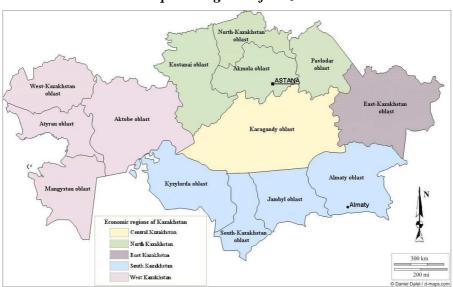
THE	POPIII	ATION	HIST	$\mathbf{ORV} \mathbf{OF}$	'K	KHSTAN
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By Fariza A. Tolesh

Introduction

Kazakhstan is the second largest country after Russia among the CIS countries, has a territory of over 2,7 million square kilometers (9th place in the world). It borders Russia to the north and west, the Central Asian republics of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan to the south, and China to the east. The fact of having such a vast territory gives basis for developing a heterogeneous socioeconomic and demographic situation in the country such as uneven distribution of population, water, soil suitable for agriculture, natural resources and so on.

Kazakhstan is divided into 5 economical regions, 14 administrative regions (oblasts) and 2 municipal cities (see Map 1) which are further broken down into 175 smaller administrative areas called raions. The country has a population of 16.5 million (KSA, 2011). With 6 persons per square kilometer, Kazakhstan has one of the lowest population densities in the world. The population is comprised of more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups. Sixty-three per cent of the population is Kazakh, twenty five percent Russian, other significant subpopulations are Germans, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Uigurs, and Koreans.



Map 1 – Regions of Kazakhstan

Data issues

The history of the Kazakhstani population is not easy to explain for reasons mainly related to a lack of comprehensive and accurate historical data of population. This is primarily due to rich and tumultuous history of the county, marked by wars, famines, revolutions, repression, etc., which affect the dynamics of population, and the massive yet ill-documented ethnic migration within the region.

In general, apart from partially covering indirect data of old Chinese and Orkhon Mongolian records there is almost no population data for early historical periods of the Kazakh Khanate due to the largely nomadic lifestyle of the indigenous population and absence of registration tradition. Some fragmentary statistical data start to be available from the late 19th century however it is still impossible to generate a comprehensive time series for the whole period.

For 1897-1913 period there are more data available from the Census (1897) and other official materials. Although this period has the best statistical base for the pre-Soviet period, some problems still remain e.g. according to extant sources, the figures did not account very well for the natural growth of the population in the region. There was no equivalent of church registrars of births and deaths for local people in the area. Even for the 1909 and 1910 population surveys, the best source for the period, "Asiatic Russia," emphasized, "for the Muslim population of Turkestan, there are no satisfactory statistics of births and deaths, and there are no registration documents (metric notes) for them." (Asiatskaya Rossia T1, 1914).

The next several decades are even more difficult to study. The systems of data collection and statistical publications were partially or fully destroyed beginning in 1914. The latter-day researcher is faced with the challenge of generating more accurate population estimates for the period covering World War I, the February and October Revolutions, and the subsequent civil war. In particular, the annual data for both the indigenous populations and the increasing numbers of unregistered migrants who entered Central Asia during these volatile years is very poor. Due to the absence of vital statistics for the period in the area under consideration, even a relatively comprehensive 1926 Census could not fully fill this gap (Andreev et al., 1998).

In short, there does not exist complete and accurate statistical data base covering entire Kazakhstan till the beginning of the 20th century. Another serious issue to be taken into account is the fact of multiple changes in state and administrative boundaries, which resulted in incompatibility of data for the Russian and Soviet period statistics. Also most of the soviet time data were often affected by the plans and requirements of the Soviet government resulting in distortions of Census and other statistical data and unfortunately, despite Independence it seems that it is not very easy to get rid of of that hereditary habit yet.

In general the population history of the region can roughly be divided into the following three periods: Before Russian Rule, During the Soviet Period and Since Independence.

Before Russian Rule

Humans have inhabited present-day Kazakhstan since the earliest Stone Age, generally pursuing the nomadic pastoralism for which the region's climate and terrain are best suited. The indigenous Kazakhs were Turkic people who belonged to several divisions of Kazakh hordes. Kazakhs grouped together in settlements and lived in dome-shaped tents made of felt called *yurts*. Such grouped tribes migrated seasonally to find pastures for their herds of sheep, horses, and goats. Between 500 BC and 500 AD, Kazakhstan was home to the early nomadic warrior cultures. Starting from the 4th century, until the beginning of the 13th century the territory of Kazakhstan was a place of residence of the Western Turkic tribes such as Oguz, Karakhanids and Kipchaks who created states which consistently fell and appeared, each existing some several hundreds of years following each other until the Mongol invasion. The Mongol tribes led by Chingis Khan invaded the area between 1219 and 1224 and the country became part of his great empire. After the Mongol invasion the area was divided into Uluses -

possessions of the Mongol Khans Juchi and Chagatai, two elder sons of Chingis Khan. Later uluses were subdivided and reorganised into the White Horde, Mongolistan and, finally, the Kazakh Khanate.

Emir Timur was the next emperor to possess parts of the country. Although the center of his empire was in cities like Samarqand and Buhara, his power reached well into the area that is now known as Kazakhstan and one of his most famous buildings the Mausoleum of Hodja Ahmed Yasavi can still be visited in the city Turkestan located in southern Kazakhstan. The Uzbeks (named after their leader Özbeg in the 14th century) ruled in the northern part of Kazakhstan and after Timur's death slowly moved to the south to the former empire of Timur. In 1465 after an internal dispute Kazakhs, mainly represented by Kypchak tribes separated from Uzbek khanate under the leadership of Janybek and Kerei who then became Khans of the Kazakh Khanate which was founded on the banks of Jetisu (literally means seven rivers) in the south eastern part of the present Republic of Kazakhstan. There are no clear sources, however, according to the doctor of history R. Bariev at least one third of all the tribes of the Uzbek Khanate followed Janibek and Kerei.

One of the most prominent Khans of the Kazakh Khanate is Kasym Khan who came to the power in 1511. With Kasym Khan the Kazakh Khanate greatly expanded its territory and finally confirmed its domination over the vast steppes of Kazakh land. He further developed and strengthened the political influence of the country and made it a strong and centralized state. During the reign of Kasym Khan the population of the Kazakh Khanate surpassed 1 million people. It was at that time Kazakhs became known in Western Europe as a separate ethnic group. Also Kasym Khan instituted the first Kazakh code of laws in 1520, called "Kasym Khannyn Kaska Zholy" (Bright Road of Kasym Khan). Other distinguished Kazakh khans include Haknazar Khan, Esim Khan, Tauke Khan, and Abylai Khan.

Although they had great khans, the Kazakhs were rarely united as a single nation under one great leader and the Kazakh Khanate did not always have a unified government. The Kazakhs were traditionally divided into three juzes (juz, roughly translatable as "horde" or "hundred") – the Elder, Senior, or Great Horde (Ulı Juz), the Junior, Younger, or Lesser Horde (Kişi juz) and the Middle Horde (Orta juz).

In modern Kazakhstan, tribalism is fading away in business and government life. However, it is still common for Kazakhs to ask which tribe they belong to when they meet each other. Nowadays, it is more of a tradition than necessity. There is no hostility between tribes. Kazakhs, regardless of their tribal origin, consider themselves one nation. The majority of Kazakhs of modern-day Kazakhstan belong to one of the three *juzes*.

Each Juz consists of tribal groups (*taypa*), tribes (*ruw*) and small family-tied clans. Also considered Kazakhs, but of Chingisid descent, are the *tore* (direct descendants of Chingis Khan). In addition to these traditionally political leaders, there were religious families outside of the Hordes called Koja and Sunak (descendants of Arabian missionaries and soldiers).

All juzes had to agree in order to have a common khan. During the Great Disaster the Three Hordes temporarily united to face the threat of invasion from the Jungars. The Jungars were a warlike Mongol clan, subjugated eastern Kazakhstan between the end of the 17th and first several decades of

the 18th century. Abylai Khan, a leader of the Orta Juz unified Kazakhs to resist Jungars in 1720 and was eventually elected khan of all Juzes in 1771, but by that time Kazakhs were well on the way to being totally incorporated into the Russian Empire.

Initially when the khans of Juzes swore loyalty to the Russian crown between 1731 and 1742, Kazakhs only sought protection of tsar from Jungars, however, Russia later chose to interpret these oaths as agreements to annexation. Despite repeated Kazakh uprisings, the khanates were ultimately abolished in 1848 when the Russian Empire completely took over political power. By some estimates one million of the four million Kazakhs died in revolts before 1870 (Mayhew et. al. 2010)

In the period that followed, Kazakhstan was suppressed by the Tsarist regime and large groups of Russian and Ukrainian peasant settlers who were brought to the country stimulated by the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861. A tragic peak of this suppression was in 1916 when Kazakhs protested against their mobilization as support labour in WWI. It is estimated that 150,000 people were killed and another 200,000 fled to China as a result of the Russian actions to stop the protest (Mayhew et. al. 2010).

During the Soviet Period

The communist revolution of 1917 did not bring freedom to the Kazakh people who fought mainly on the Bolshevik's side. After the victory in 1920 Bolsheviks purged from the Communist Party of Kazakhstan members of the Kazakh nationalist party Alash Orda and crashed all hopes for Kazakhs to establish independent government. During the Russian Civil War and Revolution thousands of Kazakh peasants died and several hundred thousand fled to other countries.

In the years after the revolution, the borders of the Central Asian Soviet Republics were defined mainly on language differences and until 1925 the name Kyrgyz Autonomous Province was used for Kazakhstan. During the following 1929-1933 years, in the effort of Moscow to spread the communistic idea throughout the country denomadisation process was started by forcing large groups of Kazakhs to stop their nomadic live and start collective agriculture and become settled farmers. It is estimated that during this campaign 1 million people died from starvation and those who opposed collectivization were sent to labour camps or killed, as a result Kazakhstan's population fell by more than two million.

Another component which greatly influenced population history of the country is migration. From the time when the country became part of the Soviet Union i.e. from the beginning of the 20th century Kazakhstan had experienced massive waves of multinational forced migration from the other parts of the Union which led to vital changes in the structure and composition of the country's population.

The first such flow of Russians moved to Kazakhstan in connection with industrial modernization reforms. This trend is reflected in the growth of the urban population in both absolute and relative terms, which rose for almost two and a half-folds in 1939 compared to 1926's level and increased from less than 9% in 1926 to almost 30% in 1939 in overall number of people.

From that time on proportion of urban population kept increasing, in 1970 exactly half of the population lived in urban areas, in ten years urban population accounted only 53% and since that time

the proportion of urban/rural population slightly varies but mostly remains at the same 50/50 percent level respectively.

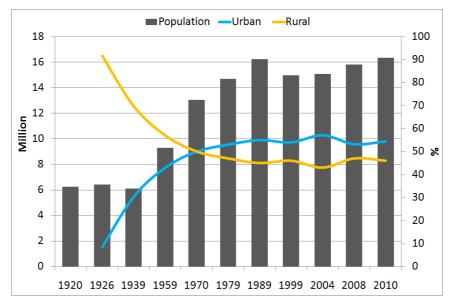


Figure 1 - Population of Kazakhstan, 1920-2010

Source: censuses and yearbooks

However, not only Russians contributed to this increase. Thousands of Kazakhs moved to the towns to seek employment in the newly created industries. By 1939 16% of Kazakhs were urban dwellers, an eightfold increase since 1926. A whole new class of Kazakh industrial workers emerged in those years, reaching 246,900 by 1939. By the late 1930s 50% of all industrial workers in Kazakhstan were Kazakhs, though the numbers of highly skilled workers among them were still low (Kiikbaev, 1968).

But the general effect of the 1930s on the ethnic balance in the Republic was disastrous. The collectivization of the early 1930s and subsequent famine led to a significant fall in Kazakh numbers due to deaths and migration out of the USSR. In combination with the inflow of new migrants this created a situation in which the Slavic and Kazakh populations were virtually equal in numbers, and the general trend was now working against the Kazakhs. In the late 1930s the beginning of mass deportations of "unreliable" ethnic groups from the border areas deep into the center of Eurasia, by way of preparation for World War II, further contributed to this trend.

With the war raging deportations acquired bigger dimensions. The first really massive deportation was undertaken in August – September 1941, when the Autonomous Republic of the Volga Germans was abolished and its residents resettled in Kazakhstan and Siberia. Subsequently in the course of the war other minority groups were deported for alleged cooperation with the Nazis and for participation in brigandage on a large scale. Thus Kazakhstan became the main place of exile for Chechens, Ingush, Polish, Karachai and Balkar deportees.

Another dramatic event surrounding migration to Kazakhstan took place in the mid 1950s. In 1954 a new turmoil descended on the Republic, due to the Virgin Lands campaign initiated by Khrushchev. During the years of 1954–1962 about 1.7 million people came to Kazakhstan from the European part of the USSR.

Ethnic balance in Kazakhstan was adversely affected (see Figure 2), with Kazakhs becoming a minority in their own republic. By 1959 they amounted only 30% of the total population. It was not until 1989 that Kazakhs managed to reverse the ethnic balance in their favour (Gillette, 1993). Nevertheless the ultimate result of migration to Kazakhstan remains unchanged even now. The non–Kazakh population of the republic is still very substantial.

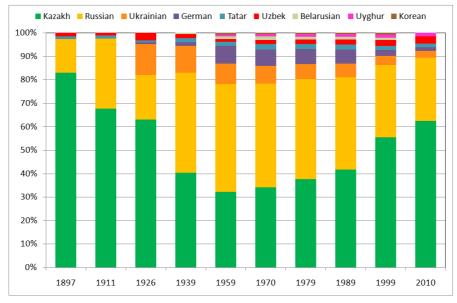


Figure 2 - Ethnic composition of Kazakhstan, 1897-2010

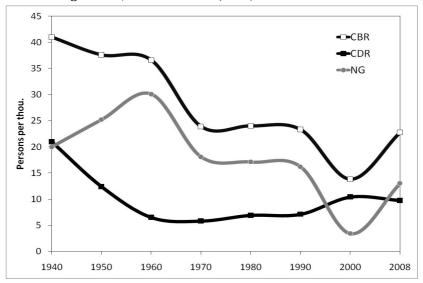
Source: demoscope.ru, Kazakhstan Statistical Agency

During the post-war decades Kazakhstan experienced a period of considerable natural growth which is also known in demographic history as "baby-boom" effect. Usually, after the baby-boom period occurs the period of decline till the time when these baby-boomers reach the reproductive age, which also happened in Kazakhstan. Since the mid 1960s a sharp decline of number of births took place till the beginning of 1970s then followed the period of more or less stable and moderate increase from 1970 until the dismantling of the USSR and then during the post-soviet period the rate of natural growth declined spectacularly, however with the recovery of economy natural growth has resumed its prior Independence level (see Figure 3).

Figure 3 visualises the process of demographic transition in Kazakhstan, but the patterns of fertility and mortality should be considered with some caution, especially with respect to the CDR, as the status of the victims of the Stalinist repressions in particular is not clear. The high death rate during 40's suggests that at least some deaths of a significant proportion of the population consisted of "special exiles" and those serving a gulag sentence, were included in the mortality statistics. On the other hand, it is also possible that the CDR simply reflects the poorer state of the health care, the food

shortages, and generally pauper conditions of the country at that time (Gentile, 2005). In the period between 1940 and 1960 the CDR curve decreases in the country and then gradually increases thereafter, especially during the first decade of Independence.

Figure 3 - The state of the demographic transition in Kazakhstan: crude birth and death rates, natural growth (CBR and CDR, NG) between 1940 and 2008



Sources: Aliev and Kadyraliev (1980), Goskomstat Kazakhskoy SSR and the Demographic Yearbook (2008)

More complete demographic picture of Kazakhstan gives the development of the total fertility rate (Figure 4). There are no easily accessible and reliable figures for the period prior to 1960s. In 1960, at the peak of the post-war population boom Kazakhstan had very high TFR level of well over four children per woman at child-bearing ages. However, after the short period of apex followed a gradual but significant drop of fertility till the late 1970s. The primary cause of the sustained fertility decline in the county could be attributed to declining family size preferences among ethnic Kazakh population.

Figure 4 – Total Pertuty Rate, Razakristan 1900-2009

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1960 1963 1966 1969 1972 1975 1978 1981 1984 1987 1990 1993 1996 1999 2002 2005 2008

Figure 4 – Total Fertility Rate, Kazakhstan 1960-2009

Sources: Becker et al (2005), Goskomstat Kazakhskoy SSR, yearbook 2010

But in the mid 1980s TFR again reached 3 children per women, which could probably be explained as an effect of Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign at that time or as a result of the so-called second-wave-Baby-boom effect.

The most prominent feature of the Soviet period in population history of Kazakhstan is that during the era the net gain of the county in number of population accounted for more than 10 million people, from around 6 million in 1920 to 17 million in 1989 (see Figure 1).

Since Independence

In 2010 Kazakhstan was home to over 16.5 million people. This makes it one of the scarcely populated countries among the CIS states as well as in the world. The present size and characteristics of the country's population reflect many of the changes that have occurred in the population over the past century.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union led to a dramatic decline in the economic output and living standards throughout the post-Soviet world, including Kazakhstan. The deep economic crisis of the early post-Soviet years was accompanied by a no less dramatic drop in fertility and life expectancy at birth, increase of mortality and divorce rates. TFR during 1990s fell well below replacement level, while decline of life expectancy was more than five years. The first decade of Independence was marked by profound changes in the society related to values, attitudes, behavioral standards and the system itself, which hit many people especially men very hard. In some ways this generation of people who went through the transition period is unique, because not many people witness such abrupt almost in one day turnover of system of values.

Migration

The Independence for the country meant, first of all, breaking down and losing all ties with former Soviet economic partners and secondly, transition from centrally-planned to a market economy. The consequences of such drastic changes and fluctuations for Kazakhstan were experienced as a massive out–migration of non-Kazakh ethnicities represented mostly by well-educated and high-skilled population, especially from the North, East and Central regions. The loss of population amounted – 57686 in 1991 and in 1993 this number was already fourfold and reached –219025 but the peak of net emigration fell to 1994 when the country left more than 400 thousand people (Figure 5).

Overall number of emigrants during the transition decade got close to 3 million and in order to "cure" the existing situation the repatriation programmes have been suggested and launched. Repatriates or oralmans are ethnic Kazakh people - descendents of refugees who fled the country during collectivization, dispossession of the kulaks and political repressions in 1920's and 1930's and then returned to Kazakhstan after gaining Independence.

Apart from fled refugees, as oralmans can be called people, for example, Kazakhs in Uzbekistan, who simply found themselves outside the Kazakh SSR as a result of Moscow's occasional shifting of Central Asian borders during the Soviet era. Most oralmans came from across Asia – mainly from

former Soviet republics, but also from countries such as Afghanistan, China and Mongolia. Each year Astana sets a quota for the number of Kazakhs eligible to return (in 2011 quota will be granted for 20 thousand families).

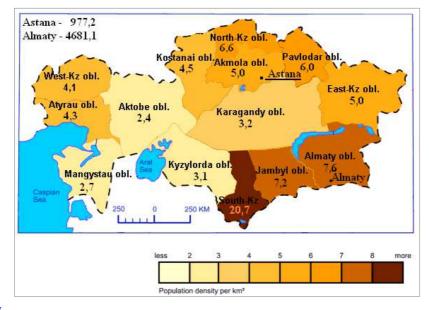
Figure 5 - Natural increase and net migration as components of population change, 1990 to 2010

Source: www.stat.kz

Those who immigrate under the quota are promised to be provided with housing, a grant of roughly \$120 per family, and assistance in acquiring a residence permit and Kazakh passport and other help. However, in reality the case is somewhat different, usually oralmans have great problems of getting residence permit and identification cards, with housing and finding employment and etc. The main reasons of such state of matters are legislation related to repatriation and migration, attitude of local people, quality of oralmans themselves i.e. majority of them have no education, no qualification, and also they have language problems, social and climatic behavioural habit differences and so on. As a result, many oralmans have adaptation difficulties to places of their assignment, allocation and prefer to move to regions with close to their accustomed conditions. Since almost 80% of repatriates came from Uzbekistan then major part of them usually concentrate in southern regions of Kazakhstan with already high population density such as South-Kazakhstan, Kyzylorda, Almaty oblasts (see Map 2), some also go to the west regions predominantly Mangystau.

Immigration of ethnic Kazakhs influenced not only absolute numbers of Southern oblasts' populations but also changed the age and sex structure of the latter's. Historically, the South Kazakhstan has been populated mainly by native population and Asian ethnicities with typically high fertility levels, earlier nuptiality and higher share of male population most prone to migration and oralmans only further deepened this regional specificity in spite of eliminating it as was hoped by the government.

As a result, during the second decade of Independence the oil and gas mining oblasts as well as agricultural regions of the South experienced growth of population while industrial Centre, East and agro-industrial north still keep losing their population.



Map 2 – Population density in Kazakhstan, 2010

Source: www.state.gov

Although, the number of arrivals used to far exceed the quota during the first decade of repatriation programme, last several years number of people interested in getting quotas falling short with each year. In 20 years of Independence the total gained number of oralmans account for less than a million of low-skilled, not well-educated people with many children compared to lost 3 million European working-age populations.

Distribution

The economic boom in mid 2000's coincided with immigration boom with 23-33 thousand legally registered arrivals in 2005-2006 respectively. Nowadays number of immigrants fluctuates around 10 thousand people per year, a peak of immigration already gone there remains little hope of another immigration boom in the near future. However, inflow from close-bordering countries (Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan) would probably always exist, but often in illegal, uncontrolled form and with only faint effect on overall situation in the country.

During the second decade of Independence, the economic and political situation in the country gradually stabilized and growth resumed. Kazakhstan, richly endowed with oil, natural gas, and other mineral resources, has experienced vigorous economic growth and a commensurate rise in incomes and since the 2000s the country is enjoying fertility enhancement which is most probably related to the population momentum phenomenon and could be temporal in character though. Although the economic recovery was experienced by all regions, the difference in its strength is also present and underlines regional disparity.

Due to vastness of its territory the population in Kazakhstan is distributed rather unevenly with the highest density recorded in agricultural regions of the South and far North. The industrial regions of central, eastern and northern Kazakhstan are less populated, but the least number of people per square

kilometer is in western regions.

The country's large share of population is still represented by the rural residents and the standards of living between urban and rural settlements were quite sizable before Independence and the difference is not diminishing with the laps of time. Many attempts are being made and programmes have been launched since Independence (Aul development programme 2003-2005) to improve position of auls and although, the overall situation have taken a turn for the better, but a huge success in the field is still far from the country's reach. As a result there is an intensive migration from rural areas to urban places. Moreover, the process of urbanization in the country has a diverse from normal character i.e. it is chaotic and uncontrolled and fueled mainly by unemployment, poor socio-economic situations, but not by the modernization, new job opportunities etc.

Age-sex structure

There are slightly more females than males living in Kazakhstan. In 2009 there were 8.4 million females and 7.8 million males, or 930 males for every 1000 females. According to the population pyramid of the country (Figure 6) we can see that this pattern varies significantly by age. Normally more boys are born than girls, for example in 2009 there were 106 boys born for each 100 girls in Kazakhstan. As a result, boys outnumber girls throughout childhood and the teenage years. The number of males relative to females starts to decrease from around age 21 onwards due to differences in mortality rates and migration patterns. At all ages above 25, women outnumbered men in 2009. At older ages, sex differentials in mortality lead to an increasingly female population.

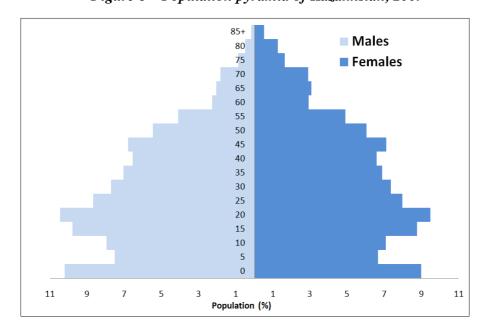


Figure 6 - Population pyramid of Kazakhstan, 2009

Source: Census 2009

During the second decade of Independence the economic situation in the country started to improve positively affecting fertility i.e. people began to feel financially safer with development of economy and many couples decided to have postponed in 1990s children which explains widening

bottom of the pyramid. However, it is very much uncertain how long will last this "positive" fertility trend in the country, since there is a clear upward trend in median age of population which rose during the last 40 years for four years from 27,7 in 1979 to 31,7 in 2009 and that could be understood as a first sign of ageing population. The increase was more for men than for women, but women have higher median age and the difference between median ages of female urban and rural dwellers is also higher compared to male population.

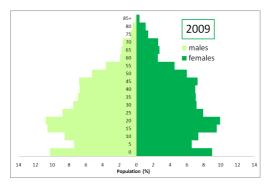
The indent in Kazakhstan's pyramid at around age 60 represents those born during the first half of the Second World War when fewer births took place than usual. In contrast, the spike in the pyramid at ages 45 to 55 reflects the large number of births occurring in the late 1950s, often referred to as the first baby boom. Smaller number between ages 30-40 relates to decreased fertility of 1970s. The large bulge in population for those in their early 20s and at around 25 is a result of the high number of births that occurred during the 1950s and 1960s. Similarly, the smaller bulge around ages 5 to 10 represents the children of the small number of women born in the 1970s.

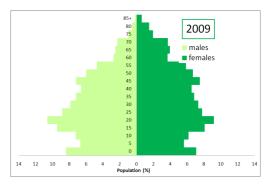
Although some of these features are specific to Kazakhstan, the pyramid does follow the general pattern for a developing country with narrowing bottom and stable increasing number of people aged over 65.

At the sub-national level, the age distribution shows significant variations. Figure 7 shows this phenomenon for some selected regions. In 2009, for example, southern oblasts and especially South-Kazakhstan oblast had relatively large proportions in the younger age groups. On the other hand, the proportion in the reproductive age groups in these regions started to narrow exceptionally rapidly at ages above 20. It is not surprising since these southern oblasts are well known as main donor provinces for the internal migration within Kazakhstan, particularly for the male population. Meanwhile, an early stage of aging has appeared in the oblasts of northern, central and eastern Kazakhstan, where the size of older population is larger than in the other oblasts. The larger proportion of population aged 15 to 25 in this province may be explained by migration.

In the municipal cities Astana and Almaty the age and sex distribution of population reminds the classical migration age schedule with high proportion of working people between ages 25-35 and their children at very young ages and low proportion of elderly and school age children. Indeed, these two cities are country's major migrant recipients apart from oil and gas mining regions. Although, southern regions and the two cities seem to have relatively young population structure, however with northern regions' population constituting almost 40% of the country's total number of people and with constantly rising share of advanced aged population may have impact on overall situation in the country and Kazakhstan is already well on the way of facing population ageing problems.

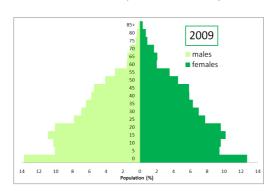
Figure 7 – Kazakhstan's regional population distribution by age and sex, 2009

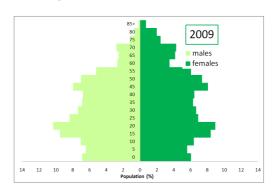




Aktobe oblast (West Kazakhstan)

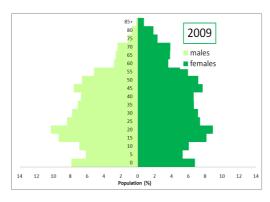
Karaganda oblast (Central Kazakhstan)



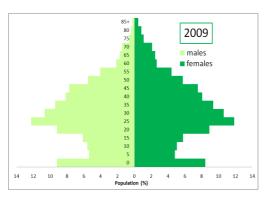


South-Kazakhstan oblast

North-Kazakhstan oblast



East-Kazakhstan oblast



Astana city

Almaty city

Ethnic composition

Such diverse age and sex structure of regional population is also might be related to ethnic composition of the population. Since gaining Independence in 1991 the ethnic portrait of the country gradually changed for the benefit of natives i.e. the share of Kazakhs in total population reached 63% in 2010 which owes on the one hand to the massive emigration of non-Kazakhs during 1990's and on the other - to the repatriation programmes mentioned above. Besides, the Asian population residing mainly in western oblasts and in the agrarian south tends to have higher birth rates compared to non-Kazakh population of western, central, eastern and northern regions. There have been taken some measures since the collapse of the Soviet Union (such as relocation of the capital city) to somehow regulate irregular distribution of ethnicities throughout the country, however southern oblasts are still mainly represented by Asian ethnicities such as Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Uigurs etc. while in northern ones their share is often less than half (see Figure 8).

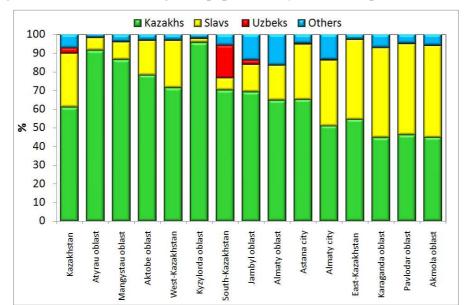


Figure 8 - Kazakhstan's regional population by ethnic composition, 2009

Source: Census 2009

Conclusion

This brief review of the population history of Kazakhstan has highlighted main events that took place during the last several centuries. The most prominent of them is growth of population number from 4 million in the beginning of the 20th century to current more than 16 million. A remarkable part in such population increase was played by migration before and during the Soviet period. As a result Kazakhstan became home for many nationalities with different demographic behaviour and patterns, which will certainly determine future trends and tendencies.

These kinds of researches are necessary in order to produce a better understanding of the different periods in Kazakhstan's demographic history and promote better policy formulation and decision-making in the present and the future.

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