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EMIGRATION FROM KAZAKHSTAN: FOCUS ON NORTHERN REGIONS AND RURAL AREAS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the research is to discuss emigration from Kazakhstan. Since 2014, the outflow of the population from the country continues both from cities and from rural areas.

Methodology. When writing the article, methods of scientific knowledge, theoretical generalization, comparative analysis of the current and past states were used based on data from the Bureau of National Statistics of the Agency for Strategic Planning and Reforms of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Originality / value of the research. Based on the available data, the authors made an attempt to analyze the effectiveness of the implementation of the state programs «With a diploma – to the village» and «Enbek», aimed at solving the problems of the outflow of the population from the northern regions of Kazakhstan and rural areas.

Findings. The greatest outflow of the population is typical for the regions located in the central, northern and eastern parts of Kazakhstan (all these regions are combined into one group «northern regions»). The fact that people of working age are leaving the country is a matter of concern. To compensate for the losses of the population, the state implements various programs: «With a diploma – to the village» and «Enbek». The state program «With a Diploma – to the Village» is aimed at attracting graduates of higher educational institutions to live in rural areas and replenish the labor force. The state program «Enbek» aims to stimulate voluntary relocation to the northern regions from the labor surplus (southern) regions to the northern regions of Kazakhstan. The implementation of these programs has not been able to address the problem of the outflow of the population both from the northern regions of Kazakhstan and from rural areas. In our opinion, these programs require revision considering the conditions on the ground.

Keywords: Kazakhstan, emigration, northern regions, rural areas, migration balance, state programs.

INTRODUCTION

In this article we consider the processes of emigration from Kazakhstan, focusing on the emigration of the population from its northern regions and rural areas. Emigration processes are typical for many countries and explain the mobility of the population. Emigration as a socioeconomic phenomenon, characterized by certain reasons, has an impact on both sending countries and receiving countries. To compensate for the losses of the population in the northern regions, the state has been implementing the «Enbek» program for several years. This program is aimed at stimulating relocation to northern regions from labor-surplus (southern) regions. The state program «With a Diploma – to the Village» is aimed at attracting graduates of higher educational institutions to live in rural areas and replenish the labor force. The article analyzes the reasons for emigration from Kazakhstan both from the northern regions and from rural areas. The opinions of those who left the country for various reasons are given. Historically, Kazakhstan is a unique republic among the former Soviet republics in that it is home to a multitude of ethnic groups. In the structure of the population by ethnicity, the largest proportion of those living in addition to the indigenous inhabitants (Kazakhs) are Russians. Kazakhstan has direct borders with the Russian Federation stretching for over 7 000 km. The fact of the border, as well as knowledge of the Russian language, facilitates the processes of emigration of the population to the Russian

Federation. The ethnic composition of migrants indicates that the country is mainly left by Russians and representatives of other Slavic nationalities. The population from the northern regions leaves the country due to economic reasons, environmental degradation associated with the extraction of coal, copper and other minerals. Air emissions have a negative impact on public health. The outflow of qualified personnel negatively affects health care and education. Knowledge of the Russian language and the policy of the Russian Federation to stimulate the relocation of compatriots simplify the processes of emigration from Kazakhstan. There is a shortage of doctors, nurses and teachers in Kazakhstan. The lack of sufficient personnel for schools and hospitals leads to a loss of human potential and a deterioration in the quality of services provided. The article contains the opinions of those who participated in the programs «With a diploma – to the village» and «Enbek», who tell their stories of success and failure of participation in these programs. Based on the scant data that we found in the media, we came to the conclusion that the programs need to be revised. In our opinion, the processes of emigration from Kazakhstan cannot be stopped because there are more enticing options for living and opportunities abroad. But Kazakhstan, as a sending country, could in the future receive benefits in the form of the creation of networks of diasporas that will provide support and assistance to their former country, could share knowledge and technologies. Emigration is a fait accompli and the state should pay attention to the diaspora, find contacts and attract emigrants to solve urgent problems in their historical homeland. In this regard, of the former post-Soviet countries, only Armenia has strong diaspora networks. Kazakhstan can try to can learn from this country how to establish diasporic contacts.

Literature review. Many academic works are devoted to the study of the problems of emigration. An analysis of the literature on emigration says that the main reasons for emigration are:

- economic;
- ecological;
- nationality and language;
- urbanization;
- investment in education.

The main economic reasons include, for example, a decline in the level of GDP per capita [1]. The main outflow of the population from Kazakhstan began in 2014 and continues at the present time. And we cannot but agree with these reasons, since it can be seen from Figure 1, that GDP per capita in the Republic of Kazakhstan has been decreasing from 2014 to 2019.

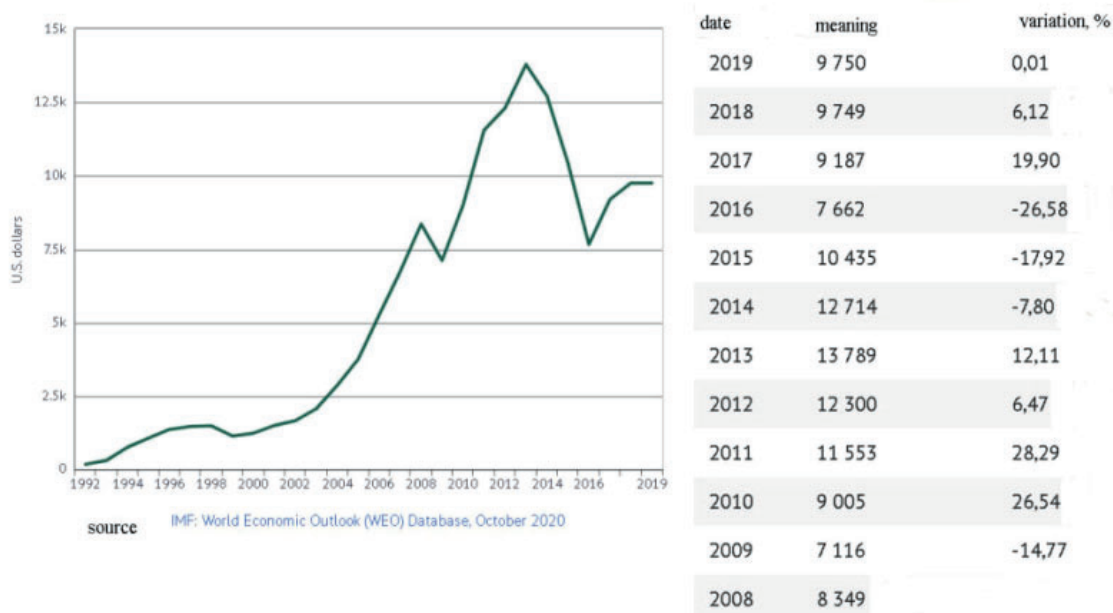


Figure 1 – Kazakhstan – GDP per capita

Note – based on source [2]

Other authors argue that the reasons for the emigration of the population are low wages, poor working conditions, lack of supervision, lack of equipment, and undeveloped infrastructure [3]. Some authors describe the deterioration of the ecological situation, global changes in land use, pollution load and systemic changes in climate biodiversity and other processes of the earth system as the main reasons for emigration. Many authors identify the processes that link emigration from rural areas with environmental risks. Migration and environmental change are a new area of research driven by the mobility and urbanization of the world. As noted in the source [4], «as populations grow, and as economies grow, people move from one place to another in order to avail themselves of opportunities, to make a better life and to avoid undesirable risks and harm. Migration is therefore a significant social and economic phenomenon in historic and contemporary societies. With growing mobility and growing human population, there is now a greater stock of migrants in the world than at any point in the past, with the dominant flows of people being from rural areas to urban settlements over the past decades. At the same time, and for related reasons, the world is in the throes of global changes to land use, pollution loading, and systemic change to biodiversity climate and other earth system processes». The demographic situation in Kazakhstan is characterized by the natural growth of the Kazakh-speaking population, combined with the ongoing emigration of ethnic Russians. This has a significant negative impact on Kazakhstan's economic growth for the foreseeable future due to an increase in the outflow of technically trained industrial workers, who tend to come from the Russian minority. As statistics show, the largest outflow of the population comes from the regions located in the central, northern and eastern parts of Kazakhstan, where most of the population is representatives of the Slavic nationality. With increasing mobility and population growth, the world now has more migrants than at any time in the past, with the predominant flows of people from rural to urban areas in recent decades [4]. The processes of urbanization, which has affected all countries, has also affected Kazakhstan. In Kazakhstan, there is an outflow of population from rural areas to cities, and this process is uneven. Most of the population flocks to the cities of Nur-Sultan, Almaty, Shymkent. The factors behind this are lack of work, job loss, lack of basic living conditions, lack of opportunities for the future of children. The urbanization process leads to depopulation and backwardness of rural areas [5]. These adverse conditions are driving significant migration flows to cities, especially young people looking for new sources of income and job opportunities. Some authors argue that the possibility of migration encourages increased investment in education due to the higher returns abroad [6; 7; 8]. These sources say that people with the highest ability will invest in skills regardless of the prospect of emigration, but these people will be especially prone to being recruited when the prospect of emigration is heightened. Parents invest a lot of money in the education of their children and resort to the services of tutors, hoping that the funds invested funds will help their children enter higher educational institutions of the Russian Federation and other countries.

MAIN PART

Data. When collecting quantitative indicators for writing an article, we operated on the data of the Statistics Committee of the Ministry of National Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Demographic Yearbook of Kazakhstan and Internet resources. We used the methods of analysis, synthesis, comparison, classification.

In this part of the article, we are looking at the quantitative parameters of emigration from Kazakhstan for several periods:

- the period from 1990 to 2017;
- the period from 2009 to 2018;
- the period from 2014 to 2020.

We are also considering the quantitative indicators of population migration by ethnicity, the number and structure of those who emigrated through the prism of the level of education and professional affiliation. All data are taken from official sources, the Committee on Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan of the Ministry of National Economy and the demographic yearbook of Kazakhstan. According to official data, during the period from 1990 to 2017, 3 882 782 people left Kazakhstan, and 1 709 792 people arrived. The negative balance of migration is 2 172 990 people. Among the reasons why citizens of Kazakhstan leave the country, according to the data of numerous sociological studies, are the search for work, higher wages, which is also

affected by the drop-in income levels, and the desire to give one's children a good education. One of the centers of attraction for migrants from Kazakhstan is the Russian Federation, where the birth rate fell in the 90s of the XX century, and today, when the market needs labor force, professionals are attracted from outside. Knowledge of the Russian language by migrants and the creation of the Eurasian Economic Union only contribute to the influx of migrants to Russia. Repatriation programs in Russia have also facilitated the relocation of ethnic Russians from Kazakhstan, one of the most numerous ethnic groups in the country. According to the published data, in 2018, 41 894 people left Kazakhstan, including 37 754 people to the CIS countries, 4 140 people to other countries [9]. Over the past 10 years (from 2009 to 2018), 321 064 people left Kazakhstan, and 249 485 people entered the republic. Thus, the number of those who left Kazakhstan exceeded the number of those who entered the country by 71 579 in 10 years [10]. Table 1 specifies the data on the arrival and departure of the population and shows that there is an outflow of the population for 2014-2020. As can be seen from Table 1, the largest outflow of the population was in 2019 and amounted to 32 970 people.

Table 1 – Balance of external migration, people

Year	Arrived	Departed	Balance
2014	422 400	434 562	-12 162
2015	472 032	485 498	-13 466
2016	630 649	651 794	-21 145
2017	943 757	965 887	-22 130
2018	900 931	930 052	-29 121
2019	1122 507	1155 477	-32 970
2020	856 570	874 288	-17 718

Note – based on source [11].

The outflow of the population is typical for both cities and rural areas. The largest outflow is typical for the regions located in the central, northern and eastern parts of Kazakhstan. These areas suffered significant population losses from 1992 to 2018. They are most significant in the North Kazakhstan region (39.6 %). The population of Akmola region decreased by 31.0 %, Kostanay region – by 29.6 %, East Kazakhstan region – by 22.4 %, Pavlodar region – by 21.1 %, Karaganda region – by 18.6 %. The share of the population of these 6 regions in the total population of Kazakhstan decreased from 46.5 % at the beginning of 1992 to 30.9 % at the beginning of 2019, i.e., by 1.5 times. This is evidenced by data published in the report of the United Nations Population Fund [12]. The share of the population of the East Kazakhstan region in the total population of Kazakhstan decreased by the greatest extent (by 3.3 %: from 10.8 % to 7.5 %), in the Karaganda region – by 2.8 % (from 10.3 % to 7.5 %), in Kostanay region – by 2.8 % points (from 7.5 % to 4.7 %), in North Kazakhstan region – by 2.6 % (from 5.6 % to 3.0 %), in Akmola region – by 2.5 % (from 6.5 % to 4.0 %) and in Pavlodar region – by 1.7 % (from 5.8 % to 4.1 %). All these 6 regions are considered as northern regions of Kazakhstan. Population migration by ethnicity shows that Russians, Ukrainians and Germans constitute the majority of those leaving. For example, in 2018, 69 630 Russians arrived in Kazakhstan, and 97 012 left. The balance was – 27 382 people. As the data of the statistics bodies show, those leaving the country of residence choose not only the Russian Federation, but also Ukraine, the USA, Germany, and Israel [11]. A large proportion of emigrants are people of working age (16-63): 72.5 % among men and 67.2 % among women. Tables 2 and 3 consider the indicators of migration of the entire population by ethnic groups and the indicators of migration of the rural population by ethnic groups for 2016-2020.

Table 2 – Migration of the population of the Republic of Kazakhstan by ethnicity for 2016-2020, people

	Arrived					Departed					Balance				
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
All ethnic groups	630649	946415	900931	1122507	856570	651794	968545	930052	1155477	874288	-21145	-22130	-29121	-32970	-17718
Kazakhs	529751	802520	752189	956980	715072	523480	794915	747308	952120	710852	6271	7605	4881	4860	4220
Russians	56378	80128	69630	79053	62208	78382	104084	97012	109181	79871	-22004	-23956	-27382	-30128	-17663
Uzbeks	5706	9016	29475	21764	18361	5390	8798	29329	21720	18001	316	218	146	44	360
Ukrainians	6235	9331	8630	9612	8569	8202	11428	11016	12352	10432	-1967	-2097	-2386	-2740	-1863
Uighurs	5760	7478	5791	8874	7876	5732	7454	5790	8884	7867	28	24	1	-10	9
Tatars	4451	6062	5417	6653	6255	5149	6819	6247	7567	6899	-698	-757	-830	-914	-644
Germans	4273	6300	5452	6676	5621	7067	9269	8325	9634	7897	-2794	-2969	-2873	-2958	-2276
Other ethnic groups	18095	25580	24347	32895	32608	18392	25778	25025	34019	32469	-297	-198	-678	-1124	139

[Note – based on source [11].]

In 2020, a negative balance of migration was also registered in Kazakhstan, the largest outflow of the population was observed among Russians, Ukrainians, and Germans.

Table 3 – Rural migration of the population by ethnicity for 2016-2020, people

	Arrived					Departed					Balance				
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
All ethnic groups	178662	350835	328824	430519	302524	262602	397841	390515	503934	383834	-83940	-47006	-61691	-73415	-81310
Kazakhs	153631	306935	277435	372962	253836	220667	337265	323207	428374	319581	-67036	-30330	-45772	-55412	-65745
Russians	14174	24338	22332	25046	18445	23243	33418	31002	34983	25905	-9069	-9080	-8670	-9937	-7460
Uzbeks	1204	2487	12287	9976	8628	1410	2566	12763	9337	9038	-206	-79	-476	639	-410
Ukrainians	1980	3522	3310	3618	3084	3640	5241	5082	5457	4690	-1660	-1719	-1772	-1839	-1606
Uighurs	1020	1996	1763	2930	2791	2393	2924	2302	3780	3540	-1373	-928	-539	-850	-749
Tatars	818	1329	1402	1550	1472	1416	1907	1802	2186	2025	-598	-578	-400	-636	-553
Germans	1450	2572	2315	2675	2139	2892	4152	3706	4206	3395	-1442	-1580	-1391	-1531	-1256
Other ethnic groups	4385	7656	7980	11762	12129	6941	10368	10651	15611	15660	-2556	-2712	-2671	-3849	-3531

[Note – based on source [11].]

Ranking.kz analysts say that the rate of departure of citizens began to exceed the rate of immigration since 2014, and this trend continues to this day. The strongest emigre sentiments, judging by the outward migration flow, reign in the northern and border regions. The main flow of migrant workers from the northern regions of Kazakhstan is directed to the Urals and South Siberia. The Republic of Kazakhstan is the only Central Asian state that has direct borders with the Russian Federation, which can also be considered as one of the reasons for the migration of Russians. According to the Ministry of National Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the country is experiencing an outflow of skilled labor and an influx of unskilled labor (workers without vocational education). The maximum net outflow of able-bodied persons is observed in technical, economic and pedagogical specialties. These trends lead to a deterioration in the quality of human capital in the country. According to the data of the Committee on Statistics of the Ministry of National Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 9 months of 2020, 3 069 people moved abroad from the Karaganda region, 3 007 people from the East Kazakhstan region, 2 460 people from the Pavlodar region, 2 398 people from the Kostanay region, 1 774 people from the North Kazakhstan region, 1 074 people from the Aktobe region, and 1 334 people from the Akmola region. The outflow of the population during the period under review was also observed from the capital, the city of Nur-Sultan – 1 043 and the city of Almaty – 1 917 people. In total – 18 076 people. The reasons for emigration from the northern regions of Kazakhstan can also be attributed to the deterioration of the ecological situation in these areas, caused by coal mining and exploration, processing and export of copper and other minerals. Historically, it so happened that industrial enterprises, enterprises for the extraction of minerals are concentrated in the northern regions of Kazakhstan. The Ekibastuz coal basin is located in the north-eastern region of Kazakhstan in the Pavlodar region. The Karaganda coal basin is located in Central Kazakhstan within the Kazakh Uplands. Coal from the Ekibastuz coal basin is used as fuel in the country's power plants. Coal from the Karaganda coal basin is used as fuel at metallurgical plants in Russia and Kazakhstan, at power plants, and in railway transport.

Coal mining has a negative impact on the environment, causing land degradation, large accumulations of industrial waste, air pollution, withdrawal from agricultural turnover of lands due to the formation of unfavorable forms of technogenic relief, and a decrease in the productivity of land. Reducing the negative impact on the natural environment of coal industry enterprises is carried out through partial restoration of the disturbed natural state, which is achieved by land reclamation, clarification and purification of wastewater, dust and gas collection by heat and power and other installations. As noted by R. S. Karenov, «environmental activity in the extraction and processing of coal, associated with the achievement of established standards, today requires significant capital and operating costs. The technologies applied in practice for water and air purification, water treatment facilities and dust and gas collection plants are imperfect and ineffective. Since there are no integrated treatment technologies, only units of several dozen harmful substances are captured in the treatment facilities, and the rest enter nature again» [13]. At an extended meeting of the Committee on Ecology and Natural Resources Management of the Mazhilis of the Parliament in Temirtau, Minister of Ecology, Geology and Natural Resources Mazgum Mirzagaliyev emphasized that the Karaganda region accounts for 305 thousand tons of industrial emissions, which is about a quarter of the total emissions produced in the whole country. As the minister noted, «the analysis carried out testifies to the high levels of atmospheric pollution in Temirtau, which significantly affects the environment and public health. Despite the implementation of environmental protection measures, the ecological situation is not improving». In the Karaganda region in the city of Zhezkazgan there is the largest enterprise «Kazakhmys», which conducts search, exploration, extraction, enrichment, processing and export of copper and other minerals. Residents of the surrounding areas complain of gas pollution and poor health due to emissions into the atmosphere. The enterprise employs more than 2000 people who live not only in the city of Zhezkazgan, but also in rural areas. Recently, the management of Kazakhmys announced that if a new Environmental Code is adopted in Kazakhstan by the end of 2020, then part of the production will need to be closed. «The residents of Zhezkazgan are between two fires: on the one hand, the loss of 2000 jobs and the negative consequences that will entail the closure of the city-forming enterprise. On the other hand, there are daily emissions that poison people's health» [9]. As representatives of the Kazakhmys corporation stated, if the Environmental Code is adopted in the form it was presented in the

Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the legislative innovations will make the production of cathode copper economically inexpedient for the company. Indeed, according to the draft of the legislature, it will be necessary either to completely modernize the copper plants in Balkhash and Zhezkazgan or to build one new one instead of the existing ones. «And while industrialists are negotiating with the Cabinet of Ministers on the draft of a new Environmental Code, the idea of targeted environmental payments to residents of industrial cities such as Zhezkazgan, Temirtau and Balkhash, the issue of which is regularly raised by the public, no longer seems utopian» [14]. Thus, the deterioration of the ecological situation due to the extraction of coal, copper and other minerals negatively affects the health of the inhabitants of these regions. And environmental risks can become the reasons for the emigration of the population of these regions. Now, let us turn to the number and structure of those who emigrated through the prism of the level of education and specialties. Among those who emigrated in January-September 2020, 3331 people have a technical profession, which is 86 % more than in January-June. Economic – 1 714 people (+73.1 %), pedagogical – 1 064 (+97.4 %), medical – 561 (+79.2 %), legal – 387 (+81.7 %), architectural and construction – 280 (doubled growth), agricultural – 155 (+82.3 %) and another – 3 955. Among those who emigrated in the nine months of 2020, 5 980 people left Kazakhstan with higher education (38.3 % of the total number of emigrants over 15 years old), 5 468 – with an average professional (35.1 %), 2 939 – with a general secondary (18.8 %) and 1 205 – with the main average (+7.7 %) [18]. During the analyzed period, 9233 people arrived in Kazakhstan. The leaders in resettlement are such regions as Mangistau region – 2 563 migrants, Almaty region – 983, Kostanay region – 637, Nur-Sultan city – 539, Almaty city – 1 269, Shymkent city – 671 [18]. During the reporting period, 1 444 people immigrated to the country with higher education (18.9 % of the number of immigrants over 15 years old), with an average professional – 2 042 (26.8 %), with a general secondary – 2 689 (35.3 %), with a basic average – 1 446 (19 %) [15]. The balance of migration for the analyzed period is negative and amounted to $(9\,233 - 18\,076) = -8\,843$ people, including 4 536 more people with higher education leaving than arriving, 3 426 more people with secondary vocational education leaving, 250 fewer people leaving with a general secondary education, and 241 more people arriving with basic secondary education. Thus, the population loss in Kazakhstan among people with higher education is significantly higher than among people with secondary education. Too much emigration of skilled workers can undermine the country's production potential. High emigration of skilled workers slows economic growth (GDP) and negatively affects those who stay. As a consequence, poverty and inequality are likely to increase. Migration affects the demographic system due to a decrease in the number of young men and women, leading to intensive depopulation in some rural areas of Kazakhstan, which is typical for the northern regions of Kazakhstan. Population outflow and its impact on fertility and aging have led to the depopulation of some rural areas. The northern part of the country cannot fully develop due to the lack of workers. For this reason, the government of Kazakhstan is pursuing a policy of resettlement of Kazakhstanis from south to north. As stated by the Minister of Labor and Social Protection Birzhan Nurymbetov: «Over the past five years, in the northern regions, except for the Akmola region, the annual trend of population decline has been preserved. In addition, in the northern regions, due to the low birth rate, there is an aging trend in the population. For example, the general coefficient of natural population growth in the North Kazakhstan region is 1.14 points, which is more than 10 times less than the country average. If this trend continues, by 2022 in the northern regions of the country, it is projected that the share of persons in the labor force will decrease from 59 % to 50 %, and the share of persons outside the labor force will increase from 41 % to 50 %». The Minister also noted that these negative phenomena will lead to a significant imbalance in the resettlement of citizens throughout the republic. «To solve this problem, a mechanism is actively used to increase labor mobility within the framework of the Enbek State Program, which is aimed at stimulating the move to the northern regions, primarily of young people, with the provision of state support measures. Today, the program is active in the Akmola, East Kazakhstan, North Kazakhstan, Kostanay and Pavlodar regions. From 2020, the Karaganda region will also be included in the regions of arrival of oralmans and migrants» – Birzhan Nurymbetov informed (TengriNews.kz). According to him, in 2017-2019, 5 119 families, or 18 379 people, were resettled, including 2 266 families, or 8 168 people in 10 months of 2019. In the total number of those who have moved, 3 037 families are migrants from regions with a surplus of labor, 2 082 families are oralmans who have arrived from

abroad. «The state aids displaced persons to cover the costs of renting housing and paying for utilities, which are paid monthly for 12 months in the amount of 15 to 30 MCI (monthly calculation index) per family. In the current 2019, 4.1 thousand people received subsidies for the total amount is 807 million tenge. In addition, every citizen who has moved receives 35 MCI of material assistance to reimburse their expenses for the move» (TengriNews.kz). Figure 2 shows the dynamics of changes in the territorial distribution of the population by regions of Kazakhstan from 1992 to 2020.

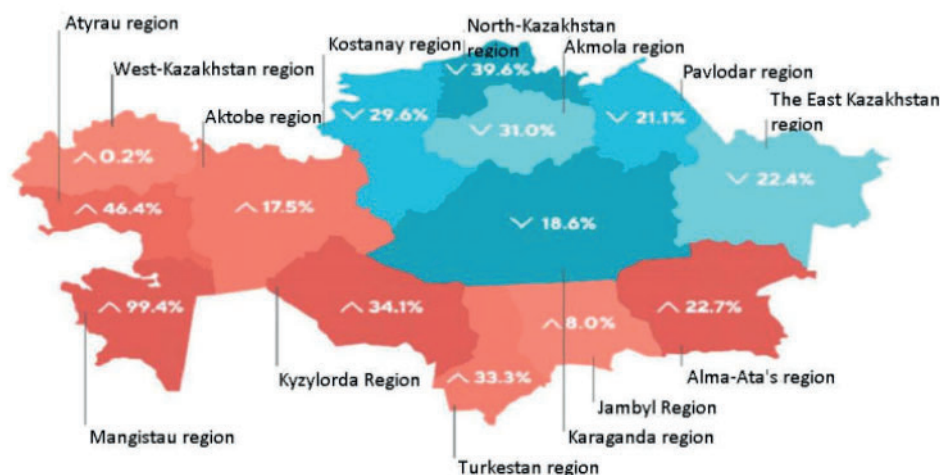


Figure 2 – Dynamics of changes in the territorial distribution of the population by regions of Kazakhstan from 1992 to 2020

Note – based on source [12]

As noted by Radio Azattyk, «among the main reasons for the outflow of people, in particular young people, researchers name the lack of opportunities for self-realization on equal terms, corruption, violation of rights, the deteriorating economic situation and the decline in the quality of education». Consider the stories of those who left Kazakhstan. «24-year-old Daria Morozova left the Pavlodar region for the Russian Novosibirsk almost six years ago, enrolling in one of the universities, she studied free of charge. Then she continued her studies in the magistracy there and received Russian citizenship. As Daria said, initially she planned to return to Kazakhstan after graduation, but a good job turned up and she stayed in Russia. Now Daria works at the Siberian Institute of Management, a branch of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration. «Pavlodar has an incredible number of talented people, and most of them leave. Why shouldn't the state simply create such conditions for it to be able to develop exactly where it was born: to get an affordable and good education, get a decent job?» – says Daria Morozova [16]. Consider another story. As Olga Novikova said, her family of four moved from Pavlodar region in 2018 to Kemerovo region. She and her spouse are 43 years old, their sons are 11 and 17 years old. The woman talks about the prospects and state programs being implemented in two states. According to Novikova, the level of education in Kazakhstan is worse than in Russia. The mortgage program in Russia is more promising. One can use maternity capital as an initial payment to the bank when buying an apartment in Russia. Despite the fact that the children were born in another state, the Novikov family received maternity capital to cover the down payment. This amount was equal to 430 thousand Russian rubles or 2.5 million tenge. There are expert opinions who believe that: «These are natural historical, demographic and migration processes. In the 90s, tens of thousands of Germans, Greeks and Poles left Kazakhstan. The same is happening now with the Russian part of the population. Kazakhs also return to their historical homeland from Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China or Mongolia. Everyone wants to live in their historical homeland. This should not be a tragedy. There are many countries where the Russian diaspora does not constitute a significant part of the population, and these states do not lose in the least in their intellectual potential. For example, take the same developed Japan or South Korea. Such potential, in

general, does not depend on any one nationality», – Mukhtar Taizhan, economist and member of the National Council of Public Confidence under the President (NCPC).

Findings. The outflow of qualified personnel changes the social, economic and demographic structure of the population. First, we consider how emigration affects rural areas. The departure of migrants, directly or indirectly, can reduce consumption in rural areas and reduce the income and well-being of those who remain in rural areas. The departure of qualified personnel leads to the fact that in rural areas there is a shortage of teachers, engineers, doctors, despite the fact that higher educational institutions train specialists in sufficient numbers. For young professionals, rural areas are not attractive, despite the government's policy of increasing wages in the form of bonuses and incentive payments. For several years, Kazakhstan has been implementing the program «With a Diploma – to the Village» a measure meant to support young specialists in the countryside and launched in 2009. This program is not popular with young specialists despite the government's attempts to attract young specialists through monetary rewards and payments. As noted in the information and analytical review for the parliamentary hearings on the topic: «Issues of the development of the agro-industrial complex» (Nur-Sultan, February 2020), the program «With a diploma – to the village» requires revision, since the provided measures to support young people do not sufficiently motivate them to work in countryside. It is proposed to significantly increase the amount of initial capital when young specialists arrive in the village, as well as to provide a one-time monetary incentive when they work for 3 years in the field (Information and analytical review to the parliamentary hearings on the topic: «Issues of the development of the agroindustrial complex» (Nur-Sultan, February 2020). The opportunity to participate in the state program is given to graduates who graduated from universities in such specialties as education, social security, health care, veterinary medicine, culture, sports and the agro-industrial complex. The state offers fresh graduates work in rural areas with some social support in the form of an initial capital in the amount of 100 MCI, as well as the possibility of obtaining a budget loan for housing in the amount not exceeding 1500 MCI. (MCI is a monthly calculation index used in Kazakhstan to calculate pensions, benefits and other social benefits. MCI is calculated when planning the budget, based on the expected inflation rate for the next year and is set annually by the law «On the Republican Budget»). «Over 10 years of implementation, over 60 thousand people have taken part in this program. If we consider this issue in the context of specialties, it can be noted that the education sector is in the greatest demand, which attracted 42 745 people (71.2 %). The second most popular is healthcare with 12 705 people participating (21.2 %). Next are the specialties of the agro-industrial complex of 1 665 people (2.8 %) and culture – 1 604 (2.7 %). Placing last in terms of demand were the spheres of sports – 863 (1.4 %) and social security – 483 (0.8 %) » [17]. The Ministry of National Economy is responsible for the implementation of the program, while local executive bodies carry out the direct implementation of the Project. Monitoring is carried out by the program administrator, whose competence includes evaluating budget programs, concluding tripartite loan agreements, forming budget applications, and general coordination of the program. They also conduct promotion campaigns together with local executive bodies. «During the period of the Project implementation since 2009, over 60 thousand specialists received a capital allowance in the amount of 7.4 billion tenge. More than 27.5 thousand specialists received budget loans for the purchase of housing in the amount of 70.6 billion tenge. As of July 1, 2019, 2 527 specialists were issued a budget loan for a total of 9.1 billion tenge for the purchase of housing. And 5 172 specialists were given a capital allowance totaling 911.4 million tenge» [17].

The main difficulty faced by the Project participants is the insufficient allocation of funds from the budget. Currently, the allocated funds from the budget cover 70-75 % of the needs of the regions in specialists. In this connection, a priority is formed for such participants in receiving social support measures. Here are some stories of those who participated in this program. Dinara Zhorabaeva has been teaching chemistry in one of the schools in Talgar district of Almaty region, 40 kilometers from Almaty for the last two years. She acquired housing in the village under a preferential lending program, taking a loan in the amount of three million 600 thousand tenge, receiving a capital allowance of 168 thousand tenge. The interest rate on a home loan – 0.4 % per annum for 15 years – she believes is significantly lower than the rate on a standard bank mortgage. But she is nevertheless not very satisfied with the living conditions. According to Dinara, if the salary level is

high, then this program is profitable. But her salary is only 60 thousand tenge, and the loan payment is 20 thousand monthlies. She also has to pay for the kindergarten of her two children. In all, she sometimes has little money left. For example, in the spring, for various reasons, she was overdue in payments [on the loan] for two months. In case of delay, the amount of the penalty is calculated at the rate of 0.01 % of the principal amount of the debt. The school is dissatisfied with this situation and says that she must return the house and quit if she is unable to pay the loan» [18]. Among the young specialists who went to the countryside under the program «With a Diploma – to the Village», there are those who are satisfied with the conditions. Aidana Tursynkozhaeva works as a doctor in the district hospital of the Urdzhar district of the East Kazakhstan region. She took advantage of the program after studying at the medical academy in Semey to return to her native village. She also received housing there. «If I arrived on my own [not according to the program], then I would not have the opportunity to purchase my own home. Now I am the head of the therapeutic department of the district hospital. I have two children. The monthly payment on the loan is 18 thousand tenge per month. This is a very profitable program for young professionals without their own housing. «I don't see any disadvantages of the program yet», – says Aidana [18].

Sociologist Serik Beisenbay argues that despite Aidana's positive experience, this is a special case and, in general, the program is not able to massively keep young people in villages or return them there, since it contradicts the urbanization process that intensified after the collapse of the Soviet Union [18].

Many experts agree that the program has not justified the hopes placed on it, since the necessary conditions for attracting young specialists have not been created in rural areas. As a rule, each village usually has one single outpatient clinic, one school and one House of Culture. Such a program, if it is already launched, must be directly related to production. To attract [young] specialists to a village, there must be many collective enterprises [employers]. For example, various cooperatives, collective farms, which require veterinarians, livestock specialists, agronomists, financiers. In villages where all [economic enterprises] are private, budget organizations hire no more than one specialist. And in this case, what should the others who have come under the program do? ... [18]. This program will be economically profitable only if the number of rural production enterprises in the countryside grows and young specialists are attracted to work there. The largest number of them, according to the department's statistics, are involved in the Turkestan region (6 703), Almaty (6 253) and West Kazakhstan (5 184) regions. Meanwhile, Kostanay, Pavlodar and North Kazakhstan regions are considered the most labor-deficient in the country. To provide these areas with labor resources, the state adopted the State Program for the Development of Productive Employment and Mass Entrepreneurship for 2017-2021 «Enbek». Therefore, it is advisable to take measures to stimulate the territorial mobility of labor resources through assistance in the voluntary resettlement of citizens from labor-surplus regions to labor-deficient regions [19]. Voluntary resettlement of the Program participants is carried out from labor-surplus regions such as Almaty, Zhambyl, Mangistau, Turkestan, Kyzylorda regions and the cities of Nur-Sultan and Shymkent. The regions for accepting the Program participants are determined by the decision of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Participants in voluntary interregional resettlement are individuals and members of their families included in the regional quota for the admission of migrants and oralmans, approved in accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan, as well as employers assisting in resettlement. «The program is aimed at promoting employment, including youth, at the implementation of business ideas, to pass short-term vocational training in demanded specialties, to receive free technical and vocational education» [20]. Since the implementation of the program, 18.2 thousand people have completed short-term courses, of which 12.5 thousand people have been employed. 23.1 thousand people were sent to training in technical and vocational education in the republic [20].

«In 2019, 2.5 thousand families were resettled from the southern regions of Kazakhstan to the northern regions, which is about 10 thousand people. 3.5 thousand of them are employed, or 80 % of people of working age. 242 families were relocated to the city of Ekibastuz, all of them are provided with rental housing for five years, with the right of subsequent purchase. Social issues are also being addressed. Children are provided with schools and kindergartens. Within the framework of the state program, 3 billion tenge was allocated for the construction of 428 houses for migrants in the North Kazakhstan region. When relocating, a subsidy in the

amount of 93 thousand tenge is allocated for each family member. Payment of utilities and housing rent in the amount of 66 thousand tenge is subsidized monthly for 12 months» [21]. In the North Kazakhstan region for six months of 2019, more than 17.5 thousand people took part in the state program «Enbek», 9 thousand of whom received permanent jobs, and 2 thousand began to study the basics of entrepreneurship [22].

Official authorities speak about it. «In the North Kazakhstan region, since 2016, they have been implementing a program of resettlement of citizens from labor-surplus regions of the country. However, among the settlers there are families who were forced to return after a while. People tell reporters that they had to leave due to the fact that they were settled in dwellings that were not suitable for living» [23]. But according to the akim of the North Kazakhstan region, out of 6 500 people who arrived in the region in 2016, only 8 % left: «Of course, there are facts when people return... they leave for health reasons, for family reasons, but there are not many, there are more conversations that people come back. We really need this program, so we will implement it» [23].

«A man comes himself, chooses a place, a house. Since 2019, within the framework of the regional program, we have begun to build houses for migrants. There is an acute shortage of labor in the villages. We need tractor drivers, combine operators, machine operators, cattlemen, teachers, doctors, veterinarians, the demand for personnel is very high. In order to provide agricultural producers with workers, we need solid wages and appropriate social conditions. And so, we began to build houses for those arriving», the regional akim noted [23].

According to him, «an agricultural producer himself builds a house and invites people from regions with a surplus of labor. Migrants can live for five years, after this period the family must either continue to pay rent or buy out housing from the state at a reduced price» [23]. But according to the program participants, people leave because the infrastructure is not developed (imported water, no gas, stove heating, no sewage system, no baths, no roads, no schools, hospitals). Each move is unique, characterized by its own characteristics. Perhaps the expectations of those who come to the northern territories are not fully met and difficulties arise in the places of resettlement. The emigration of skilled workers is especially important in the education and health sectors. Recently, in the East Kazakhstan, North Kazakhstan and Karaganda regions there has been the greatest outflow of medical workers. These areas are leaders in terms of external migration of medical personnel. In 2017, 1 062 medical workers left the country, in 2018 – 1 225, 2019 – 1 212 employees. Reasons for staff outflow: lack of effective motivation mechanisms, psycho-emotional stress, lack of opportunities for professional development, low level of protection of rights, insufficient social guarantees. Kazakhstan now lacks 4 122 doctors. The deficit is acute in: anesthesiologists resuscitators, therapists, general practitioners, laboratory doctors, psychiatrists, obstetricians' gynecologists, pediatricians, infectious disease specialists, epidemiologists and neonatologists. There is also a shortage of paramedical personnel – more than 8.5 thousand specialists are required.

There is a catastrophic shortage of teachers in Kazakhstan. At the beginning of 2020, the country lacks more than 8 000 teachers, of which more than 7 300 vacancies are in rural schools. According to the Ministry of Science and Education, most of all Kazakhstani schools need teachers of the Russian language and literature – 548 vacancies. In second place in scarce specialties are English teachers and primary school teachers – 422 and 397, respectively. In addition, some educational institutions do not have mentors in physics, chemistry, computer science, history, and music. The Ministry of Education and Science recognizes the fact that more than half of the graduates of pedagogical universities do not work in their specialty, many of whom were trained on educational grants at the expense of the state [24]. And as a lamentable result – the state might lose those teachers that it educates at its own expense. As world experience shows, having a higher education significantly improves the prospects for emigration. Higher education is one of the main channels of permanent emigration [25]. Kazakhstan is losing not only «ready» specialists, but also potential specialists, school graduates who could replenish the country's labor resources, including in the countryside. After graduation, many Kazakhstanis choose other states, including the Russian Federation, as a place for further education and higher education. According to the border service of the Federal Security Service (FSB), since the beginning of 2019, 181.5 thousand people have come to Russia to study. More than a quarter of them are from Kazakhstan (59.3 thousand). The number of students from China was 21.2 thousand, Uzbekistan – 14 thousand, Ukraine

– 13.7 thousand. The FSB began keeping statistics on the registration of foreign citizens in 2018 [26]. At the beginning of 2018, 274 thousand foreign students were studying in Russia. According to the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan took the first place in terms of the number of students (65.6 thousand), second – Turkmenistan (27.4 thousand), third – Uzbekistan (25.7 thousand), fourth – China (18.3 thousand). At the same time, according to the statistics committee of the Ministry of National Economy of Kazakhstan, 9.8 thousand foreign students came to the republic in 2018 to study. The largest number of students came from Uzbekistan (6.99 thousand), Turkmenistan (1.34 thousand), India (812), Kyrgyzstan (751), Russia (466) (Sputniknews.kz). As can be seen from the data, fewer people come to Kazakhstan to study than leave.

In 2019, experts from the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies conducted research on external youth migration in Central Asian countries as part of a project of the International Organization for Migration. The online survey involved persons living or studying abroad. According to Irina Chernykh, a professor at the Kazakh-German University and one of the authors of the study, survey participants most often cited corruption and lack of professional demand as the reasons for leaving Kazakhstan. According to the findings of the study «External youth migration in Central Asian countries: Analysis of risks and minimization of negative consequences», the main reasons for youth leaving their homeland to study, work and permanent residence are: «Corruption and bureaucracy at all levels, impunity and irresponsibility of officials, ineffective public administration – 51.3 % of the respondents; Professional lack of demand, lack of prospects for self-realization and career – 31.3 %; Low level of development of the country, archaization and retraditionalization of society – 27.5 %; Uncertainty about their future and the future of their children – 26.3 %; High unemployment, low salaries, lack of social guarantees – 23.8 %; Deterioration in the quality of medicine and education – 23.8 %; Frequent violations of human rights – 21.3 %. They note that in such conditions it is difficult to develop a business, make savings, realize yourself as a professional» [27]. The authors of the study believe that the governments of the countries of Central Asia, from where economically active youth mainly leave, including Kazakhstan, should more deeply analyze the main factors that determine the migration sentiments of citizens. «To the question «Under what conditions would you return to work at home?» most of the respondents name: noticeable improvements in the fight against corruption and nepotism, getting a well-paid job, observance of political rights and freedoms, development of civil society institutions, modernization of the political system, the introduction of real elections for government officials, the creation of an independent judiciary, radical improvements in the education system, healthcare, the socio-economic situation of the population, as well as in the field of ensuring public safety», – says Irina Chernykh [27].

CONCLUSION

This article, based on the official data of the Committee on Statistics of the Ministry of National Economy and the demographic yearbook of Kazakhstan, provides quantitative parameters of emigration from the country by ethnicity, the number and structure of emigrants through the prism of the level of education and specialties. Three time periods were covered. The main focus was on the northern regions of Kazakhstan and rural areas. The outflow of the population from Kazakhstan, which began in 2014, continues to this day. The reasons for emigration are shown on the basis of an analysis of the available materials from various sociological surveys. In Kazakhstan, there is an outflow of qualified personnel and an inflow of unskilled labor. Kazakhstan is losing not only «ready» personnel, but also school graduates who leave to study at universities in the Russian Federation and other countries. Currently, there is already an acute shortage of doctors, teachers, engineers in the country, even though specialists graduate from universities every year. To solve the problem of lack of specialists in the rural areas of Kazakhstan and in the northern regions, the state is implementing two programs «Enbek» and «With a diploma – to the village». Nevertheless, the rate of emigration is growing steadily every year. What is the reason that these government programs are not working effectively? Perhaps the reason lies in the fact that these initiatives are developed without the participation and consideration of the opinions of those whom they concern, which significantly reduces their effectiveness. The attempt to return young people to the villages after receiving education, with all its attractiveness, remains ill-considered, since the village, without the development of infrastructure, will not be able to retain personnel in villages and regions for a long time.

In the absence of minimal amenities and conditions for a civilized life in rural areas, such as running water, uninterrupted electricity, gas, roads, the Internet, sports and cultural facilities, young people will not stay there. Even if such infrastructure in the villages is created at the expense of budgetary funds, it must be constantly maintained in working order. The situation of rural residents cannot be improved without creating jobs in rural areas, developing agriculture and processing enterprises. In our opinion, it is necessary to conduct a survey of those young people who have used this program to find out whether their expectations have been met, what points of improvement there can be. Based on the analysis of these questionnaires, one can determine how to further implement this program. The state-developed project «With a diploma – to the village» faced a number of problems during its implementation, among which one can single out «lack of transparency in the allocation of budget funds, weak accountability and lack of visible results. Also, this project was developed without the participation and consideration of the opinions of those they concern, which significantly reduces their effectiveness» [28]. The state program «Enbek», being implemented in the northern regions of Kazakhstan, also requires revision. It is no secret that oralmans who come to Kazakhstan from other countries and who voluntarily come to the northern regions do not have special education to work as teachers, doctors, engineers. The main share is constituted by people with secondary education who can be employed to do unskilled work.

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ҚАЗАҚСТАННАН ЭМИГРАЦИЯ: СОЛТҮСТІК АЙМАҚТАР МЕН АУЫЛДЫҚ АЙМАҚТАРҒА БАҒЫТ БЕРУ

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АНДАТПА

Зерттеудің мақсаты – Қазақстаннан эмиграцияны талқылау. 2014 жылдан бастап елден қаладан да, ауылдан да халықтың кетуі жалғасуда.

Әдіснамасы. Мақаланы жазу кезінде Қазақстан Республикасы Стратегиялық жоспарлау және реформалар агенттігінің Ұлттық статистика бюросының мәліметтері негізінде ғылыми танымның, теориялық жалпылаудың, қазіргі және өткен жағдайдың салыстырмалы талдауының әдістері қолданылды.

Зерттеудің бірегейлігі / құндылығы. Қолда бар деректерге сүйене отырып, авторлар Қазақстанның солтүстік өңірлерінен халықтың кетуі мәселелерін шешуге бағытталған «Дипломмен – ауылға» және «Еңбек» мемлекеттік бағдарламаларын іске асырудың тиімділігін талдауға тырысты.

Зерттеу нәтижелері. Халықтың ең көп кетуі Қазақстанның орталық, солтүстік және шығыс бөлігінде орналасқан аймақтарға тән (бұл аймақтардың барлығы «солтүстік облыстар» бір топқа біріктірілген). Еңбекке жарамды жастағы адамдардың елден кетіп жатқаны алаңдатады. Халықтың шығынын өтеу үшін мемлекет «Дипломмен – ауылға», «Еңбек» атты түрлі бағдарламаларды жүзеге асыруда. «Дипломмен – ауылға» мемлекеттік бағдарламасы жоғары оқу орындарының түлектерін ауылға тартып, жұмыс күшін толықтыруға бағытталған. «Еңбек» мемлекеттік бағдарламасы жұмыс күші көп (оңтүстік) облыстардан Қазақстанның солтүстік облыстарына солтүстік өңірлерге өз еркімен қоныс аударуды ынталандыруға бағытталған. Бұл бағдарламаларды жүзеге асыру халықтың

Қазақстанның солтүстік облыстарынан да, ауылдық жерлерден де кетуі мәселесін шеше алмады. Біздің ойымызша, бұл бағдарламаларды жергілікті жердегі жағдайларды ескере отырып жетілдіру қажет.

Түйін сөздер: Қазақстан, эмиграция, солтүстік облыстар, ауылдық жерлер, көші-қон балансы, мемлекеттік бағдарламалар.

ЭМИГРАЦИЯ ИЗ КАЗАХСТАНА: АКЦЕНТ НА СЕВЕРНЫЕ РЕГИОНЫ И СЕЛЬСКУЮ МЕСТНОСТЬ

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АННОТАЦИЯ

Цель исследования – обсуждение эмиграции из Казахстана. С 2014 года продолжается отток населения из страны как из городов, так и из сельской местности.

Методология. При написании статьи использовались методы научного познания, теоретического обобщения, сравнительного анализа, текущего и прошлого состояний на основе данных Бюро национальной статистики Агентства стратегического планирования и реформ Республики Казахстан.

Оригинальность / ценность исследования. Авторами на основе имеющихся данных предпринята попытка проанализировать эффективность реализации государственных программ «С дипломом – в село» и «Еңбек», направленных на решение проблем оттока населения из северных регионов Казахстана и сельских территорий.

Результаты исследования. Наибольший отток населения характерен для регионов, расположенных в центральной, северной и восточной частях Казахстана (все эти регионы объединены в одну группу «северные регионы»). Тот факт, что люди трудоспособного возраста уезжают из страны, вызывает озабоченность. Чтобы компенсировать потери населения, государство реализует различные программы: «С дипломом – в село» и «Еңбек». Государственная программа «С дипломом – в село» направлена на привлечение выпускников высших учебных заведений к проживанию в сельской местности и пополнение рабочей силы. Государственная программа «Еңбек» направлена на стимулирование добровольного переселения в северные регионы из трудоизбыточных (южных) регионов в северные регионы Казахстана. Реализация этих программ не смогла решить проблему оттока населения как из северных регионов Казахстана, так и из сельской местности. На наш взгляд, эти программы требуют доработки с учетом условий на местах.

Ключевые слова: Казахстан, эмиграция, северные регионы, сельская местность, миграционный баланс, государственные программы.

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