

FEATURES OF ETHNIC MIGRATION AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF POST-SOVIET CENTRAL ASIAN COUNTRIES

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Abstract

The article is concerned with the issues of the ethnic migrations impact on the ethnic composition of population in the countries of Central Asia. The period after the collapse of the Soviet Union and up to the present day was chosen for the research. Migrations between Russia and Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan affected the ethnic makeup fundamentally during that period. As a result of intensive migration processes the number and proportion of title nations increased in the countries of Central Asia. The proportion of Russians, Ukrainians, Germans and other nations decreased sharply. Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tajik and Uzbek Diasporas are formed in the Russian Federation. The information about the numbers and settlement of the nations in Russia and in Central Asia is provided in the article.

Keywords: migrations; demography; nations; ethnic composition; Central Asia

INTRODUCTION

Migrants from the former Soviet republics predominate among Russian immigrants. And among them, immigrants from Asian countries – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan - predominate. Researchers have repeatedly addressed the topic of post-Soviet migrations, but a complete picture of these processes has not developed so far. Perhaps this is due to the lack of more or less coordinated approaches to the study of these migrations by scientists of different scientific fields (geographers, demographers, ethnologists, economists, sociologists, political scientists), perhaps - the absence of an interested customer for such research, since it can only be the state, but so far, it seems, the problem of Asian migrations is not considered a priority for us. Meanwhile, migrants from Central Asia have become an integral part of the ethnic mosaic in Russia, not only in the capital, but in all regions, including remote areas of the far north and the Far East (with the exception of regime territories, of course).

Central Asia geographically represents a single and historically interconnected region, but the process of sovereignization of the independent states of Central Asia has aggravated the rupture of a single cultural and historical space.

The gap in the development of the Central Asian republics at the present stage is increasing from year to year. Kazakhstan has the largest area and the lowest population density, accounting for approximately 51% of the total regional GDP, most of which the

country receives from oil (1). Uzbekistan has the largest population, which accounts for 45% of the total population of the region. Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan have almost the same population. But Turkmenistan is a desert country with large energy reserves, especially natural gas reserves, which accounts for 16% of regional GDP. And Kyrgyzstan is a small mountainous country with insignificant natural resources, with the exception of water resources, hydropower and some gold, which gives 5% of regional GDP. Tajikistan is similar to Kyrgyzstan in terms of resources and size, but it is even poorer and more isolated.

RESULTS

Migration from Central Asia to Russia in the post-Soviet period experienced several waves, different in goals and directions, the number of migrants and their ethnic composition. The first wave caused by the collapse of the USSR was the largest in its size and consequences.

After the collapse of the Soviet state, the departure of the Russian population to the states of the new abroad sharply decreased, but the reverse process was gaining momentum. The scale of migration to Russia from these countries has so far exceeded the ever-decreasing departure from Russia in their direction that the migration balance increased 3.7 times from 1989 to 1995 (2). The peak of the migration influx and population growth occurred in 1994, when 1,146 thousand people arrived in Russia from the former republics, and the increase amounted to 915 thousand people. More than a third of the migration growth was provided by the states of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. For a relatively short period, not only the majority of the Russian-speaking population, but also part of the titular population left Central Asia and Kazakhstan (1).

The consequences of these migrations are visible when comparing the results of population censuses. The last Soviet population census of 1989 recorded the national composition of the republics actually at the time of the collapse of the USSR. Russians and other non-"indigenous" peoples then made up a significant part of the population in all the republics of Central Asia. Thus, in Kazakhstan, whose population numbered 16.5 million people, there were 6.5 million Kazakhs (39.7%). Russians numbered 6.2 million people (37.8%), Germans - 957.5 thousand people (5.8%), Ukrainians - 896.2 thousand people (5.4%), Uzbeks - 332.0 thousand people (2.0%), Tatars - 327.9 thousand people (2.0%)

The population of Uzbekistan in 1989 numbered 19.8 million people. Of these, there were 14.1 million Uzbeks (71.4%), Russians - 1.7 million people (8.3%), Tajiks - 933.6 thousand people (4.7%), Kazakhs - 808.2 thousand people (4.1%), Tatars - 467.8 thousand people (2.4%), Ukrainians - 153.2 thousand people (0.8%) (1). In Kyrgyzstan in 1989 there were 4.3 million people, of which there were 2.2 million Kyrgyz (52.4%), Russians - 916.6 thousand people (21.5%), Ukrainians - 108.0 thousand people (2.5%), Uzbeks - 550.1 thousand people (12.9%), Germans - 101.3 thousand people (2.4%), Tatars - 70.1 thousand people (1.6%) (2).

The population of Tajikistan at the time of the last Soviet census was 5.1 million people. There were 3.2 million Tajiks (62.3%), 1.2 million Uzbeks (23.5%), 388.5 thousand

Russians (7.6%), 72.2 thousand Tatars (1.4%) (5). It is not easy to trace the changes in the ethnic composition, the dynamics of the number of peoples in the former Soviet republics, since it was influenced not only by migration to different countries, but also by immigration, the peculiarities of natural reproduction, ethnic conflicts and other reasons. The systematic conduct of population censuses has become a thing of the past, along with the collapse of the system itself. In independent states, censuses were also conducted independently of neighbors, in some countries 2 times, in others - once, and in some states, censuses have not been conducted since 1989. not once. In this case, you can use the population data of international organizations (unfortunately, they do not contain information about nationality), value judgments and data on population migrations between countries.

In Kazakhstan, with which Russia has had a steady intensive migration exchange throughout the post-Soviet period, population censuses were conducted in 1999 and 2009. The 1999 census showed a sharp increase in the share of Kazakhs in the country's population (from 39.7% to 53.4%) (2) against the background of a decrease in the total population to 14.9 million people, mainly due to the emigration of non-titular peoples. For example, the number of Germans who actively traveled to Germany decreased almost three times (despite the positive natural increase), to 353.2 thousand people. 2009 Census It confirmed these trends that developed in the 1990s (an increase in the share of Kazakhs in the country's population), but not so much due to the emigration of all other peoples, but also due to the increased natural growth of Kazakhs, a significant part of whom prefer to live in rural areas.

In 2009, 16.0 million people lived in Kazakhstan (3). The number of Kazakhs increased by 26.1% compared to the previous census and amounted to 10.1 million people. The number of Uzbeks increased by 23.3%, amounting to 457.2 thousand people, Uighurs - by 6%, amounting to 223.1 thousand people. The number of Russians decreased by 15.3%, amounting to 3.8 million people; Germans - by 49.6%, amounting to 178.2 thousand people; Ukrainians - by 39.1%, amounting to 333.2 thousand people; Tatars - by 18.4%, amounting to 203.3 thousand people; other peoples - by 5.8%, amounting to 714.2 thousand people. The share of Kazakhs in the total population of the country was 63.1%, Russians - 23.7%, Uzbeks - 2.8%, Ukrainians - 2.1%, Uighurs - 1.4%, Tatars - 1.3%, Germans - 1.1%, other ethnic groups - 4.5% (3).

Kazakhstan is preparing to conduct the next census in 2023, as well as most countries of the world. The estimate of the population of Kazakhstan for the middle of 2018 is 18.4 million people. The population forecast for 2030 is 20.5 million people, for 2050 - 24.5 million people (4). This population growth will be due to the high natural growth of the indigenous population (Kazakhs and Uzbeks) living in rural areas. The natural growth rate in Kazakhstan is currently 1.5% in the Republic as a whole (2). At the same time, the negative balance of international migration will remain, expressed much weaker than before, since everyone who wanted and could leave the country due to the global political changes that have taken place has already done so.

Today's migration of Russians, Ukrainians, Germans and other peoples of Kazakhstan to Russia, in Germany or Ukraine, or anywhere else, is extended in time and in the most planned character. Someone is waiting until the children finish school to send them to

American, European (which is desirable), or Russian universities (which is more realistic). Someone is looking for a decent job in Russia and acceptable relocation conditions. Someone is applying for benefits. Someone is waiting for retirement. Many people do not plan to leave anywhere, because they have been living in Kazakhstan for a very long time, many generations, and there is nowhere to go especially. But almost everyone who does not belong to the titular people is thinking about emigration (3).

During the years of independence, no population censuses have been conducted in Uzbekistan. According to current population records, its population is 34.9 million people (5). Since 1989, the population of this republic has grown by 13.1 million (by 66.2%). The demographic situation in Uzbekistan is characterized by high natural population growth, high migration mobility. According to the data for 2019, 157.1 thousand people arrived in Uzbekistan, 177.1 thousand people left, the migration balance was -20.6 thousand people (4). Migration exchange is carried out mainly with neighboring States. Kazakhstan is the leader in terms of the number of arrivals (it accounts for 36.4% of all arrivals), followed by Russia (31.0%), Tajikistan (18.1%), Turkmenistan (3.3%), Kyrgyzstan (1.6%). Other countries account for 9.9%. According to the countries of departure, the distribution of migrants is as follows: more than half of all migrants went to Russia - 52.2%, to Kazakhstan - 42.0%, to Tajikistan - 0.5%, to Kyrgyzstan - 0.5%, to Ukraine - 0.4%, to other states - 4.4% of migrants (5).

As a consequence of the high birth rate and emigration, the proportions of the ethnic composition of the population of Uzbekistan have changed compared to the Soviet period. Thus, according to the State Statistics Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan for 2017, Uzbeks make up 83.8% of the country's population, Karakalpaks - 2.2%, Tajiks - 4.8%, Kazakhs - 2.5%, Russians - 2.3%, Kyrgyz - 0.9%, Tatars - 0.6%, Turkmens - 0.6%, Koreans - 0.6%, Ukrainians - 0.2%, others - 1.5% (4).

Since a high proportion of the rural population remains in Uzbekistan, at the level of 50.6%, the birth rate will also remain high in the coming years. The proportion of children and young people in the population structure is increasing, so there will be no reduction in the migration flow from Uzbekistan to Russia and Kazakhstan. According to demographers, the population of Uzbekistan by 2030 will be 38.7 million people, by 2050 - 46.5 million people (4). The population census is scheduled for 2022 (5).

The population of Kyrgyzstan in the middle of 2018 is 6.4 million people (6). The ethnic composition of the population is as follows: Kyrgyz - 73.5%, Uzbeks - 14.7%, Russians - 5.5%, Dungans - 1.1%, Uighurs - 0.9%, Tajiks - 0.9%, Turks - 0.7%, Kazakhs - 0.6%, Tatars - 0.4%, Azerbaijanis - 0.4%, other peoples - 1.3%. The balance of external migration has been consistently negative for many years. In 2018 it was minus 5,390 people. Negative exchange was recorded with such countries as Russia (-4,335 people), Kazakhstan (-1,043 people), Uzbekistan (-191 people), Belarus (-16 people), Ukraine (-3 people). The positive balance of migration with Tajikistan (412 people), Turkmenistan (2 people) (6).

The National Statistical Committee of Kyrgyzstan publishes migration statistics, including taking into account the nationality of migrants. Thus, in 2018, the most Kyrgyz (1,104 people) and Uzbeks (182 people) came to the republic. Russians are in third place (147 people). The most Russians left the country (2,629 people), the Kyrgyz

(2,093 people) in second place, the Uzbeks (1,063 people) in third place (7). Negative migration growth was recorded for all nationalities, including the Kyrgyz themselves (-989 people). The migration balance among Russians was minus 2,482 people, Uzbeks – minus 881 people, Ukrainians - minus 183 people., Tatars - minus 144 people, Germans - minus 121 people, etc. (8).

As in other post-Soviet states of Central Asia, the migration decline is compensated by a high natural increase, which amounts to 110- 130 thousand people annually, and in 2018 amounted to 138.2 thousand people. The natural growth rate is 2.1%. It is expected that by 2030 the population of Kyrgyzstan will number 7 million people, and by 2050 – 8.1 million people (9).

The population of Tajikistan in 2018 was 9.1 million people. The natural growth rate is 2.7%. The migration growth rate is minus 2. Tajikistan is experiencing the fastest growth in the number of the titular nation. The share of Tajiks in 1959 was 53.1% of the population of Tajikistan, in 1989 – already 62.3% (10). In 2002 it increased to 79.9%, in 2010 – to 84.3%. The number of Uzbeks in Tajikistan, which also increased rapidly until the 1990s, then decreased markedly. According to the 2010 census, Uzbeks continue to hold the second place in the national composition of the population of the republic, although their share has decreased to 12.2% (15.3% in 2000 and 23.5% in 1989). The number of Russians, which grew until the 1980s, has now decreased by more than 10 times. Their share in 2010 decreased to 0.5% of the population against 10.4% in 1979 and 7.6% in 1989 (11).

The number of Russians was 34.8 thousand people . More than half of Russians live in the capital of the republic – Dushanbe. According to the forecast, by 2030 the population of Tajikistan will reach 10.7 million people, and by 2050 – 12.9 million.

The population of Turkmenistan is estimated at 5.9 million people (12). The degree of isolation of this state throughout the entire post-Soviet period was very high, so it is not possible to talk about any reliable sources on ethnic composition and migrations. And external migration in this closed state is very limited, it has no effect on migration processes in Russia.

Reduction of the share of the Russian-speaking population and Russian culture in Central Asia and in the regions of Russia

The demographic trends described above in terms of the growth of the non-Slavic population and the departure of Russian speakers have actually already led to the fact that a large number of Russians, Russian-speaking and Orthodox remain only in two states of the "Eurasian" nomadic belt of Central Asia - Kazakhstan (especially in its northern part) and Kyrgyzstan (also mainly in the north) (12).

Table 1 shows data on the number of Russians, Russian-speaking and Orthodox in five Central Asian states. (The relativity and conditionality of the numerical data given in the table should be taken into account, since they are based on expert assessments, extrapolation of data from old censuses or the author's own assessment.).

Table 1. The number of Russians, Russian-speaking and Orthodox in the Central Asian States

No	Countries	The number of Russians (excluding representatives of other Slavic peoples), in %	The number of Russian-speaking or bilingual, in % (estimated by the author or other experts)	The number of Orthodox (ROC), in %
1	Kazakhstan	23,7 (1999, census)	95 (2001, expert assessment)	44 (the de facto assessment includes almost everyone identifying as non-Muslim)
2	Uzbekistan	55 (1996, census)	14,2	9
3	Kyrgyzstan	12,5 (1999, census)	more than 40-50 (own assessment)	20
4	Tajikistan	1.1 (2000, census)	2-10 (own assessment)	Не более 1
5	Turkmenistan	4 (2003)	12	9

At the same time, the trend towards the erosion of the "Russian world" will be noticeable not only in the former Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan, but also in Russia itself – up to the formation of large enclaves inhabited by immigrants from Central Asia. In 2012, there was a certain stabilization and even a small increase in the population of Russia due to migrants (13). However, most experts believe that the trend towards a reduction in the number of the Russian population, especially indigenous, is irreversible. Currently, Russia ranks second in the world after the United States in the number of foreign migrants. Moreover, Central Asia is making an increasingly significant contribution to this migration.

DISCUSSION

The analysis of population censuses and current statistics shows that the share of titular nationality has increased in all republics. This trend was formed during the existence of the USSR. After the collapse of the USSR, the strengthening of national consciousness, differences in the features of natural reproduction and migration processes caused by the dramatic events of the late 1980s and the first half of the 1990s played a huge role in changing the national composition of the population of the newly independent states.

As a result, the share of titular nationality began to grow in all republics of the former USSR. The only exception is Russia, in whose population the share of representatives of the titular nationality, while remaining predominant, is gradually decreasing (14). As a result of emigration, the number of Russians and other European peoples in all Central Asian states has sharply decreased.

An indicator of the quality of life is the human development index, based on life expectancy, education and personal income. The HDI for 2003 is lower than in 1992 in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. The Central Asian country with the highest HDI out of 177 countries in the world is Kazakhstan (80th place). The Central Asian country with the lowest HDI index is Tajikistan (122nd place). Indicators of other HDI countries: Turkmenistan - 97; Uzbekistan - 109 and Kyrgyzstan - 111.

Thus, over the years of independence, the demographic situation in the Central Asian countries has worsened. There are still serious demographic problems in Central Asia: infant and maternal mortality, low life expectancy, the growth of infectious diseases (from tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS), high emigration.

CONCLUSION

Summing up, it can be stated that during the time of independence in the post-Soviet states of Central Asia, there has been a radical change in the ethnic composition of the population. The decisive factor in these changes was precisely ethnic migrations. As for the forecasts, they all point to an increase in the population of Asian states in the near future, and related migration flows.

The demographic and migration situation can change in a fairly wide range. A catastrophic scenario is possible for the continuation of unrestrained demographic growth in the poorest states of the region, which is fraught not only with the acceleration of uncontrolled migration, but also with a social explosion, for example, in Tajikistan. At the same time, it is impossible to exclude the possibility of relative stabilization of the demographic situation with a faster decline in population growth rates, especially if the countries of the region, including with external financial support, carry out an active demographic policy.

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