wide publicity, as well as penetration of propagators of Islamic fundamentalism.

Tab.17 – The attitude of the respondents of West Kazakhstan region to the idea of introducing the visa regime between Kazakhstan and the Central Asia countries, (in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fully support</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather support</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total support</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather do not support</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not support</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not support, in total:</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to answer</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Sample survey “ Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2005

Analysis of respondents’ attitudes towards the idea of introducing the visa regime between Russia and Kazakhstan also showed that among women, the number of those who were in favor of this measure and against it, was 5.2% less than among men. The respondents aged 20 to 49 years and older than 60 years, have expressed negative attitudes towards complications in the border
crossing between Kazakhstan and Russia. As was noted earlier, the men in active working age traveled more frequently and therefore were more in favor of open borders.

In fact, 85% of the respondents who traveled in the Russian Federation almost every day during this year do not support this idea at all. Among those who traveled several times in this year, the number is 78.3%. Also, 89% of all crossing the border at least once during the year, completely and partially opposed the visa regime, whereas among the respondents who have not traveled in the last five years, the percentage against the measure was only 28.9%. Among them, most people generally found it difficult to answer.

Apart from this, clear differences in views emerged among representatives of various ethnic groups. Among the 56 people who were in favor of the idea of the visa regime with the Russian Federation, Kazakhs often support tightening the rules of entry into and exit from the country. In their view, the tightening of border control is necessary, but justified measure to ensure safe and stable life for the citizens of the country.

Thus, it is in the interests of ordinary people to maintain free movement regime, selecting the milder forms of total control over people crossing the border. The introduction of migration card at all Kazakhstan border checkpoints was exactly this kind of measure that took effect July 1, 2003. This is explained by the desire of immigration and law enforcement agencies to have complete information about those crossing the border, reasons for traveling and length of stay of foreign nationals on its territory.

Impact of a formal delimitation of the border on people's lives. In this respect, the answers to the question about "the impact of a formal delimitation of the border on people's lives" are very interesting. We have identified examples of most typical and common responses. The respondents reiterated that the border crossing has become more complex, queues are still expected – 39.0%. This can be explained, in their view, by a more rigorous procedure – 16.0% and tightening control over the smuggling of prohibited goods – 7.1%, which, according to respondents' opinions, makes residents' lives more secure. On the positive side were marked socioeconomic consequences of delimitation: more jobs at the border checkpoints - 12.1%, the possibility for the local residents to earn more because of the visitors – 16.0%, and a decrease in the flow of goods transported by private traders – 16.2%. Among the negative sides were mentioned: reduction of contacts between the residents of the borderlands – 13.5%, and the increase in the number of people illegally crossing the border – 21.8%. Thus, the population sees both positive and negative points of border delimitation between the countries.
10.1.8 Advantages and problems of living of borderland territories

The territory factor has a certain impact on the residents’ quality of life because of its geographical location, proximity to economic and cultural centers of the country, availability of social infrastructure. The people of borderlands have their own specifics of life. In the situation when the border between Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation is close and transparent, it is easier to visit each other and establish various contacts (personal, business, labor, trade, etc.), as well as to use socioeconomic advantages of adjacent territories.

Analysis of responses shows that residents of the border zone pragmatically evaluate both the advantages and problems caused by the proximity of the border.

Tab. 18 – Main advantages and problems of the residents of borderlands, (in %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantages</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do not have a particular advantages</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>No special problems</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase of cheaper goods and food products from the neighboring state</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>Difficulties in communicating with relatives and friends who left on the other side of the border</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities to find a job in the neighboring country</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>Remoteness from administrative centers</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transporting and selling goods from the neighboring country</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>Poor development of social services</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The possibility of obtaining lower-cost services (medical, household, etc.) in the neighboring country</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>The rise of crime rates due to the increase in the number of non-native residents</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of own products in the neighboring country</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>Local products are being supplanted by cheaper goods from the neighboring country</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working for customs and border service</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>Influx of illegal aliens who take jobs away from local people by offering cheap labor</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The possibility of hiring for temporary and seasonal work for residents of the neighboring country</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Increase in housing prices due to newcomers</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Respondents could chose three answers at once.*

*Sources: Sample survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan”, 2009*
Some advantages of proximity to the Russian regions, in the opinion of the respondents are: “the purchase of cheaper goods and food products from the neighbors” – 27.3%, “the opportunity to find a job in another country” – 24.7%, “transporting and selling goods from another country” – 23.8%, “the possibility of obtaining services (education, health)” – 17.6%, “the sale of own products in a foreign country” – 13.3%, “working for customs and border service” – 11.3%, and the “possibility of hiring for temporary and seasonal work” – 5.3%.

According to the responses, the opportunities related to obtaining work or to the implementation of their commercial services have become the main attractive factors for Kazakhstan residents. In other words, respondents put the economic benefits in the first place.

At the same time, the existence of frontier migration creates a lot of problems. The most significant of them were identified as: “difficulties in communicating with relatives across the border” – this answer was chosen by 28.7% of the respondents, and “remoteness from administrative centers” – 25.8%. In our view, the singling out one of the major problems – the administrative one, is related to the registration procedure and filling out necessary documents in case of crossing the border. In this case, given the space and a large territorial remoteness, which are characteristic for both WKR and Orenburg regions, we must recognize the validity and actuality of this problem for the residents of the border zone.

However, the more important fact is that the singling out of a problem by the respondents of that group indicates a negative attitude towards the newcomers. These problems are of social nature and they show a certain amount of tension. The locals residents have very negative attitude towards the “influx of illegal aliens who take jobs away from local people” – so answered 19.2% of the total number of respondents. They believe that the newcomers contribute to rising crime rates – 14.7%, because their influx has resulted in increase in housing prices – 16.6%, deteriorating social development – 16.3%, local products are being supplanted by cheaper goods from the neighboring country – 11.5%. As can be seen, the negative aspects of borderlands neighborship defined by the residents themselves are essentially economic in nature, too.

Thus, the prevalence of economic reasons in both cases that determine both benefits and problems of frontier migration show that the residents’ position can be explained mostly by socioeconomic situation in their regions and countries. The degree of solving given problems will determine the attitude of population to frontier migration. It is indirectly confirmed by the fact that about 20% of the respondents noted the lack of any benefits or problems for them due to the proximity of the border zone.
10.1.9 Ways to improve the quality of life of the borderlands population

The respondents were asked the question: “What must be done in the first place to improve the lives of the borderlands population?” The survey showed that the establishment of boundaries and a series of measures to strengthen border controls caused a mixed assessment of the population. There are roughly three groups. The first group: these are the people who have extremely negative attitude to the issue of migration from the neighboring region. The second group: the people who make constructive suggestions for improving the border control regime and relationships with migrants. And the third group: people who believe that weakening or even elimination of the border is possible, and with this, elimination of all border-related problems as well. How the responses were arranged? The survey respondents were allowed to mark more than one answer.

1. The group with a negative attitude was the smallest one. They are demanding tougher border and customs controls – 13% of the total number of respondents, strengthening of passport control and expulsion of illegal aliens – 10.3%, reducing goods transportation from abroad in order to protect local manufacturers - 8.9%. In general, this group accounts for 25.5% of all respondents.

2. The group of supporters for a significant weakening of the border regime turned out to be the largest. 32.8% of the respondents noted the need to facilitate border crossing procedures. As it was shown by other questions in questionnaire, this issue has affected many of the respondents. 23.8% of the respondents are in favor of the opening of the borders, i.e., minimizing control at the border. Among citizens of Russia living and working in the Republic of Kazakhstan, the proportion of people who are interested in simplifying border control and registration regime is 2.5–2.8 times higher than the average rate. These directions, in their opinion, should become a priority.

3. In our opinion, more realistic solutions were suggested by the constructive part of the respondents.

More than 21.3% of the respondents favored cooperation between the countries in education, culture and health. About 21% believe that the governments of Kazakhstan and Russia need common economic programs and projects. 19% of the respondents believe that both countries should provide each other equal employment opportunities for citizens of Kazakhstan and Russia. They are in favor of the legalization of employment for citizens of Kazakhstan and Russia, who left to find work in a neighboring state. This will make the labor markets in border regions more flexible and open. The two alternatives to the nature of trade between Kazakhstan and Russia have received approximately the same number of responses. About 16.6% of those surveyed favored the development of duty-free trade and free movements of goods between the countries. To the contrary, 15% of the respondents believe that it is necessary to protect domestic manufacturers, reducing the flow of goods from abroad.

It is an important for the population of borderlands to develop relationships between the neighboring countries at the state level. According to the opinions of 16.4% of the respondents, the
establishment of close links between local authorities in border areas will positively affect lives of people in the borderlands. That it is important to create conditions for cultural and social contacts between the neighboring countries 15% of respondents have said. More than 11.2% of the respondents believe that the population will benefit from the development of joint production in the border territories.

Since the early years of building independent states, Kazakhstan and Russia have been trying to maintain good neighbor relations with each other, supported each other on the world stage, jointly participated in the creation of various regional political, economic and other unions of states. Thanks to these mutual efforts, good relations between the countries are supported both at the official level and in everyday interaction of citizens, as well as reflected in the positive attitude of the population towards neighbors.

The presence of such a spectrum of opinion and their division between the relevant groups reflect the existing in society main positions on the border between Kazakhstan and Russia.

The vast majority of the population favored the preservation of existing rules or the expansion of relations with neighbors. Analysis of the responses has confirmed that the residents of borderland area still have strong feelings of close relations with the population of neighboring regions, which in their view, do not require the existence of strict border control. A significant part of population evaluates the current situation from the new positions and suggests constructive solutions to cross-border relations.

10.2 Generalized linear models of frontier migration

In the given subchapter the relationships between social characteristics of respondents and their intensity of frontier migration are studied on the basis of the sample survey data. The intensity of frontier migration of inhabitants crossing the Kazakhstan-Russia borders as one of the main indicators characterizing the frontier migration is measured by the number of border crossings. Therefore we will dwell on a question: “How often did you have to cross the Kazakhstan-Russia border during the last year?” Due to a categorical nature of data about the social characteristics of respondents (sex, age groups...), we use the generalized linear model to analyze the influence of social characteristics of respondents on the intensity of frontier migration. The Generalized linear models (GLM) is a flexible generalization of ordinary linear regression that allows a dependent variable to have a non-normal distribution and to include categorical predictor variables along with the continuous ones. The main goal of this analysis is to find out if and how the social characteristics of respondents are related to the intensity of frontier migration.

We use the Generalized linear models with the dependent variable with a normal distribution linearly related to the factors via an identity link function. The dependent variable is the intensity of
frontier migration and the factors (independent variables, predictors) are social\(^4\) characteristics of respondents such as age, sex, education, marital status, household income, nationality, citizenship, place of permanent residence and country of permanent residence. All independent variables are categorical nature and were coded (see Tab. 19).

\textit{Tab. 19 – Coding of dependent and independent variables}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable:</th>
<th>Intensity of frontier migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variables:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 1 = 18-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 2 = 30-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 3 = 50 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 1 = Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 2 = Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 1 = Incomplete secondary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 2 = Secondary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 3 = Specialized secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 4 = Unfinished higher/ university-level education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 5 = Higher / university-level education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Marital status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 1 = Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 2 = Cohabitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 3 = Divorced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 4 = Widow/ widower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 5 = Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Household income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 1= Often lack the most necessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 2 = Suffices only on food and rent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 3= Suffices to buy household appliances, furniture and other goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 4 = Enough for make major purchases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 1 = Kazakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 2 = Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 3 = Other nationalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 1 = Kazakhstan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 2 = Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 3 = Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Place of permanent residence (Place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 1 = City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 2 = District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 3 = Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Country of permanent residence (Country)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 1 = Kazakhstan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 2 = Russia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^4\) Under the umbrella of this „broader term“ also economic, demographic and geographical characteristics are included too.
The Pearson chi-square method is used to estimate the scale parameter. Estimated marginal means are computed on the scale of response for age, sex, education, marital status, household income, nationality, citizenship, place of permanent residence and country of permanent residence using pairwise contrasts. The Least significant difference method for multiple comparisons is used to adjust p values.

Firstly, one model for all respondents was done. Subsequently, the model was done separately for the inhabitants by their country of permanent residence (Kazakhstan and Russia) and their place of permanent residence (city, district and village). Hereby we obtained nine different models (all KAZ+RUS, KZ, RUS, City (KZ), City (RUS), District (KZ), District (RUS), Village (KZ), Village (RUS)). By comparing these nine models we can reveal the influence of place of permanent residence and country of permanent residence on the intensity of the frontier migration and to study relations between intensity of frontier migration and remaining social characteristic more precisely.

The results of the omnibus test (see tab. 20) show that all nine models are statistically significant, i.e. some significant relationship between dependent and independent variables exists. The omnibus test is a Likelihood-Ratio Chi-Square test of the current model versus the null (in this case, intercept) model. The significance value of less than 0.05 indicates that the current model outperforms the null model. This means that the independent variables influence the intensity of frontier migrations of border region's population of Russia and Kazakhstan in all presented populated localities of Kazakhstan and Russia.

**Tab. 20 – Omnibus Test**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KZ+ RUS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KZ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RUS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>571,909</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>424,613</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>350,141</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City (KZ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>District (KZ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Village (KZ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110,081</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>121,525</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>61,511</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City (RUS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>District (RUS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Village (RUS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39,013</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>40,708</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>60,385</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dependent Variable: x2a
Model: (Intercept), place, country, sex, citizenship, age, marital status, nationality, education, household income
Compares the fitted model against the intercept-only model.
Note: The significance level is 0.05.

Each of the main-effects predictors in each model are then tested for whether it has any effect. The results of tests of model effects are depicted in Tab. 21. Predictors with significance values less
than 0.05, which have some discernible effect on the intensity of frontier migration, are marked in red.

**Tab. 21 – Tests of Model Effects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Kazakhstan + Russia</th>
<th>Kazakhstan</th>
<th>Russia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wald Chi-Square</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Intercept)</td>
<td>3061.296</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>221.300</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>11.816</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>102.392</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship</td>
<td>.909</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>116.324</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>4.551</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>11.139</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>13.302</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Kazakhstan</th>
<th>Russia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wald Chi-Square</td>
<td>df</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Intercept)</td>
<td>635.745</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>25.747</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship</td>
<td>.280</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>59.429</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>5.071</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>3.301</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3.400</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income</td>
<td>6.147</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dependent Variable: $x_{2a}$

Model: (Intercept), sex, citizenship, age, marital status, nationality, education, household income

Note: The significance level is 0.05.
Tests of the model effects in Kazakhstan and Russia show that six social characteristics (place, country, sex, age, nationality, education) have a significant effect on the dependent variable. By country, we can see place, sex and age as significant factors, especially in Kazakhstan nationality.

By settlements, sex and age influence the intensity of frontier migration in all settlements in Russia and in Kazakhstan. Specific situation is in Kazakhstan district Aksai, where four independent variables (sex, age, citizenship and nationality) have effect to the intensity of migration. Marital status and household income are factors with no effect on the intensity of frontier migration in the all given models.

One of the most important outputs of GLM is parameter estimates which summarize the effect of each predictor (see Tab. 22-25). The signs and relative values of the estimated coefficients B for factor levels (categories of the independent variable) compared to other categories give important insights into the effects of the predictors in the model. The effect of each factor level on the dependent variable, the intensity of frontier migration, is given by the sign and value of the coefficient B relatively compared to the reference category.

The results of the model with all respondents depicted in Tab. 22 indicate that people living in districts have the greatest intensity of frontier migration comparing to other categories ($B_{\text{district}} = 1.040$, $B_{\text{city}} = 0.772$). The least intensity of frontier migration have people living in villages (reference category, $B_{\text{village}} = 0$). Coefficients for variables country and sex show that population of Russia is more mobile than the population of Kazakhstan ($B_{\text{KZ}} = -0.396$) and men are more mobile than women ($B_{\text{men}} = 0.466$). In the case of the variable age, where the reference category are people older than 50 years, the coefficient B have for other factor levels negative signs. This mean that old people have the greatest intensity of frontier migration and people in the age of 30-49 years ($B_{30-49} = -0.470$) are more mobile than young people ($B_{18-29} = -0.652$). All other coefficients $B$ in this model are not statistical significant.

If we consider the model done separately by the country of permanent residence for Kazakhstan and Russia, the obtained results are very similar (see Tab. 23). In both countries four independent variables (sex, age, marital status and place of permanent residence of migrants) have a discernible effect on the intensity of frontier migration. Again, men ($B_{\text{men-KZ}} = 0.602$, $B_{\text{men-RUS}} = 0.343$) are more mobile than women and people older than 50 years are the most mobile as compared to other younger age categories ($B_{30-49-KZ} = -0.603$, $B_{30-49-R} = -0.381$, $B_{18-29-KZ} = -0.894$, $B_{18-29-R} = -0.447$). Also district and city inhabitants ($B_{\text{district-KZ}} = 1.082$, $B_{\text{district-RUS}} = 1.077$, $B_{\text{city-KZ}} = 0.204$, $B_{\text{city-RUS}} = 1.334$) cross the border more often than people living in village. The stated values of coefficients B document, that the main effects of factor levels are in both models the same, the differences are only in the effect size of particular factor levels. Newly, some significant effect of marital status on the intensity of frontier migration appeared. In Kazakhstan divorced ($B_{\text{divor-KZ}} = -0.336$) and widowed people ($B_{\text{widow-KZ}} = -0.396$), in Russia cohabitants ($B_{\text{cohab-RUS}} = -0.340$) are less mobile than singles (reference category).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>95% Wald Confidence Interval</th>
<th>Hypothesis Test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(Intercept)</em></td>
<td>3.223</td>
<td>.2240</td>
<td>2.784 - 3.662</td>
<td>206,938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[place=1]</td>
<td>.772</td>
<td>.0656</td>
<td>.644 - .901</td>
<td>138,788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[place=2]</td>
<td>1.040</td>
<td>.0706</td>
<td>.902 - 1.179</td>
<td>216,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[place=3]</td>
<td>0a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFERENCE CATEGORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[country=1]</td>
<td>-.396</td>
<td>.1152</td>
<td>.622 - .170</td>
<td>11,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[country=2]</td>
<td>0a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFERENCE CATEGORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sex=1]</td>
<td>.466</td>
<td>.0460</td>
<td>.376 - .556</td>
<td>102,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sex=2]</td>
<td>0a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFERENCE CATEGORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[citizenship=1]</td>
<td>-.042</td>
<td>.1886</td>
<td>-.411 - .328</td>
<td>.049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[citizenship=2]</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.1372</td>
<td>-.211 - .326</td>
<td>.175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[citizenship=3]</td>
<td>0a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFERENCE CATEGORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[age=1]</td>
<td>-.652</td>
<td>.0629</td>
<td>-.776 - -.529</td>
<td>107,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[age=2]</td>
<td>-.470</td>
<td>.0581</td>
<td>-.584 - -.357</td>
<td>65,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[age=3]</td>
<td>0a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFERENCE CATEGORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[marital status=1]</td>
<td>-.126</td>
<td>.0802</td>
<td>-.283 - .032</td>
<td>2,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[marital status=2]</td>
<td>-.248</td>
<td>.1281</td>
<td>-.499 - .003</td>
<td>3,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[marital status=3]</td>
<td>-.123</td>
<td>.1252</td>
<td>-.369 - .122</td>
<td>.971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[marital status=4]</td>
<td>-.198</td>
<td>.1262</td>
<td>-.445 - .050</td>
<td>2,451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[marital status=5]</td>
<td>0a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFERENCE CATEGORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[nationality=1]</td>
<td>.137</td>
<td>.0983</td>
<td>-.056 - .330</td>
<td>1,944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[nationality=2]</td>
<td>-.087</td>
<td>.0821</td>
<td>-.248 - .074</td>
<td>1,117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[nationality=3]</td>
<td>0a</td>
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<td></td>
<td>REFERENCE CATEGORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[education=1]</td>
<td>.141</td>
<td>.1582</td>
<td>-.169 - .451</td>
<td>.794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[education=2]</td>
<td>-.030</td>
<td>.1670</td>
<td>-.358 - .297</td>
<td>.033</td>
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<tr>
<td>[education=3]</td>
<td>.120</td>
<td>.1612</td>
<td>-.196 - .436</td>
<td>.554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[education=4]</td>
<td>-.080</td>
<td>.1670</td>
<td>-.408 - .247</td>
<td>.231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[education=5]</td>
<td>0a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFERENCE CATEGORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[household income=1]</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td>.0750</td>
<td>-.052 - .242</td>
<td>1,596</td>
</tr>
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<td>[household income=2]</td>
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<td>.0688</td>
<td>-.181 - .089</td>
<td>.452</td>
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<td>.0654</td>
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<td>REFERENCE CATEGORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Scale)</em></td>
<td>.627b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

`Dependent Variable: x2a`

`Model: (Intercept), place, country, sex, citizenship, age, marital status, nationality, education, household income`

`Note: The significance level is 0.05.`
### Tab. 23 – Parameter Estimates, Kazakhstan and Russia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>95% Wald Confidence Interval</th>
<th>Hypothesis Test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Intercept)</td>
<td>2.653</td>
<td>.4824</td>
<td>1.708</td>
<td>3.599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sex=1]</td>
<td>0.602</td>
<td>.0628</td>
<td>.479</td>
<td>.725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sex=2]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[citizenship=1]</td>
<td>.779</td>
<td>.4819</td>
<td>-.165</td>
<td>1.723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[citizenship=2]</td>
<td>.811</td>
<td>.4726</td>
<td>-.115</td>
<td>1.737</td>
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<tr>
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**Dependent Variable:** x2a

**Model:** (Intercept), place, country, sex, citizenship, age, marital status, nationality, education, household income

b. Set to zero because this parameter is redundant.

**Note:** The significance level is 0.05.
Comparison of coefficients $B$ in three different Kazakhstan settlements (see Tab. 24) shows some differences in the significance and size of the effect of social characteristics on the intensity of frontier migration. In all the three models men and people older than 50 years cross Kazakhstan-Russia border more often again. In the case of the district two additional predictors are statistically significant, marital status and the citizenship of migrants. Cohabitants ($B_{cohab} = -0.452$) are less mobile than singles and people with Kazakhstan citizenship ($B_{KZ} = -0.428$) cross the studied border less often than these with Russian citizenship.

Tab. 24 – Parameter Estimates, Kazakhstan

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### Village

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| [citizenship=2]       | .558, .9444, -1.293 |
| [citizenship=3]       | 0b                 |
| [age=1]               | -.851, .2934, -1.426 |
| [age=2]               | -.237, .2927, -811  |

### Reference Category

- Beta coefficients and standard errors are provided for each variable, indicating the effect size and significance of each factor on household income and district characteristics.
- The reference category for each variable is highlighted, indicating the baseline level of comparison.
- The p-values are provided, with values less than 0.05 indicating statistical significance at the 5% level.
Dependent Variable: \( x2a \)

Model: (Intercept), place, country, sex, citizenship, age, marital status, nationality, education, household income

Note: The significance level is 0.05.

The comparison of coefficients B in three different Russian settlements show similar results (see Tab. 25). In all three settlements men cross border more often than women (\( B_{\text{men-city}} = 0.205 \), \( B_{\text{men-district}} = 0.255 \), \( B_{\text{men-village}} = 0.594 \)). Coefficients B for age categories document, that people in the oldest category (50+) are the most mobile ones. In city and village people in the age of 30-49 years (\( B_{30-49\text{-city}} = -0.206 \), \( B_{30-49\text{-village}} = -0.676 \)) are more mobile than young people (\( B_{18-29\text{-city}} = -0.373 \), \( B_{18-29\text{-village}} = -1.083 \)). A little bit different situation is in districts, where young people are more mobile (\( B_{18-29\text{-district}} = -0.344 \), \( B_{30-49\text{-district}} = -0.465 \)). In village there is one more predictor with significant effect on the intensity of migration, marital status. Divorced people visit neighboring country less often (\( B_{\text{divor}} = -1.139 \)) than singles.
### Tab. 25 – Parameter Estimates, Russia

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REFERENCE CATEGORY
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### Village

(Intercept) 3.770 0.886 2.033 5.508 18.084 1 0.003

**REFERENCE CATEGORY**

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<th>z-score</th>
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**REFERENCE CATEGORY**

2.653 1 0.103

3.272 1 0.070

0.001 1 0.972
The applied Generalized linear models allowed us to analyze the influence of all available social characteristics of respondents (sex, age, marital status, nationality, citizenship, place of permanent residence and country of permanent residence) on the intensity of frontier migration. The direct, apparent or mediated connections between intensity of frontier migration and social characteristics were found out and the relative importance of each characteristic in different settlements (city, district and village) and country (Russia, Kazakhstan) were determined. The main results of Generalized linear models might be summarized in the following way:

1. Four from nine examined independent variables exhibit a statistical significant effect on the intensity of frontier migration essentially in all computed models – place of permanent residence, country of permanent residence, sex and age. In some models marital status, nationality, citizenship and education of respondents have influence on the intensity of the frontier migration. On the other hand, household income has no effect on the intensity of frontier migration in all models.

2. Regardless of country and place of residence men are more mobile than women.

3. People older than 50 years are in all models more mobile than people in younger age categories.

4. Generally, people living in district and city are more mobile than people living in village.

5. Nine different models show only small differences in the studied effects, mostly in their relative importance of each factor level rather than in their sign and significance. Thus, dividing people by country and settlement and constructing model separately show stability of obtained findings.

After discussion of the main results of the Generalized linear models it is worth mentioning that the intensity of frontier migration is primarily and heavily dependent on particular reasons, such as visits related to a marital status, medical treatment, buying various goods for home etc. These more specific frontier migration reasons which were studied in depth in the previous chapter could not, unfortunately, be included into the models due to methodological and methodical limits of the applied survey.
Chapter 11

Conclusions

The main goal of this dissertation is to examine the degree of development of frontier migration and its impact on the formation of relationships between neighboring states and the population of adjacent territories.

This research of frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia is based on a wide range of sources. In the study we used data from various sources, and although the data has significant limitations in terms of the coverage of migrants and migration flows, we have attempted to ensure its compatibility.

Despite the increasing volume of published sources in Kazakhstan and Russia, the number of specialized studies on problems related to the Kazakhstan-Russia border is quite limited. Due to the relatively short duration (20 years) of its existence, the Kazakhstan-Russia border remains poorly studied, although there are specialized studies containing analysis of frontier migration, ethno-demographic potential, social processes and problems of cooperation in the border zone.

The study analyzes frontier migration on the basis of international migration and borderland theories and concepts. The peculiarities of the Kazakhstan-Russia border and its western section are also studied, with an attempt at giving a complex characterization of the situation including resources, communication and ethno-demographic potential of the frontier area being made. The history of the formation of the border and the development of the border politics of Kazakhstan and Russia is analyzed. In order to study the problem of frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia, we conducted the survey “Frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia: the case of West Kazakhstan” in August 2009 (N=1,200 respondents). The intensity of frontier migration is one of the main indicators characterizing frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia. The intensity of this frontier migration was studied using Generalized Linear Models.

All the aims and tasks of the study have been achieved. Based on the study results, a number of practical recommendations are formulated.
11.1 Overview of main findings

In accordance with the formulated hypotheses, this study suggests the following conclusions.

1. Hypotheses about the features of Kazakhstan-Russia borders.

Population movement in the Kazakhstan-Russia border area is largely dependent on such features and conditions as:

- The length of the border (the Kazakhstan-Russia border is almost 7.5 thousand km; its length contributes to the involvement of many people living along the border on both sides in frontier migration);
- Landscape conditions (lack of natural barriers facilitates contacts between neighboring territories);
- Communications and resource potential (movement of populations in the border zone is largely dependent on such conditions as availability of roads, the remoteness of settlements, development of commercial, medical and other services, etc.).

The hypotheses are confirmed.

The Kazakhstan-Russia border is one of the longest borders in the world, and separates two large countries in the post-Soviet region – Russia and Kazakhstan. The features of the Kazakhstan-Russia border (most of the landscape, infrastructure and demographic characteristics of the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands) are conducive to intensive cross-border cooperation.

First of all, the length of the Kazakhstan-Russia border is almost 7.5 thousand km. The border zone between Kazakhstan and Russia is a densely populated strip which includes economically developed areas with a strong industrial base, a high level of urbanization, and a branched structure of communications. On the Russian side, 12 subjects of the Russian Federation and 70 administrative districts with more than 1,500 communities and over 3 million people are directly adjacent to the border. On the Kazakh side, the territory of Kazakh border regions bordering with Russia occupies 46.7% of all territory of Kazakhstan.

Secondly, the majority of the border passes through the plains of the steppes (forest-steppe, semi-desert) region, and the level of population concentration and industrial infrastructure in the border areas is quite large. However, the number of permanent cross-border communication paths that cross the border do not meet the needs of communication between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation at all sections.

Thirdly, the border regions of Kazakhstan differ substantially in their resource, raw materials and communication potential. The majority of Kazakhstan’s natural resources are located in the western and northern regions bordering Russia. Cross-border cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia has a diverse character: in the security and regulatory regime of border crossing, production,
trade, commercial, financial, transportation, humanitarian (social, educational, cultural), environmental and other fields. All these are conducive to intensive cross-border cooperation and to interaction between the populations of the Kazakhstan and Russia border regions.

2. Hypotheses about the ethnic-demographic situation in frontier regions.

- The emigration of Russians from Kazakhstan to Russia in the 1990s had a significant impact on the ethno-demographic situation in the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands: in Kazakhstan – reducing the numbers and percentage of the Russian population; in Russia – increasing the population of border regions.
- Massive emigration from Kazakhstan to Russia is now over; frontier migration plays an increasing role.
- The Kazakh population in Russia and the Russian population in Kazakhstan are the main basis for the existence and development of frontier migrations.

The hypotheses are confirmed.

A densely populated region on both sides of the border is an important feature of the Kazakhstan-Russia border area. According to 2009 estimates, there are about 27 million people living in the Russian regions adjacent to Kazakhstan, or 18.8% of the population of Russia. The population of the Kazakh regions adjacent to Russia is 5.5 million people, or 34.4% of the population of Kazakhstan. The demographic potential in the border regions of Russia is nearly 5 times higher than in the border regions of Kazakhstan, and it has a tendency to increase in favor of the Russian border regions, whereas an imbalance between the population of Russia and Kazakhstan has a tendency to decrease because of total population decline in the Russian Federation and population increase in the Republic of Kazakhstan over the last ten years.

In 1989–1999, migration flow from Kazakhstan helped stabilize the demographic situation in the Russian border regions, and compensate for a natural decline in population. In contrast, the population of border regions of Kazakhstan suffered heavy losses; during the 1989–1999 period, their population decreased by 815 thousand people, representing 65.5% of total population decline in Kazakhstan. Slavic people from Kazakhstan moved largely to the neighboring Russian regions. As a result, ethno-demographic balance has shifted in favor of Kazakhs in almost all regions of the Kazakhstan part of the Kazakhstan-Russia border areas. Between 1989 and 2009, the size of the Russian population of Kazakhstan was reduced to 2.3 million and 1.0 million of those, or 44%, were the Russian population of border regions of Kazakhstan, adjacent to the Russian Federation. The outflow of the Slavic population from the border regions of Kazakhstan which still have a high proportion of Russians continues in an intensive manner, although outflow of the Russian population displays a decreasing tendency in comparison with the previous period. The greatest loss was suffered by the East Kazakhstan region and North Kazakhstan. However, 1.8 million Russian people live in seven regions of Kazakhstan bordering Russia, representing almost 48% of
Kazakhstan’s Russian population, and the border regions of Kazakhstan are still the regions where the Russian population is concentrated.

Thus, this data indicates that the population of the border regions in the 1990s entered a period of downward demographic development. A sharp drop in population growth is a characteristic feature for the two countries – Russia and Kazakhstan in general. In Kazakhstan, the situation has changed due to mass emigration of the Slavic population from the country, whereas in the border areas of Russia, it was an influx of population from neighboring regions of Kazakhstan that has helped to straighten out the demographic situation, while maintaining and even increasing the total population. As a result, the ratio of population in the Russian and Kazakhstan borderlands has changed. The imbalance has increased in favor of Russia: in 1989 – 4.12 times more people lived in the above-mentioned areas of Russia than in the border regions of Kazakhstan; by 1999 it was 4.78 times more, and in 2009 it was 4.84 times more.

Migration ties between the borderlands of Kazakhstan and Russia are continuing in quite an intense form, but the nature and methods of movements have changed significantly: the massive and irreversible migration from Kazakhstan to Russia, which was characteristic for the 1990s, has been exhausted. In support of the hypothesis of our study, it was determined that frontier migration plays an increasing role, which became the main form of migration processes in the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands. Frontier migration far exceeds all other forms of migration in the border regions. The Kazakh diaspora in Russia and the Russian diaspora in Kazakhstan are the main basis for the existence and development of such migration networks.

3. Hypotheses about frontier migration on the western side of the Kazakhstan-Russia border.

- Despite the division of borders and the strengthening of controls at border checkpoints, a common space of social and economic ties between the populations of the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands is preserved.
- The regulation of border controls since the introduction of the state border between the Republic of Kazakhstan and Russia has significantly influenced the extent of migration and its mobility.
- The causes and direction of frontier migration are determined primarily by related economic and relative ties.
- The larger and further away a settlement is from the border, the less contacts with the border areas of Russia, and, conversely, the closer a settlement is to the border, the more contacts with the nearby settlements of the neighboring country.
- The intensity of frontier migration is influenced by the social characteristics of respondents (age, sex, education, marital status, household income, nationality, citizenship, place of permanent residence and country of permanent residence).

The hypotheses were confirmed to some extent.
As we noted before, for the purpose of specific analysis of frontier migration we carried out a sample survey of the population on both sides of the border according to “vis-à-vis” principle – in the Orenburg and West Kazakhstan region. The west section of the Kazakhstan-Russia border was deliberately chosen, as it is the largest junction of the migration process and in terms of migration activity, it holds top position in the Kazakhstan-Russian migration exchange.

Based on our analysis of survey data, we can draw the following conclusions about frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia:

- Despite its division by border and the strengthening of border controls at checkpoints, a single space in terms of social and economic relations is preserved. About half of the population of the borderlands continues to travel to a neighboring country to a greater or lesser extent, with 14% travelling at least several times a month. The most visited cities in the Russian Federation by the population of the West Kazakhstan region are located in the Orenburg, Samara and Saratov regions, because of the presence of relatives there, and for other travelling purposes (medical treatment, buying goods for the home, etc.).

- A great source of integration between our two countries is the personal relationships between the borders communities established over decades. The most important factor in frontier migration is the preservation of relationships between the residents of borderlands. Almost half of the respondents have cross-border relationships, with about 80% of them staying in touch with those relations on a regular basis. This is why many of the respondents pointed out during questioning that the delimitation of borders, strengthening of border and migration control hits people's ability to communicate freely with each other the hardest. This problem is noted as the most urgent for the residents of the borderlands.

- The second largest group of reasons for trips to Russia for the residents of borderlands is the purchase of household goods, and traveling for medical treatment to Russian clinics. They often give opportunities related to obtaining employment or to the implementation of their commercial services as advantages of their place of residence.

- An analysis of migration plans showed that most (77.3% of respondents) people do not intend to emigrate from the country. The majority of those wishing to move in the coming years are Russian, in most cases planning to move to Russia. Kazakhs and representatives of other nationalities often simply want to live in economically developed countries. Most people who plan to leave are of active working age (20-49 years), with higher education.

- Migration plans clearly point to the “west”, with no one planning to move to the countries of Central Asia. The leading motives for peoples’ departure are a desire to improve their economic situation, as well as to live near relatives. More than half of the respondents stated that their homeland and relatives and friends living near to them have prevented them from moving.
The survey showed that there is a certain tendency towards a reduction in trips of the residents of borderlands to the Russian Federation. Amongst those who have been there in the past three years, 40% of the respondents still go there, 37% go less and only 14% go more often. A decrease in trips is associated, on the one hand, with a lack of personal need for them, and on the other hand, with the complexities of crossing the Kazakhstan-Russia border (queues at the border, customs and border controls). About 2% of respondents who have crossed the border in recent years did so at least once by passing through border and customs posts.

Frontier migrations between Kazakhstan and Russia have clearly become seasonal in nature. According to the survey, 80% of all visits were performed in the summertime.

The strengthening of customs inspections and overly strict border controls were named amongst the major inconveniences in crossing the border. This was attributed to the distant location of border posts. Every third respondent had encountered some inconvenience on Russian territory due to the presence of domestic nationalism, and harassment on the grounds of nationality.

It was interesting to discover public attitudes to the border delimitation and the prospect of introducing a visa regime. Residents consider border delimitation, above all, as a positive process. This makes their lives more secure due to the establishment of strict rules and controls over those crossing the border. The most common negative aspects mentioned were the complication of border crossings and reduced contact between the residents of borderlands.

Most respondents opposed the introduction of a visa regime as a measure of further tightening of border control (83.8% of West Kazakhstan region respondents and 81.0% of the respondents in the Orenburg region), while 6.3% and 6.7% respectively of the respondents supported this idea. The more regularly people go to Russia the higher the proportion of opponents of a visa regime amongst them. For each third respondent, the visa regime will be an insurmountable obstacle to travel, every tenth respondent will go less often, and only for each fifth respondent will nothing change.

Respondents primarily associated improving the lives of borderlands population with the border crossing regime, i.e., border crossings should be facilitated, minimizing controls at the border.

Two thirds of the respondents have a very friendly attitude towards Russia as their homeland, considering it a friendly country and a good neighbor, with the other respondents displaying a neutral attitude. This indicates approval of the integration policy of the countries. The main priorities in the development of interstate cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia, in their opinion, should be cooperation between the countries in the fields of education, culture and health. The respondents believe that the governments of Kazakhstan and Russia need common economic programs and projects. Development of relations between the neighboring countries at the state level is also important for the people of the borderlands.
Migration scales are influenced by a variety of socioeconomic, ethno-demographic and cultural factors, which have a different degree of development in different areas of the Kazakhstan-Russia border. The problem of identity is closely connected with many factors, although territorial, ethnic, and age-related factors have the most influence on frontier population identity. Self-identification is an identification of someone with a certain social group or community, accepting its objectives and value system, the perception of the person as a member of this group or community. So, the vast majority of all respondents – more than 80% of respondents of the West-Kazakhstan region - identify themselves as citizens of Kazakhstan. This is the situation in the frontier regions of the Russian Federation. This allows us to say that self-identification is an expression of loyalty to and trust in the state in which they are living. There is a sufficient differentiation between the basic ethnic and age groups for this item. Territorial identification works through the identification of a person as an individual as an inhabitant of a certain region and population center. At the same time, the Russians have a higher level of ethnic self-identification. Around 2.0% of respondents give a nostalgic identification, which is defined by such people identifying themselves as Soviet. A significant marker for a given form of identification is the respondent’s age, that is, basically, people of elder age born during the Soviet period. Ethno-psychological problems substantially influence self-identification. As our research has shown, a small group of Russians in Kazakhstan still feel uncertainty. The Russian population in Kazakhstan represents the second and third generation of local Russians. “They clearly recognise their otherness from the Russians in Russia, having formed a special subculture”, uncomfortable both in Russia and in Kazakhstan. In all probability, the frontier region between Kazakhstan and Russia represents a sufficiently comfortable territory of residence for the above mentioned Russian population. It is no surprise that 2.5% of West-Kazakhstan region respondents consider themselves citizens of the Russian Federation, of whom a large proportion have Russian citizenship. Russian citizenship for this group of people serves as a kind of “security guarantee” or “in order not to feel isolated from Russia”. So, as the self-identification analysis of the population of the Kazakhstan-Russia border area has shown, the problem of identity is closely connected with many factors, though territorial, ethnic, and age-related factors have the most influence on frontier population identity. The survey can describe the extent of a serious problem – the presence of a group of people among the population of Kazakhstan with residence and apartment in Kazakhstan while being the citizens of another state, in this case Russia. For this group of people, it is quite obvious to have high migration mobility. This group is very significant for the border areas, since only territorial proximity increases the mobility of people and promotes the formation of such groups.

On the basis of the sample survey data, we also studied relationships between the social characteristics of respondents and their intensity of frontier migration. We used a generalized linear
model (GLM) to analyze the influence of the social characteristics of respondents on the intensity of frontier migration. Direct, apparent or mediated connections between the intensity of frontier migration and social characteristics were discovered, and the relative importance of each characteristic in different kinds of settlement (city, district and village) and country (Russia, Kazakhstan) were determined.

- The generalized linear model results show four out of the nine examined independent variables exhibit a statistical significant effect on the intensity of frontier migration, essentially in all computed models – place of permanent residence, country of permanent residence, sex and age. In some models, marital status, nationality, citizenship and education of respondents have an influence on the intensity of the frontier migration.

- Regardless of country and place of residence, men are more mobile than women. The main reason for women’s low mobility is that they (unlike men) are deeply involved in looking after the household (childbearing and raising of children, housekeeping etc.). The study also shows that the urban population is more mobile than the rural population. This may be explained by the employment of the rural population. The population in rural areas is mostly engaged in housekeeping, farming etc.

- People older than 50 years are more mobile than people in younger age categories in all models. The mobility of people over 50 is somewhat high in comparison with young people. Here, the mobility displayed by those of an older age may be explained by several reasons. First of all, the population aged 50+ is not such an old population; 50-60 year-old people are still at an active age and can work and travel. Secondly, they may have relatives and friends from the Soviet period further away. The population aged 50+ represent people who were born in the USSR and lived within one Soviet state. That is to say, people born in the USSR do not lose relations and friends just because they now live in different states. In contrast, young people are more focused on internal migration, that is, the younger the population is, the weaker the external relations.

- So, the intensity of frontier migration basically depends on such indexes as place of permanent residence, country of permanent residence, age and sex. As such, household income does not play any part; this means that economic reasons are in some way suppressed. On the other hand, social and family relations are very important, in as much as the crossing of the border in order to visit relatives and friends is one of the principle reasons for migration. The given event may be explained, on the one hand, by the migration system theory (as discussed above), and on the other hand, by the network theory, that is, by the availability of interpersonal relations in which the migrants interact with their relatives and friends who had left for the other country. The reasons for such relations cover different types of support (information exchange, financial aid, etc.).
11.2 Relevance of concepts and study results

In addition, this dissertation attempts to consider the frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia through the prism of the global concepts of international migration. There are a lot of concepts regarding international migration; we have mentioned some of them. These concepts of international migration have given us the opportunity to analyze frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia, to explain trends and patterns of frontier migration. These concepts correspond to the reality of the Kazakhstan-Russia border and give us the opportunity to explain the reasons for frontier migration, migrants’ behaviors, and the impact of historical and political processes on the development of frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia.

• So, based on the basic tenets of the theory of migration systems, we can say that both Kazakhstan and Russian citizens living in the borderland area are quite closely related to each other in their daily lives. Contacts between inhabitants of frontier territories are predetermined by the existence of historic, cultural, economic or political bonds between countries. And according to a theory migration system, the probability of an international migration is especially great between former colonial states and their former colonies (which Russia and Kazakhstan were). The reason for this lies in administrative, transport, communication, investment, cultural, linguistic and other bonds which were established in the Soviet period. Here, an important role is played in particular by cultural and geographical proximity and the geopolitical position of these two states. The stability of migratory bonds is determined by migratory systems – kindred and other bonds of inhabitants of these states. And the main basis for the existence and development of such migratory systems is Kazakh diaspora residents in Russia and Russian diaspora in Kazakhstan.

• The concept of "internationalist" culture. As the peripheries of national states, border areas, due to their intermediate position, have themselves acted as "centers of development." These centers develop through social networks and cross-border economic relations (trade, exchange of information, cultural and educational exchanges, etc.). So, we can say that the Kazakhstan-Russia borderland is the "center of cooperation" between the two countries - Kazakhstan and Russia. Because of its periphery, these border regions are remote from the national markets, but because they are located at the border, they have access to the markets of the neighboring state. The concept of "internationalist" culture, which forms among the population of border regions, benefiting from cross-border contacts, was developed by American geographer, O. Martinez. It is based on years studying the border between the United States and Mexico (Martinez, O. 1994: 304). Here, a concept of “internationalist” culture is applicable which is formed amongst the inhabitants of frontier regions, turning frontier contacts to their advantage, in so far as a sufficient part of Kazakhstan and Russian migrants go into the neighboring country to solve personal issues – shopping, studying, for medical purposes, etc. So, in the borderlands between Russia and Kazakhstan, this culture is characterized by increased mobility and receptiveness to innovation.
The study shows that the population of border regions is acutely aware of their special interests and is able to exist in several conflict-free "cultural worlds" – the nationwide culture and their ethnic culture, foreign cultures and the specific culture of the border region.

- **Self-identification.** People’s identity is deeply modified in the new conditions because of the growing "mixture" of different ethnic and other groups. More and more people have complicated identities, associating themselves with two or more ethnic and cultural groups. There are growing cultural and linguistic, religious and other identities that are not always clearly related to a specific territory. This leads to a relative weakening of national identity, as people tend to identify themselves with their specific place of residence – the municipality, region, or being part of a separate nationality or social group, in order to isolate themselves from "outsiders" (people of other nationalities, faiths, etc.) by strict administrative barriers. The study has shown that the number of such people is small in the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands, but it is not insignificant (although it displays a decreasing tendency compared with previous studies). The vast majority of respondents of the West-Kazakhstan region identify themselves as citizens of Kazakhstan. Thus we can say that self-identification is an expression of loyalty and trust to the state in which they are living.

- **The concept of transnational migration.** In the given case, if we follow the concept of German researcher L. Pries (Pries 1996: 456-472), the respondents who associate themselves as a “citizen of Russia” are trans-migrants, who are living in “sending” (Russia) and “accepting” (Kazakhstan) communities and forming a trans-national community simultaneously. As research shows, often trans-migrants do not focus on integration, and this is confirmed by our researchers as well. The trans-migrants crossing international borders and staying in another country keep up social relations with their native country.

- In the ordinary state of consciousness, the feeling of an external threat gives rise to a desire to minimize or even to cease contact with an unwanted or dangerous neighbor: if it is not possible to get rid of him, if it is impossible to subdue, control, or resettle him elsewhere, then it is necessary to isolate oneself from this neighbor. Entire countries have applied this strategy by erecting "great walls" – in China, England (separating England from Scotland), Berlin, and today in the Middle East with the Israeli government wanting to protect Israelis from Palestinians through the construction of a great wall. A survey conducted in the West Kazakhstan and Orenburg regions showed that the population of border areas see the introduction of a visa regime between Kazakhstan and Central Asian countries and between Russia and Kazakhstan as a solution to the problems of drug trafficking and illegal migration from Central Asia, which corresponds to roughly the same idea: to protect "us" from "them". However, experience has shown that border walls only aggravate these problems. Isolation creates ignorance; ignorance creates fear and mistrust, and such a perception of a neighbor is the most powerful obstacle to reconciliation and finding a real solution.
11.3 Recommendations for how to treat the border zone and related frontier migration

Transforming the boundaries of the former Soviet Union, the border regions, and the opportunities and challenges of cross-border cooperation require a deliberate policy aimed at resolving the situation in the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands with the adoption of specific measures:

• In our view, the Kazakhstan-Russia borderlands have rich resources, manufacturing and human capacity, the efficient management of which may be able to give a significant boost to the development of Kazakhstan-Russian relations. For many regions, especially the border regions and areas directly adjacent to the border, cross-border cooperation is one of the few opportunities to overcome a peripheral position within their country, improve living standards and meet the cultural and other needs of the population. In addition, in our opinion, frontier migration can stimulate the economic development of depressed border areas and cross-border cooperation of neighboring states.

• Frontier migration, its regulation and organization, and procedures of implementation should be part of the state migration policy. In our view, it is necessary to develop a simplified border-crossing regime for the residents of border areas. In the future, with the growth of economic relations between Kazakhstan and Russia, the role and importance of frontier migration will increase, and it will become a common form of communication and relationships, with not only economic advantages and enormous spiritual and human potential, but also carrying a significant potential of integration processes.

• The nature and extent of frontier migration is greatly influenced by the degree of arrangement of the border. Delimitation and sufficient checkpoints will streamline the process and create normal conditions for the residents of border regions. The introduction of quotas and restrictions will affect the vital interests of large groups. Strengthening border controls and access controls will lead to irrecoverable migration from Kazakhstan (lead to increase of emigration from Kazakhstan). In this regard, there is some point in developing cooperation with neighboring countries, primarily with Russia, which accounts for about 80% of the migration exchange, to allow free migration, including frontier migration.

• The resource of frontier migration between neighboring countries can be particularly effectively used in the development of interaction between the large neighboring settlements of Russia and Kazakhstan.

• The problem of crossing the Russian border should be viewed not only in terms of security of the state, but also from the standpoint of the interests of the migrants themselves, who are experiencing some discomfort when passing the border control.
Some efforts to facilitate cross-border communication between settlements adjacent to the border are undertaken, as reflected, for example, in the opening of simplified border checkpoints for residents of border areas between Russia and Kazakhstan. However, these efforts are still insufficient, because they can engage only a relatively small proportion of the population of neighboring regions whose centers are located far enough from the border in cross-border cooperation.

The research suggests that the border has not become a barrier constraining the development of trans-boundary contacts, even though the Russian side has been strengthening border controls year on year, citing the need to ensure security.

Border barriers between the two neighboring states, whose inhabitants have always had family and economic relations and who continue to maintain these relations, have seriously complicated the lives of people both in Kazakhstan and in Russia. The newly imposed barriers have worsened and complicated the already difficult course of socioeconomic transformations for people in the two countries, intensifying their economic isolation and periphery.

At the same time, as the survey shows, as long as a relative openness is maintained, the border territory may provide some benefits to residents, who are in favor of interstate integration and are able to make a profit from cross-border contacts for themselves and their families. In the long run, this may give additional incentives to the development of the territories on both sides of the border.

Solving the population problems and regulation of migration processes in the border territories can be most effectively addressed at the local level by the administrations in border areas. Their policies and concrete acts to strengthen the relationship between neighboring countries, creating favorable conditions for economic, social and cultural cooperation will result in real improvements in the lives of their people, and preserve the benefits of open borders between friendly countries.

### 11.4 Recommendations for data collection and further research orientation

One of the difficult tasks in studying frontier migration is the data collection process. The lack of statistical data on frontier migration requires the conducting of sampling observations of the population of border areas. In our opinion, new and important data on frontier migration can be received from a survey of the passengers of transborder local trains. For example, in the West Kazakhstan region such a survey can be carried out in the local trains connecting the stations Uralsk (Kazakhstan) and Ozinki (Russia). This travels to and from the stations every day. During the day,
it is possible to interview the passengers of local trains circulating from Uralsk to Ozinki and from Ozinki to Uralsk. Such a passenger survey will assist in revealing the ethnic, age, sex and social composition of migrants, the reasons and aims of the trips, in determining the quantity of migrants, etc. The advantage of such a survey is that it can be carried out without significant financial and time expenses, but it can provide rather interesting results.

Further information can be obtained from interviews with those people who cross the frontier by car, as well as from expert interviews with customs employees. The inhabitants of small towns and villages situated near the frontier, as well as employees of local administrations can also give important data.

As revealed during the analysis, it is necessary to pay attention to the geographic location of the population centers where the survey will be carried out, because the closeness of the population center to the frontier influences the frequency of frontier migration. Ethnic issues are also important, because frontier migration has strongly expressed ethnic coloring.

This dissertation demonstrates the importance of the problem of borderlands population and frontier migration. This study is based on a variety of approaches and techniques that have allowed us to consider a wide range of interrelated problems of the Kazakhstan-Russia border and frontier migrations. Although the Kazakhstan-Russia border is one of the longest borders in the world, in this work we considered only its west section, which is the most active. As such, it will be very important to study other sections of Kazakhstan-Russian frontier, and compare the results on the various sections. Furthermore, the study of the frontier migration of Kazakhstan with other neighboring countries such as China, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan is a field of particular scientific interest.

Not much analysis of the problems of frontier migration in the light of modern theories of international relations in Kazakhstan and Russian scientific literature has been conducted. The empirical study of such a relatively new scientific problem not related to theories/concepts still predominates in Kazakhstan and Russia. Meanwhile, analysts will sooner or later have to face up to the task of transferring the multiple “case-studies” of transfrontier interrelations into a wider theoretical picture. When analyzing the issues, we have to use migration theories/concepts while also putting them in a broader comparative context. Accordingly, it is necessary to study the conceptual fundamentals of frontier migration between Kazakhstan and Russia. Moreover, it is necessary to deepen the whole conceptual knowledge and also to better determine the terminology of the database.
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GLOSSARY

**Border (Boundary) Studies** – the name of a discipline that deals with borders. The term is largely equivalent to the notion limnology, but in fact, in this case the greater emphasis is put on interdisciplinary studies in the field of political geography, history, political science, economics, sociology, cultural studies, ecology, etc.

**Border policy.** In accordance with the officially accepted interpretation, it represents a conceptually sound set of measures aimed at ensuring the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity, realize and protect national interests and national security in the country’s border area. It is implemented through targeted and coordinated activities of state bodies, local government, public associations and citizens in accordance with their rights and powers in this area (Khvoshev and Mulayanov 2001: 20-25).

**Border zone** – according to Art. 16 of the Federal Law “On State Border of the Russian Federation” (adopted on 04.01.1993), zone area up to 5 km wide along the state border on land, sea coast of the Russian Federation, banks of Russian frontier rivers, lakes and other bodies of water and islands in these waters. Such places as residential areas, spa resorts, rest homes and other recreational facilities, cultural institutions (sites), as well as places of public entertainment, active water management, religious places and other traditional gathering places may be excluded from the border zone.

**Borderland (Border areas)** – 1) It is a zone adjacent to the border (with one or both sides), singled out on the basis of one (usually the administrative-territorial) or more signs as the object of analysis. Such a zone must include at least one inter-state border (but not its regional area taken in isolation); 2) It is a composition of spatial and temporal boundaries focused on the state border separating the administrative and political, economic, cultural and other systems that are identified with the neighboring states.
**Commuting migration (shuttle, frontier migration)** - daily, rarely weekly move from one country to another and back again. Migrants crossing the border in such a way to work in a neighboring country are called migrants border crossers. This type of migration is widespread in Western Europe and North America, for example between Canada and America - tens of thousands of people every day.

**Cross-border cooperation.** Legal and generally relating to the systematic interaction of legal persons of neighboring states, carried out in the economic, humanitarian and environmental fields with the purpose of exchanging goods, services, material, information, labor, intellectual and other resources, cultural achievements.

**Cross-border flow** – the movement of people, goods, services, etc. across the border, subject to (in whole or in part) classification, monitoring and statistical accounting. Illegal Cross-border flow – The above mentioned movement, carried out with a flagrant (and usually conscious) violation of the rules of border control.

**Delimitation** – the state border established under negotiations, carried out by using maps (usually large-scale) with a detailed picture of topography, hydrography, settlements and other physical and geographical features. In the process of delimitation, the negotiating parties provide the description of border drawn on the map. The map with a drawn line is usually signed or initialed, sealed with official seals of the negotiating parties, and is part of the relevant treaties. Description of the border is provided in one of the articles of the border treaty, or it is its appendix (Slovar’mezdunarodnogo prava 1986: 67).

**Demarcation** – determination and designation of the state border on the ground in accordance with the agreements on the delimitation of borders and the attached maps and descriptions. It is implemented, as a rule by mixed commissions specially created by governments of the neighboring countries (Slovar’mezdunarodnogo prava 1986: 67).

**Limology** (literally the science of the border) – a discipline that deals with the border territories, border institutions, functions, processes, etc. It is generally regarded as a section of political geography; although it is possible to study border issues with economic, social, anthropological, cultural, military, environmental, and other points of view (see border studies).

**Natural boundaries** – the boundaries that coincide with natural boundaries - mountain ranges, wide rivers, etc.

**New borders (post-Soviet)** – the borders between former Soviet republics that have acquired the status of state borders after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Kazakhstan has the borders falling under this category, with Russia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and borders on the Caspian Sea.
Old borders – areas with the status of state borders in Soviet times (as of 1991). The borders of the Russian Federation with China refer to the old land areas of the state border.

Russian border territory including the border zone, as well as the Russian part of the waters of trans-boundary rivers, lakes and other waters, territorial sea and internal waters of the Russian Federation where the border regime is set, the checkpoints across the state border, as well as the territories of administrative districts and cities, spa and resort areas, protected areas, facilities and other areas adjacent to the state border, the border zone, the banks of trans-boundary rivers, lakes and other bodies of water, the seacoast or border crossing points.

Seasonal migration – related to short-term (within 1 year) entry for work, school, etc., which has a seasonal character.

State border – a line and a vertical surface which passes along this line, defining the limits of national territory (land, water, subsoil and air space).

5 Federal’nyi zakom “O gosudarstvennoi granice RF” ot 01.04.1993 r. St. 3.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1

A list of some international treaties concluded by the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation

2. Treaty of further deepening of integration and economic cooperation between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation. Moscow, 28.03.1994
3. Memorandum on the basic principles to deal with issues relating to citizenship and legal status of citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan, residing in the territories of Russia and the Russian citizens permanently residing in the Republic of Kazakhstan. Moscow, 28.03.1994
4. Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Russia on cooperation in culture, science and education. Moscow, 28.03.1994
APPENDIX 2, 3

The length of the Russian Federation regions’ borders with Kazakhstan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>The length of the RF border with Kazakhstan, km</th>
<th>Ratio of the length of the borders with neighboring states to the total length, in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orenburgskaya</td>
<td>1,880</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omskaya</td>
<td>1,020</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelyabinskaya</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altai Kray</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurganskaya</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saratovskaya</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrakhanskaya</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altai Republic</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novosibirskaya</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volgogradskaya</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyumenskaya</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>7,499</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Novaya politika.

The length of Kazakhstan regions’ borders with the Russian Federation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>The length of Kazakhstan border with the RF (km)</th>
<th>Ratio of the length of the borders with neighboring states to the total length (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Kazakhstan</td>
<td>1,532</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kostanaiskaya</td>
<td>1,280</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Kazakhstan</td>
<td>1,257</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Kazakhstan</td>
<td>1,212</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavlodarskaya</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aktobinskaya</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atyrauskaya</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>7,111</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: The official site of West Kazakhstan region
APPENDIX 4

Semiglavy Mar Customs and Border posts, Kazakhstan (between West Kazakhstan and Samara, Saratov regions).

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 5

Zhaysan Customs and Border posts, Kazakhstan (between Aktobe and Orenburg region).

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009
APPENDIX 6

Zhaysan Customs and Border posts, Kazakhstan (between Aktobe and Orenburg region).

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 7

Zhaysan Customs and Border posts, Kazakhstan (between Aktobe and Orenburg region).

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 8

Ozinki Customs and Border posts, Russia (between Aktobe and Orenburgregion).

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 9

Ozinki Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan and Samara, Saratov regions).

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 10

Ozinki Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan and Samara, Saratov regions).

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 11

Orenburg Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan, Aktobe and Orenburg regions).

Sources: Author’s photo, 2008.
APPENDIX 12

Sol-Iletsk Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan, Aktobe and Orenburg regions).

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 13

Sol-Iletsk Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan, Aktobe and Orenburg regions).

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 14

Sol-Iletsk Customs and Border posts, Russia (between West Kazakhstan, Aktobe and Orenburg regions).

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 15
Chingirlau, West Kazakhstan region, Kazakhstan

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 16

Chingulau, West Kazakhstan region, Kazakhstan

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 17

Russians from Chingirlau (West Kazakhstan region)

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 18

Linevka, Orenburg region, Russia

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
APPENDIX 19

Linevka, Orenburg region, Russia

Sources: Author’s photo, 2009.
АНКЕТА (RUS)
«Фронтьерские миграции между Казахстаном и Россией:
на примере Западного Казахстана»

________________________  _________________
номер анкеты          дата опроса
________________________
город/село             улица

Ф.И.О. опрашивающего

Здравствуйте!

Просим Вас принять участие в социологическом исследовании, которое проводится с целью изучения казахстанско-российской приграничной миграции.

Анкета анонимная. Результаты исследования всецело зависят от искренности Ваших ответов.

При обработке анкеты данные будут использованы в обобщенном виде. Для заполнения анкеты Вам необходимо выбрать и обвести кружком один вариант ответа (в некоторых случаях несколько), соответствующий Вашему мнению. Если ни один из приведенных ответов Вас не устраивает, то укажите, пожалуйста, свой вариант или причины отказа от ответа. Дополнительную инструкцию Вы можете получить у опрашивающего Вас сотрудника.

Благодарим Вас за сотрудничество!
БЛОК 1. – РАССКАЖИТЕ, ПОЖАЛУЙСТА, О ВАШИХ ПОЕЗДКАХ В КАЗАХСТАН И ВАШИХ КОНТАКТАХ С ЕЕ ЖИТЕЛЯМИ

1. По вашему мнению, жители приграничных районов в последние 3 года:
   1. Стали чаще пересекать границу
   2. Стали реже пересекать границу
   3. Пересекают границу так же часто, как и в предыдущие годы

2. Как часто Вам приходилось пересекать российско-казахстанскую границу? (Ответьте по каждой строке)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>В среднем:</th>
<th>Почти каждый день</th>
<th>Несколько раз в месяц</th>
<th>Несколько раз в году</th>
<th>Один-два раза в год</th>
<th>Ни разу</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>В этом 2009 году</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>В последние три года</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>В серед. 1990-х годов</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>До 1990 г.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. По каким причинам Вы ездили в Казахстан в последние 3 года (чаще всего)? (Отметьте три основные причины).
   1. Посещение родственников и друзей
   2. На работу
   3. Служебная командировка
   4. По делам, связанным с моим бизнесом
   5. Покупка товаров для последующей продажи
   6. Продажа товаров и продуктов в Казахстане
   7. Покупка товаров для себя и семьи
   8. Учёба в Казахстане
   9. Отдых, туризм
   10. Лечение в поликлиниках
   11. Лечение и отдых в санаториях
   12. Транзитный переезд
   13. Проживал(а) там
   14. Другое (укажите) ____________
   15. Не ездили(а) в этот период (переход на 6 вопрос)
4. Какими по продолжительности были самый короткий и самый долгий срок Ваших поездок в Казахстан за последние три года? (Ответьте по столбцам)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ответы</th>
<th>Самый короткий срок поездки</th>
<th>Самый долгий срок поездки</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Не более дня</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Несколько дней</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Несколько недель</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Несколько месяцев</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Другое (укажите)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Какие населенные пункты в Казахстане Вы посещаете чаще всего?

1. Актюбинск
2. Уральск
3. Аксай
4. Чингирлау
5. Другие (укажите) ________________________________

6. Кто-либо из Ваших близких и знакомых сейчас проживает в приграничных с Россией поселках и городах в Казахстане?

1. Мои родители
2. Мои дети
3. Другие родственники
4. Родственники моего мужа (жены)
5. Друзья
6. Знакомые
7. Коллеги по работе
8. Бывшие соседи
9. Другие (укажите) ________________________________
10. Никто не проживает (переход на 8 вопрос)

7. Поддерживаете ли Вы тесные связи с этими родственниками и друзьями в Казахстане? (Отметьте не более двух пунктов).

1. Ездим друг к другу в гости
2. Имеем общий бизнес
3. Редко навещаем друг друга
4. Время от времени перезваниваемся, пишем письма
5. Потеряли связь с ними
6. Другое (укажите) ________________________________
8. Ездили ли в Казахстан Ваши родственники и друзья, проживающие в вашем городе/селе в последние три года?
   1. Да       2. Нет (переход на 10 вопрос)

9. По каким причинам они ездили? (Отметьте три основные причины)
   1. Посещение родственников и друзей
   2. На работу
   3. Служебная командировка
   4. По делам, связанным с бизнесом
   5. Покупка товаров для последующей продажи
   6. Продажа товаров в Казахстане
   7. Покупка товаров для себя и семьи
   8. Учеба в Казахстане
   9. Отдых, туризм
   10. Лечение в поликлиниках
   11. Лечение и отдых в санаториях
   12. Транзитный переезд
   13. Проживали там
   14. Другое (укажите) ___________________________________

10. Какие основные преимущества имеют жители приграничных районов России от места своего проживания? (Отметьте не более трех пунктов)
   1. Возможность найти работу в соседней стране
   2. Покупка более дешевых товаров и продуктов, привозимых из Казахстана
   3. Перепродажа товаров из Казахстана
   4. Продажа своей продукции в Казахстане
   5. Возможность получения более дешевых услуг в Казахстане
   6. Устройство на работу в пограничных и таможенных службах
   7. Возможность найма на временные и сезонные работы в Казахстане
   8. Другое (укажите) ________________________________
   9. Не имеют особых выгод

11. Какие проблемы возникают у жителей приграничных территорий, связанные с местом их проживания? (Отметьте не более трех пунктов)
   1. Трудности в общении с родственниками и друзьями, живущими по другую сторону границы
   2. Наплыв нелегальных, дешевых работников, отнимающих у местных жителей работу
3. Рост преступности из-за увеличения числа неместных жителей
4. Воровство проезжающих мимо людей и трудности с их поимкой
5. Вытеснение местных товаров и продуктов более дешевыми из Казахстана
6. Слабое развитие социальных услуг (медицины, образования и т.д.)
7. Другое (укажите) ________________________________
8. Особых проблем нет

12. Как часто в Ваш город/село приезжают жители Казахстана в последние три года?
   1. Чаше, чем раньше
   2. Ничего не изменилось
   3. Реже, чем раньше
   4. Затрудняюсь ответить

13. Каковы основные причины их приезда? (Отметьте не более трех пунктов)
   1. В поисках постоянной работы
   2. В поисках сезонной, временной работы
   3. К родственникам
   4. По делам, связанным с работой и бизнесом
   5. Занятие коммерцией (челноки)
   6. Возвращение на историческую родину
   7. Учеба
   8. Другое (укажите) ________________________________

14. Ваши поездки в Казахстан в этом году по сравнению с предыдущим:
   1. Стали реже
   2. Ничего не изменилось (переход на 16 вопрос)
   3. Стали чаще (переход на 16 вопрос)
   4. Не ездили (переход на 16 вопрос)

15. Почему Вы стали ездить реже? (Отметьте не более трех пунктов)
   1. Уменьшилась необходимость в поездах
   2. Нет денег на поездки
   3. Сложней стало проходить пограничные и таможенные посты
   4. Уменьшилась выгода для коммерческих поездок
   5. Неудобные маршруты транспорта
   6. Отсутствуют необходимые документы
   7. Другое (укажите) ________________________________
16. Как повлияло официальное определение границ между Казахстаном и Россией на жизнь жителей приграничных районов? (Отметьте не более пяти пунктов)
1. Пересечение границы стало слишком сложным
2. Уменьшилось число контактов между жителями приграничных населенных пунктов с обеих сторон
3. Строгий порядок и контроль за пересекающими границу делает жизнь жителей более безопасной
4. Увеличилось число рабочих мест для местных жителей на пограничных и таможенных пунктах
5. Повысилась возможность заработать, оказывая услуги проезжающим
6. Уменьшилось число людей, пересекающих границу в обход пограничных и таможенных постов
7. Уменьшился поток товаров, провозимых частными предпринимателями через границу
8. Ужесточился контроль за провозом запрещенных товаров (наркотиков, оружия и т.д.)
9. Другое (укажите) ________________________________

17. Как Вы относитесь к идеи введения визового режима между Россией и Казахстаном?
1. Полностью поддерживаю
2. Скорее поддерживаю
3. Скорее не поддерживаю
4. Не поддерживаю
5. Другое (укажите) ________________________________

18. Если будет введен визовый режим, Вы будете ездить в Казахстан?
1. Да
2. Да, но значительно реже
3. Только в крайнем случае
4. Нет

19. Испытываете ли Вы какие-нибудь значительные неудобства при пересечении российско-казахстанской границы? (Отметьте не более трех пунктов)
1. Необходимость заполнения миграционной карточки и других бумаг
2. Усиленная таможенная проверка
3. Излишне строгий пограничный контроль
4. Трудности с провозом большого количества личных вещей
5. Вымогательство денег при пересечении границы
6. Трудности с обменом и провозом валюты
7. Неуважительное отношение представителей пограничных и таможенных служб
8. Другое (укажите) __________________________________________
9. Все неудобства оправданны и защищают интересы государства
10. Не езжу в Россию

20. Пересекали ли Вы российско-казахстанскую границу в обход пограничных и таможенных постов?
   1. Да, много раз
   2. Да, несколько раз
   3. Да, один-два раза
   4. Нет (переход на 23 вопрос)
   5. Не ездили в Россию (переход на 23 вопрос)

21. Почему Вам пришлось пересекать границу таким образом?
   1. Пост находится слишком далеко
   2. Не было паспорта, удостоверения личности
   3. Не пропустили таможенники
   4. Провозил большое количество товара
   5. Не хотел давать взятки при пересечении границы
   6. Другое (укажите) __________________________________________

22. Что нужно, в первую очередь, сделать для улучшения жизни жителей приграничных районов? (Отметьте не более пяти пунктов)
   1. Облегчить процедуру пересечения границы
   2. Открыть границы
   3. Ужесточить пограничный и таможенный контроль
   4. Не препятствовать трудовой миграции людей
   5. Взять под строгий контроль и учет нелегальную трудовую миграцию
   6. Ограничить миграцию из соседнего государства
   7. Поощрять обмен товарами, продуктами и услугами между жителями приграничных территорий
   8. Защитить отечественных товаропроизводителей от потока товаров соседних стран
   9. Развивать совместное производство на приграничных территориях
   10. Создавать условия для культурных и социальных контактов стран-соседей
   11. Наладить тесные связи между местными властями приграничных районов
   12. Другое (укажите) __________________________
23. В каком направлении, на Ваш взгляд, необходимо развивать связи России с Казахстаном?
1. Общие экономические программы и проекты
2. Совместный бизнес граждан и организаций обоих государств
3. Создание условий для свободного перемещения граждан своих и соседних стран
4. Борьба с преступностью
5. Сотрудничество пограничных и таможенных служб
6. Обмен в области образования и культуры
7. Развитие демократии
8. Другое (укажите) __________________________

24. Собираетесь ли Вы в ближайшее время переехать в Казахстан?
1. Да
2. Думаю об этом
3. Нет
4. Другое (укажите) __________________________

25. Если Вы хотите уехать из России, то почему?
1. Создание лучших условий для себя и моей семьи
2. Отсутствие перспектив для детей
3. Отсутствие работы
4. Приглашения и просьбы родственников
5. Худшие условия жизни, чем соседей
6. Чувство оторванности от Родины
7. Проблемы с языком
8. Создание семьи
9. Другое (укажите) __________________________

26. Если не хотите уехать, то почему?
1. Это моя родина
2. Здесь мои родственники и друзья
3. Проблемы с жильем
4. Нет средств на переезд
5. Это не решит моих проблем
6. Другое (укажите) __________________________
27. Если Вы собираетесь уехать, то куда?
   1. Казахстан
   2. Другое регион России
   3. Другую страну СНГ
   4. Дальнее зарубежье
   10. Другое (укаzите) ________________________________

БЛОК 2. – В ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИИ, ПОЖАЛУЙСТА, РАССКАЖИТЕ О СЕБЕ:

28. Ваш пол:
   1. Мужчина
   2. Женщина

29. Ваши гражданство:
   1. Республика Казахстан
   2. Российской Федерации
   3. Другое (укажите) ________________________________

30. Кем Вы считаете в первую очередь?
   1. Гражданин России
   2. Член своей этнической группы
   3. Одновременно гражданин России и член своей этнической группы
   4. Советский человек
   5. Оренбуржец

31. Ваш возраст:
   1. 15-19 лет
   2. 20-24 лет
   3. 25-29 лет
   4. 30-34 лет
   5. 35-39 лет
   6. 40-44 лет
   7. 45-49 лет
   8. 50-54 лет
   9. 55-59 лет
   10. 60-64 лет
   11. 65 лет и старше

32. Ваше семейное положение:
   1. Женат (замужем)
   2. Незарегистрированный брак
   3. Разведен(а)
   4. Вдова, вдовец
   5. Никогда не состоял(а) в браке
33. Укажите:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Национальность Вашего отца</th>
<th>Национальность Вашей матери</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Казах</td>
<td>1. Казашка</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Русский</td>
<td>2. Русская</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Другое (укажите)</td>
<td>3. Другое (укажите)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. Ваше образование:
   1. Неполное среднее
   2. Среднее
   3. Среднее специальное
   4. Незаконченное высшее
   5. Высшее

35. Сфера Вашей деятельности:
   1. Государственное управление
   2. Фермерство, личное подсобное хозяйство
   3. Сельскохозяйственное предприятие
   4. Промышленность
   5. Строительство
   6. Социальные услуги (медицина, образование, социальная защита и др.)
   7. Торговля, транспорт и услуги населению
   8. Самозанятость, мелкий бизнес
   9. Ведение домашнего хозяйства
   10. Общественная организация
   11. Бездомный(ая)
   12. Пенсионер(ка)
   13. Студент(ка), учащийся
   14. Другое _________________________

36. Ваше социальное положение:
   1. Руководитель организации
   2. Владелец фирмы
   3. Ведущий специалист
   4. Рядовой сотрудник
   5. Рабочий
   6. Самостоятельно занятый
7. Временно, сезонно работающий у частных лиц
8. Не работаю

37. Уровень жизни вашей семьи за последние три года:
   1. Существенно улучшился
   2. Немного улучшился
   3. Не изменился
   4. Немного ухудшился
   5. Существенно ухудшился

38. Какие затраты может позволить себе Ваша семья?
   1. Часто денег не хватает на самое необходимое
   2. Деньги в основном расходуются на питание и квартплату
   3. Есть возможность приобрести бытовую технику, мебель, другие товары
   4. Есть возможность делать крупные покупки

Спасибо за сотрудничество!
АНКЕТА (KZ)
«Фронтьерские миграции между Казахстаном и Россией: на примере Западного Казахстана»

номер анкеты

дата опроса

город/село

улица

Ф.И.О. опрашивающего

Здравствуйте!

Просим Вас принять участие в социологическом исследовании, которое проводится с целью изучения казахстанско-российской трансграничной миграции.

Анкета анонимная. Результаты исследования всецело зависят от искренности Ваших ответов.

При обработке анкеты данные будут использованы в обобщенном виде. Для заполнения анкеты Вам необходимо выбрать и обвести кружком один вариант ответа (в некоторых случаях несколько), соответствующий Вашему мнению. Если ни один из приведенных ответов Вас не устраивает, то укажите, пожалуйста, свой вариант или причины отказа от ответа. Дополнительную инструкцию Вы можете получить у опрашивающего Вас сотрудника.

Благодарим Вас за сотрудничество!
БЛОК 1 – РАССКАЖИТЕ, ПОЖАЛУЙСТА, О ВАШИХ ПОЕЗДКАХ В РОССИЮ И ВАШИХ КОНТАКТАХ С ЕЕ ЖИТЕЛЯМИ

1. По вашему мнению, жители приграничных районов в последние 3 года:
   1. Стали чаще пересекать границу
   2. Стали реже пересекать границу
   3. Пересекают границу так же часто, как и в предыдущие годы

2. Как часто Вам приходилось пересекать казахстанско-российскую границу?
   (Ответьте по каждой строке)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>В среднем:</th>
<th>Почти каждый день</th>
<th>Несколько раз в месяц</th>
<th>Несколько раз в год</th>
<th>Один-два раза в год</th>
<th>Ни разу</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>В этом 2009 году</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>В последние три года</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>В серед. 1990-х годов</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>До 1990 г.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. По каким причинам Вы ездили в Россию в последние 3 года (чаще всего)?
   (Отметьте три основные причины).

   1. Посещение родственников и друзей
   2. На работу
   3. Служебная командировка
   4. По делам, связанным с моим бизнесом
   5. Покупка товаров для последующей продажи
   6. Продажа товаров и продуктов в России
   7. Покупка товаров для себя и семьи
   8. Учеба в России
   9. Отдых, туризм
   10. Лечение в поликлиниках
   11. Лечение и отдых в санаториях
   12. Транзитный переезд
   13. Проживал(а) там
   14. Другое (укажите) ________________________________
   15. Не ездил(а) в этот период (переход на б вопрос)
4. Какими по продолжительности были самый короткий и самый долгий срок Ваших поездок в Россию за последние три года? (Ответьте по столбцам)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ответы</th>
<th>Самый короткий срок поездки</th>
<th>Самый долгий срок поездки</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Не более дня</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Несколько дней</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Несколько недель</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Несколько месяцев</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Другое (укажите)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Какие населенные пункты в России Вы посещаете чаще всего?
   1. Самара
   2. Оренбург
   3. Соль-Илецк
   4. Саратов
   5. Другое (укажите) ____________________________________________

6. Кто-либо из Ваших близких и знакомых сейчас проживает в приграничных с Казахстаном поселках и городах в России?
   1. Мои родители
   2. Мои дети
   3. Другие родственники
   4. Родственники моего мужа (жены)
   5. Друзья
   6. Знакомые
   7. Коллеги по работе
   8. Бывшие соседи
   9. Другие (укажите) ____________________________________________
   10. Никто не проживает (переход на 8 вопрос)

7. Поддерживаете ли Вы тесные связи с этими родственниками и друзьями в России? (Отметьте не более двух пунктов).
   1. Ездим друг к другу в гости
   2. Имеем общий бизнес
   3. Редко навещаем друг друга
   4. Время от времени перезваниваемся, пишем письма
   5. Потеряли связь с ними
   6. Другое (укажите) ____________________________________________
8. Ездили ли в Россию Ваши родственники и друзья, проживающие в вашем городе/селе в последние три года?
   1. Да  2. Нет (переход на 10 вопрос)

9. По каким причинам они ездили? (Отметьте три основные причины)
   1. Посещение родственников и друзей
   2. На работу
   3. Служебная командировка
   4. По делам, связанным с бизнесом
   5. Покупка товаров для последующей продажи
   6. Продажа товаров в Казахстане
   7. Покупка товаров для себя и семьи
   8. Учеба в Казахстане
   9. Отдых, туризм
   10. Лечение в поликлиниках
   11. Лечение и отдых в санаториях
   12. Транзитный переезд
   13. Проживали там
   14. Другое (укажите) ________________________________

10. Какие основные преимущества имеют жители приграничных районов Казахстана от места своего проживания? (Отметьте не более трех пунктов)
   1. Возможность найти работу в соседней стране
   2. Покупка более дешевых товаров и продуктов, привозимых из России
   3. Перепродажа товаров из России
   4. Продажа своей продукции в России
   5. Возможность получения более дешевых услуг в России
   6. Устройство на работу в пограничных и таможенных службах
   7. Возможность найма на временные и сезонные работы в России
   8. Другое (укажите) ________________________________
   9. Не имеют особых выгод

11. Какие проблемы возникают у жителей приграничных территорий, связанные с местом их проживания? (Отметьте не более трех пунктов)
   1. Трудности в общении с родственниками и друзьями, живущими по другую сторону границы
   2. Наплыв нелегальных, дешевых работников, отнимающих у местных жителей работу
3. Рост преступности из-за увеличения числа неместных жителей
4. Воровство проезжающих мимо людей и трудности с их поимкой
5. Вытеснение местных товаров и продуктов более дешевыми из России
6. Слабое развитие социальных услуг (медицины, образования и т.д.)
7. Другое (укажите) ____________________________
8. Особых проблем нет

12. Как часто в Ваш город/село приезжает жители России в последние три года?
   1. Чаше, чем раньше
   2. Ничего не изменилось
   3. Реже, чем раньше
   4. Затрудняюсь ответить

13. Каковы основные причины их приезда? (Отметьте не более трех пунктов)
    1. В поисках постоянной работы
    2. В поисках сезонной, временной работы
    3. К родственникам
    4. По делам, связанным с работой и бизнесом
    5. Занятие коммерцией (челноки)
    6. Возвращение на историческую родину
    7. Учеба
    8. Другое (укажите) __________________________

14. Ваши поездки в Россию в этом году по сравнению с предыдущим:
    1. Стали реже
    2. Ничего не изменилось (переход на 16 вопрос)
    3. Стали чаще (переход на 16 вопрос)
    4. Не ездил(а) (переход на 16 вопрос)

15. Почему Вы стали ездить реже? (Отметьте не более трех пунктов)
    1. Уменьшилась необходимость в поездках
    2. Нет денег на поездки
    3. Сложной стало проходить пограничные и таможенные посты
    4. Уменьшилась выгода для коммерческих поездок
    5. Неудобные маршруты транспорта
    6. Отсутствуют необходимые документы
    7. Другое (укажите) __________________________
16. Как повлияло официальное определение границ между Казахстаном и Россией на жизнь жителей приграничных районов? (Отметьте не более пяти пунктов)
   1. Пересечение границы стало слишком сложным
   2. Уменьшилось число контактов между жителями приграничных населенных пунктов с обоих сторон
   3. Строгий порядок и контроль за пересекающими границу делает жизнь жителей более безопасной
   4. Увеличилось число рабочих мест для местных жителей на пограничных и таможенных пунктах
   5. Повысилась возможность заработать, оказывая услуги проезжающим
   6. Уменьшилось число людей, пересекающих границу в обход пограничных и таможенных постов
   7. Уменьшился поток товаров, провозимых частными предпринимателями через границу
   8. Ужесточился контроль за провозом запрещенных товаров (наркотиков, оружия и т.д.)
   9. Другое (укажите) ____________________________________________

17. Как Вы относитесь к идее введения визового режима между Россией и Казахстаном?
   1. Полностью поддерживаю
   2. Скорее поддерживаю
   3. Скорее не поддерживаю
   4. Не поддерживаю
   5. Другое (укажите) __________________________

18. Если будет введен визовый режим, Вы будете ездить в Россию?
   1. Да
   2. Да, но значительно реже
   3. Только в крайнем случае
   4. Нет

19. Испытываете ли Вы какие-нибудь значительные неудобства при пересечении российско-казахстанской границы? (Отметьте не более трех пунктов)
   1. Необходимость заполнения миграционной карточки и других бумаг
   2. Усиленная таможенная проверка
   3. Излишне строгий пограничный контроль
   4. Трудности с провозом большого количества личных вещей
   5. Вымогательство денег при пересечении границы
   6. Трудности с обменом и провозом валюты
   7. Неуважительное отношение представителей пограничных и таможенных служб
8. Другое (укажите) ________________________________________________

9. Все неудобства оправданны и защищают интересы государства

10. Не езжу в Россию

20. Пересекали ли Вы российско-казахстанскую границу в обход пограничных и таможенных постов?
   1. Да, много раз
   2. Да, несколько раз
   3. Да, один-два раза
   4. Нет (переход на 23 вопрос)
   5. Не ездили в Россию (переход на 23 вопрос)

21. Почему Вам пришлось пересекать границу таким образом?
   1. Пост находится слишком далеко
   2. Не было паспорта, удостоверения личности
   3. Не пропустили таможенники
   4. Провозил большое количество товара
   5. Не хотел давать взятки при пересечении границы
   6. Другое (укажите) ____________________________________________

22. Что нужно, в первую очередь, сделать для улучшения жизни жителей приграничных районов? (Отметьте не более пяти пунктов)
   1. Облегчить процедуру пересечения границы
   2. Открыть границы
   3. Ужесточить пограничный и таможенный контроль
   4. Не препятствовать трудовой миграции людей
   5. Взять под строгий контроль и учет нелегальную трудовую миграцию
   6. Ограничьте миграцию из соседнего государства
   7. Поощрять обмен товарами, продуктами и услугами между жителями приграничных территорий
   8. Защитить отечественных товаровпроизводителей от потока товаров соседних стран
   9. Развивать совместное производство на приграничных территориях
   10. Создавать условия для культурных и социальных контактов стран-соседей
   11. Наладить тесные связи между местными властями приграничных районов
   12. Другое (укажите) ____________________________________________
23. В каком направлении, на Ваш взгляд, необходимо развивать связи России с Казахстаном?
1. Общие экономические программы и проекты
2. Совместный бизнес граждан и организаций обоих государств
3. Создание условий для свободного перемещения граждан своих и соседних стран
4. Борьба с преступностью
5. Сотрудничество пограничных и таможенных служб
6. Обмен в области образования и культуры
7. Развитие демократии
8. Другое (укажите) __________________________

24. Собираетесь ли Вы в ближайшее время переехать в Россию?
1. Да
2. Думаю об этом
3. Нет
4. Другое (укажите) __________________________

25. Если Вы хотите уехать из Казахстана, то почему?
1. Создание лучших условий для себя и моей семьи
2. Отсутствие перспектив для детей
3. Отсутствие работы
4. Приглашения и просьбы родственников
5. Худшие условия жизни, чем соседей
6. Чувство оторванности от Родины
7. Проблемы с языком
8. Создание семьи
9. Другое (укажите)________________________________________

26. Если не хотите уехать, то почему?
1. Это моя родина
2. Здесь мои родственники и друзья
3. Проблемы с жильем
4. Нет средств на переезд
5. Это не решит моих проблем
6. Другое (укажите)________________________________________
27. Если Вы собираетесь уехать, то куда?
1. Россию
2. Другое регион Казахстана
3. Другую страну СНГ
4. Дальнее зарубежье
5. Другое (укажите) ____________________________

БЛОК 2. – В ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИИ, ПОЖАЛУЙСТА, РАССКАЖИТЕ О СЕБЕ:

28. Ваш пол:
1. Мужчина
2. Женщина

29. Ваше гражданство:
1. Республика Казахстан
2. Российской Федерации
3. Другое (укажите) ____________________________

30. Кем Вы считаете в первую очередь?
1. Гражданин Казахстана
2. Член своей этнической группы
3. Одновременно гражданин Казахстана и член своей этнической группы
4. Советский человек
5. Западно-Казахстанец

31. Ваш возраст:
1. 15-19 лет
2. 20-24 лет
3. 25-29 лет
4. 30-34 лет
5. 35-39 лет
6. 40-44 лет
7. 45-49 лет
8. 50-54 лет
9. 55-59 лет
10. 60-64 лет
11. 65 лет и старше

32. Ваше семейное положение:
1. Женат (замужем)
2. Незарегистрированный брак
3. Разведен(а)
4. Вдова, вдовец
5. Никогда не состоял(а) в браке
34. Укажите:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Национальность Вашего отца</th>
<th>Национальность Вашей матери</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Казах</td>
<td>1. Казашка</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Русский</td>
<td>2. Русская</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Другое (укажите)</td>
<td>3. Другое (укажите)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35. Ваше образование:
1. Неполное среднее
2. Среднее
3. Среднее специальное
4. Незаконченное высшее
5. Высшее

36. Сфера Вашей деятельности:
1. Государственное управление
2. Фермерство, личное подсобное хозяйство
3. Сельскохозяйственное предприятие
4. Промышленность
5. Строительство
6. Социальные услуги (медицина, образование, социальная защита и др.)
7. Торговля, транспорт и услуги населению
8. Самозанятость, мелкий бизнес
9. Ведение домашнего хозяйства
10. Общественная организация
11. Безработный(ая)
12. Пенсионер(ка)
13. Студент(ка), учащийся
14. Другое ____________________________

37. Ваше социальное положение:
1. Руководитель организации
2. Владелец фирмы
3. Ведущий специалист
4. Рядовой сотрудник
5. Рабочий
6. Самостоятельно занятый
7. Временно, сезонно работающий у частных лиц
8. Не работаю

38. Уровень жизни вашей семьи за последние три года:
   1. Существенно улучшился
   2. Немного улучшился
   3. Не изменился
   4. Немного ухудшился
   5. Существенно ухудшился

39. Какие затраты может позволить себе Ваша семья?
   1. Часто денег не хватает на самое необходимое
   2. Деньги в основном расходуются на питание и квартплату
   3. Есть возможность приобрести бытовую технику, мебель, другие товары
   4. Есть возможность делать крупные покупки

Спасибо за сотрудничество!