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ВЕСТНИК

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NAS RK is pleased to announce that Bulletin of NAS RK scientific journal has been accepted for indexing in the Emerging Sources Citation Index, a new edition of Web of Science. Content in this index is under consideration by Clarivate Analytics to be accepted in the Science Citation Index Expanded, the Social Sciences Citation Index, and the Arts & Humanities Citation Index. The quality and depth of content Web of Science offers to researchers, authors, publishers, and institutions sets it apart from other research databases. The inclusion of Bulletin of NAS RK in the Emerging Sources Citation Index demonstrates our dedication to providing the most relevant and influential multidiscipline content to our community.

Қазақстан Республикасы Ұлттық ғылым академиясы «ҚР ҰҒА Хабаршысы» ғылыми журналының Web of Science-тің жаңаланған нұсқасы Emerging Sources Citation Index-те индекстелуге қабылданғанын хабарлайды. Бұл индекстелу барысында Clarivate Analytics компаниясы журналды одан әрі the Science Citation Index Expanded, the Social Sciences Citation Index және the Arts & Humanities Citation Index-ке қабылдау мәселесін қарастыруда. Web of Science зерттеушілер, авторлар, баспашылар мен мекемелерге контент тереңдігі мен сапасын ұсынады. ҚР ҰҒА Хабаршысының Emerging Sources Citation Index-ке енуі біздің қоғамдастық үшін ең өзекті және беделді мультидисциплинарлы контентке адалдығымызды білдіреді.

НАН РК сообщает, что научный журнал «Вестник НАН РК» был принят для индексирования в Emerging Sources Citation Index, обновленной версии Web of Science. Содержание в этом индексировании находится в стадии рассмотрения компанией Clarivate Analytics для дальнейшего принятия журнала в the Science Citation Index Expanded, the Social Sciences Citation Index и the Arts & Humanities Citation Index. Web of Science предлагает качество и глубину контента для исследователей, авторов, издателей и учреждений. Включение Вестника НАН РК в Emerging Sources Citation Index демонстрирует нашу приверженность к наиболее актуальному и влиятельному мультидисциплинарному контенту для нашего сообщества.

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MOVING TO A BIG CITY: INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERNS IN KAZAKHSTAN

Abstract. The paper examines the nature of the internal migration in Kazakhstan and the effects this movement has had on urbanization of the country. The survived industry in the big cities, as well as economic and social advantages of the cities and ongoing deepening of the territorial division of labor force are characterized by the influx of the rural population to the major cities. What motivates people to move from the rural areas to the major cities sounds quite ordinary. Search for a job, need for a qualified medical care, cultural and educational potential of a big city. The dynamics of internal moves in the direction of major cities and its impact to urban infrastructure is clearly seen on the example of Almaty, which is the largest city of the country. In this regard, the authors revealed how the growth of Almaty agglomeration went through at the expense of its suburban areas and nearby rural settlements. The study has also identified the migrants' coping and patterns of accommodation at the outskirts of Almaty.

Key words: Kazakhstan, Almaty, internal migration, migration patterns, unemployment, outskirts, conflict.

Introduction. With the collapse of Soviet-type planned economy in the 1990s, Kazakhstan experienced many of the same hardships of economic transition as other formerly communist countries. Indeed, it was during this period that the rural poverty has become scaring alternative for many villagers of the country. As agriculture decreased, people moved into urban areas in a search of a job opportunity. A large-scale internal migration, which began in the 1990s, had tremendous impact for the demographic and socio-economic situation in urban areas. In just one year, in 1991, less than half million people have participated in internal migration towards major cities [1, p. 82-83]. It was the largest displacement of population within a country in its contemporary history. And only in 2019 this figure decreased to 70 thousand people [2].

Meanwhile, the outbreak of the COVID-19 has worsened the economic situation in urban areas. The contraction of economic activities in major cities has led to rising unemployment, which could in turn cause social and political tension in the near future. Growing pressure on urban infrastructure can be easily found on the example of Almaty city, a country's largest mega polis. The case of internal migration's impact at the outskirts of Almaty city is rather unique. The city's geographical proximity to surrounding agrarian and densely populated regions, the existing transportation, communication and infrastructure potential and comfortable climatic and educational-cultural environments are what the poverty-stricken rural families often take into consideration if they had decided to migrate in the direction of Almaty. Not accidentally, "its population

grew by 63.5% since 1992. Almaty remains the country's most populated city, with 1,854,800 residents in 2019. Its share of the country's total population increased from 6.9% in 1992 to 10.1% in 2019" [3, p.10]. At the same time, short distance moves between small towns and rural settlements within Almaty region has reduced conflict potential in the areas of origin and worsened situation at the outskirts of Almaty. For the most part, these conflicts basically linked to the issues of housing.

Literature review. There are a few empirical works dedicated to the study of internal migration in Kazakhstan. "Routes and roots" of Kazakh identity: urban migration in post-socialist Kazakhstan" focused on urban migration in post-socialist Kazakhstan [4, pp. 661-679], while "Analiz vnutrennih migratsionnih protsessov v kazakstane i gorode almaty. Vivodi, meri i rekomendatsii" [5, 234 p.] is dedicated to the overview of rural-urban migration in Kazakhstan between 1990 and 2010. "Etnicheskie, migrantskie konflikti i preventivnaya etnopolitika" [6, 89 p.] and "Faktori vozniknoveniya kofliktov na mejetnicheskoi osnove v kazakstane" [7, 83 p.] can be read in reference to the intersection of conflict and migration in Kazakhstan. These publications were pioneering ones in contributing to the study of internal migration as key to understanding conflict in Kazakhstan at a time when research in this field was almost unheard of.

There are several other works in the scholarly oeuvre of Kazakhstan dedicated to the study of migration, however in these works internal migration was not a focal point for scholars, as attention was directed toward studying the emigration flows to and out of the country.

Theories. An analysis of a large-scale internal migration in Kazakhstan during the last three decades reveals the applicability of certain models within the framework of the macro-level theories. In particular, Ravenstein's laws of migration, the Todaro-Harris theory and relating to this the approach of Connell J., Dasgupta, B., Laishley, R. and Lipton, M. that this study uses can be applicable to analyze the causes of rural-urban migration in Kazakhstan. I argue that of all the migration theories, the above-mentioned theories appears to be the most appropriate for describing the factors that influence rural-urban migration in Kazakhstan, since not everything from these theoretical suppositions can be applied to this case.

For instance, the Ravenstein's laws of migration is an old macro-level theory [8, pp. 41-54], claiming that population move from rural settlements to the outskirts of the large cities because people always are trying to escape the areas of low opportunity and find more attractive areas of high opportunity. According to this theory the choice of destination is often regulated by distance. All of these can be found on the suburbs of the former capital city of Almaty. Located in south-eastern part of the country, Almaty has become the basic place of destination for many internal migrants from the rural south, south-east and east Kazakhstan. For the most part, all of these regions regarded agrarian, but not all of them regarded as the area of low opportunity. Almaty is also in relative proximity to the southern region of Turkestan oblast, which has the highest agrarian opportunity and is the most densely populated region in the country.

Todaro and Harris put forward the negative impact of migration in terms of increasing unemployment, underemployment and urban poverty in the destination in their "Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis" [9, pp. 126-142]. This is applicable approach in analyzing rural-urban migration and urban unemployment in the suburbs of Almaty. Over the last years Almaty repeatedly has demonstrated the highest level of unemployment throughout the country. In 2015, the highest unemployment rate has been fixed here again. Then the Mayor of Almaty, Ahmetzhan Esimov had to state that one of the reasons for the high level of unemployment was the incessant growth of internal migration [10]. On May 2020, Almaty, as one of the main destinations for internal migration, faced the high rate of unemployment again. The Kursiv, business weekly, having cited the official statistics, awarded the current leadership in unemployment to Almaty. It also claimed about a large number of unemployed in the densely populated Almaty oblast [11].

The main attention in the Todaro-Harris theory is made on migrants rather than on productivity. It also gives a better understanding of relationship between education and wages. For instance, more highly educated migrants have higher expected urban

incomes owing both to higher wages and to greater chances of obtaining employment [9, pp. 126-142]. This trend can be easily found at the outskirts of Almaty.

Connell J., Dasgupta, B., Laishley, R., Lipton, M. add further perspective in understanding the rural-urban migration in Kazakhstan in their collective work "Migration from Rural Areas: The Evidence from Village Studies". They state that rural poverty is a cause of migration and even migration remittances are unlikely to increase rural areas' prosperity unless significant investment opportunities exist there [12, p. 228]. This is what exactly taking place in Kazakhstan, where the countryside remains deprived area, with high rate of unemployment, lowest per capita income and with the unsolved issues of urgent medical care, social insurance and welfare programs. That's probably why during the first two decades the driving force of internal migration in Kazakhstan was a highly mobile population of a labor age. Highest level of internal migration in Kazakhstan was fixed between 1991-2007 years. Then, due to statistics about 300 thousand citizens were annually on the move. In other words, proportion of people changing their residence within the country (people who actively migrate from one area to another area and the people who migrate within the same area) for the period from 1991 to 2007 amounted to 68.8% of the total flow of migration. Not less than 4.8 million people became displaced within the country [1, p. 82]. In the following years such activities have gradually gone down. Nevertheless, the noted migration theories are still explicitly theoretical for our case. As Russell King states, "migration theories often bring about a huge amount of new information to our store of knowledge about migration in the form of fresh statistics, as well as interesting arguments and disputes" [13, p. 43], but they do not provide a proper understanding and interpretation of the nature of internal movement. Even a preliminary glance at those migration theories that can be applied in terms of concepts and structures required to encapsulate a thorough study of rural-urban migration in Kazakhstan, nevertheless still require further development.

Methodology. The last 2009 population census in Kazakhstan is used to identify and analyze the data applied to internal migration for the period of first two decades after Kazakhstan's independence in 1991, while the recent data related to similar processes for the period of the 2012 and 2020, have been collected from the website of the Agency for strategic planning and reforms of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Bureau of National statistics [14]. Through some interviews and observations amongst internal migrants in 2009, conducted by the authors in the western and north-western outskirts of the city of Almaty, previously known as Shanyrak-1, Shanyrak-2, Aigerim, Bakay, Darkhan, Ojet, Ulzhan, this paper explores the migrants' strategies of coping and patterns of accommodation at the outskirts of Almaty. Now these suburbs are included into unified Alatau

district of Almaty by local authorities to manage a wide range of issues among internal migrants. This determining location has been chosen for interviews not accidentally. Taking into consideration that the logic of settlements development throughout the city is quite similar, it is expected that city's authorities will undertake the same package of measures previously undertaken in Alatau district in regard to other parts of the city. The emergence of Naurzybay district of Almaty in the western side of the city in 2014 and intense development of road and construction facilities in the eastern suburbs are clear evidence of it.

1. The Dynamics of internal migration in Kazakhstan. The unregulated internal migration has become reality for Kazakhstan since the late 1980s, when the situation in rural areas started to decline. The most challenging situation with massive migration processes in the country occurred in 1991, when more than 400 thousand people participated in internal migration. The relatively high levels of Kazakhstan's internal migration at a range of around more than 300 thousand people in a year had repeatedly occurred between 1992 and 1995. Between 1996 and 2003 the share of the internal migration does not exceed 300,000 people annually, as it seen in table 1.

Table 1 – Dynamics of internal migration between 1991 and 2003 (in thousand)

Year	Internal Migration	Including	
		Interregional migration	Intraregional migration
1991	431 262	155 766	275 496
1992	361 356	136 094	225 262
1993	347 652	134 445	213 207
1994	327 323	131 002	196 321
1995	304 959	123 383	181 576
1996	236 957	97 524	139 433
1997	204 569	81 060	123 509
1998	228 610	96 973	131 637
1999	232 427	131 815	100 612
2000	276 699	145 903	130 796
2001	271 728	136 390	135 338
2002	269 092	103 868	165 224
2003	291 758	107 646	184 112

Source: 1) Agentstvo Respubliki Kazakstan po statistike (2008) "Kazakstan: reformi i razvitiye, 1991-2007" [Kazakhstan: the reforms and development by 1991-2007]. Astana, 2008. P. 112; 2) Statistical Yearbook (2009) "Kazakstan v tsifrah. 1991-2008" [Kazakhstan in figures. 1991-2008]. Astana, 2009. P. 16; 3) Demographic statistics. Population migration of the Republic of Kazakhstan between 1991-2003. Internal migration. The Bureau of National Statistics of the Agency for Strategic Planning and Reforms of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Published online <<https://stat.gov.kz/official/industry/61/statistic/5>> accessed November 11, 2020.

However, new legislative reforms, such as the adoption of a "Land Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan" in 2003, aimed at legalizing private ownership on agriculture lands in Kazakhstan, led to the next phase of intensification of internal migration. This trend at a range of more than 300 thousand people in a year started in 2004 and continued until 2013, as seen in table 2.

Table 2 – Dynamics of internal migration in 2003-2013 (in thousand)

Period	Internal Migration	Including	
		Interregional migration	Intraregional migration
2003	291 758	107 646	184 112
2004	317 928	127 474	190 454
2005	298 627	131 012	167 615
2006	295 057	131 303	163 754
2007	311 740	139 542	172 198
2008	344 373	157 974	186 399
2009	364 655	171871	192784
2010	366 037	173266	192771
2011	364 638	175057	189581
2012	337 841	146419	191422
2013	337267	146157	191110

Source: Demographic statistics. Population migration of the Republic of Kazakhstan between 1991-2003. Internal migration. The Bureau of National Statistics of the Agency for Strategic Planning and Reforms of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Published online <<https://stat.gov.kz/official/industry/61/statistic/5>> accessed November 11, 2020.

The very recent statistics, however, shows a rapid decrease in activity of internal migration. In 2014 [15] and 2015 [16] the share of internal migration has been halved. But in 2019, as it was mentioned above, the number of people participated in internal migration decreased to 70 thousands per year [2]. Meanwhile, the outbreak of covid-19 pandemic has significantly complicated the situation in Kazakhstan, as elsewhere in the world. In the near future, the country will face a massive downsizing and closure of small and medium-sized enterprises, wage cuts and deterioration in living standards against the backdrop of galloping inflation. This problem is likely to decrease "out of villages" migration, although the proportion of rural population has remained virtually unchanged for the last three decades. According to the Statistical agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the share of rural population in 1991 was 42% against 57.3% of urban population. Three decades later, by October 2020, the share of rural and urban population was fixed at 41% for rural and 59% for urban population, as it seen in table 3. This suggests that the country's rural population grew mostly due to natural increase.

Table 3 – The population of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1991, 2008, 2020 (in thousand)

Years	Total population, In thousand	Including:		As a percentage of total population	
		urban	rural	urban	rural
October, 1991	16 451.7	9 366,9	6 991,3	57.3	42.7
October, 2002	14 823	8365	6458	56.4	43.6
October, 2010	16 210 144	8726907	7483237	58.8	41.2
October, 2020	18 809210	11 087 503	7 721 707	59	41

Source: 1) Statistical Yearbook (2009) “Kazakhstan in figures. 1991 – 2008”. Astana, 2009. P. 13.
 2) Demographic statistics. The Population of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 2020. The Bureau of National Statistics of the Agency for Strategic Planning and Reforms of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Published online <<https://stat.gov.kz/official/industry/61/statistic/5>> accessed November 11, 2020.

Meanwhile, of all the cities of the country, the former capital city of Almaty remains the most preferred place of destination in terms of short distance move. What we today witness is the change of demographic structure of Almaty and its surrounding area due to its geographical proximity to the country’s most densely populated regions. The city has the economic-social potential, where most of business activities, universities and cultural heritage and entertainment still concentrated. Sustainable infrastructure of this city, as well as comfortable climate and educational-cultural environments are what the poverty-stricken families from rural settlements and nearby small towns often take into consideration if they had decided to short distance move within the country.

2. What lies behind internal migrants’ logic to move to the outskirts of Almaty? To address this question, it is important to investigate what the reasons are that motivate the internal migrants to settle in the outskirts of Almaty city. Our understanding of it is based on sociological surveys commissioned by the Department of Internal Policy of Almaty Municipality in 2006 [17] and 2009 [18]. Even though sociological surveys a bit outdated, the reasons that motivate the internal migrants to settle in the outskirts of Almaty city are still very much up to date. According to the results of the first survey, less than half of the internal migrants in Almaty were from different regions of Kazakhstan (40.6%), whereas less than a quarter of internal migrants were from nearby rural districts of Almaty region (21.7%), such as Enbekshikazakh rural district, Uyghur rural district, Raiymbek rural district, Panfilov rural district, Karasai rural district

and Balkhash rural district. The rest of the migrants were from rural districts of the nearby Zhambyl region – 22.8%, Turkestan region– 22.3% and 17.4% from East Kazakhstan. Among the most prevalent causes of migration from rural areas to a city were social and economic motives. For instance, 35.8% of internal migrants responded that their main reason for moving to Almaty was a search of a job. 7.5% of the respondents pointed out on a business as a reason for move. 19.3% of the respondents stated that reason of movement was a family. For 14.2% of the respondents the reason is access to education in the city. 8.9% of the respondents pointed the marriage as a reason for movement, and interestingly 8.3% of respondents seen repatriation as the main reason of move back to home [19].

Similar research carried out in 2009 also revealed that majority of the internal migrants sought to come to Almaty because of a greater employment opportunity and access to education there. Quite significant factors that affected the choosing of this destination were the intention to get more qualified profession and the desire to buy housing. Every fourth respondent sought to obtain qualified health care [18].

In general, the results of sociological surveys carried out in 2006 and 2009 are periodically confirmed in all the latest statistics on internal migration. Analyzing these data and taking into account the nature of country's urbanization, we should recognize that Almaty, apparently, turned into the city recipient of internal migrants. One cannot help agreeing with Kazinform's 2016 publication when it claims “that stable population growth in Almaty is due to continuous migration from three nearby regions - Almaty, Zhambyl and Turkestan regions” [20] However, it’s still impossible to talk about the exact number of the internal migrants in Almaty as many thousand people remain non-registered and out of the official statistics.

What’s more, Almaty keeps priority as a nationwide center of higher education. A quarter of all the higher education institutions are located in this city. In 2010/2011 academic year of the 149 higher education institutions of Kazakhstan 52 were located in Almaty. In the next year, following the nationwide reduction of the higher education institutions to 146, the 47 were still located in Almaty. And that doesn’t even count the estimates of institutions of technical and vocational education, according to which 69 out of 804 were also located in Almaty. It was not surprising, therefore, that in 2011, 72.3% of all arrivals amongst the internal migrants in Almaty were from the youth aged between 14 to 29 years old [21, p. 26].As of the beginning of the 2019/2020 academic year, of the 125 higher education institutions 41 were still located in Almaty [22]. All this points how Almaty has been traditionally an attractive place not only for the youth, but for their parents and relatives. Choosing this particular city as a place of permanent

or temporary residence is happening for a couple of reasons, at least. People tend to come to this city to meet their 2 basic needs: access to employment and education. After all, the majority of educational institutions, as well as production facilities and small and medium businesses situated in Almaty. To say nothing about entertainment and cultural life that is so necessary for the growing generation.

3. Migrants' Strategies of Coping and Patterns of Accommodation in the outskirts of Almaty: a case of conflict potential. Of particular note are the migrants' strategies of coping and patterns of their accommodation in the outskirts of Almaty. According to our investigation, internal migrants' house building strategy is based on kinship or friendship ties amongst themselves. The standard process of house building is as follows: newly arrived internal migrants form community with their relatives who arrived before. Together, they all are involved in the construction of housing. Correspondingly, the migrant's house is built by a group of interconnected people in the short time. Such a house construction tradition among the Kazakhs has been known as "Asar". For internal migrants the meaning of the tradition is that, through the joint efforts of relatives and fellow villagers you can quickly build housing for those who are in urgent need of it. As a rule, the construction speed of a new house depends on how motivated are the people who participate in the construction process. Since those who have arrived first usually seek to help to the newly arrived ones, the latter manages to build housing in the short run. For this reason, those who arrived later quite often live in nearby distance from older settlers. It might be the same street or the places in the immediate vicinity from each other. Those who arrived later may manage to build houses on their own, but it takes more time and financial resources. The last example is often applicable to the rich families, which try to achieve their goals on their own.

The process of chaotic house building, however, is not without challenge. Its impact sometimes tended to be one of the sources of radicalization of relationship between the state and internal migrants. The first evidence of hostility started at the beginning of 2014 on the outskirts of Almaty, in the districts of "Bakay", "Shanyrak-1", "Shanyrak-2" when Almaty Municipality began to demolish homes that led to an open confrontation between the police and internal migrants. The culmination of these hostilities took place on July 14, 2006 in the districts of "Shanyrak-1" and "Shanyrak-2". Uprising broke out suddenly and led to devastating results. According to official information, one police officer killed, dozens injured, hundreds of participants have been arrested. One of the participants, the famous Kazakh poet and well-known dissident of the Soviet period, Aron Atabek, has been sentenced to 18 years, with the wording "for the organization of mass disorder" [23].

According to our interview with lawyer

Denis Alimbekov, "around 250-300 houses were demolished in the district of Bakay by decree of the court in 7th July 2006. However, on 14th July 2014 the same plans for the demolition of houses in the neighborhood Shanyrak-1 and Shanyrak-2 districts led to a great bloodshed" [24]. It should be mentioned that Denis Alimbekov has been a trial procedure after the events of 14th July 2014 between police and residents of the districts Bakay, Shanyrak-1 and Shanyrak-2. As far as we understood Denis Alimbekov, it became clear the following. The inspectors of Almaty city Municipality had not had accurate information on questions of landowning. But this kind of information was necessary to initiate the process of the demolition of houses of internal migrants. Therefore, the inspectors initially have misled internal migrants, having violated the rights of the latter. Unofficially they have announced about the beginning of legalization of lands and houses that obliged internal migrants to pay an administrative penalty. Those who really needed it immediately produced an administrative penalty payment and gave the copies of identity cards, as well as other personal data. However, the inspectors of Almaty city have used these personal data for the submission of claims against internal migrants. Instead of legalization of lands and houses, the migrants received writ of summons for trial and decision about the demolition of their homes, which finally led to bloodshed on 14 July, 2014.

Zaure Nurmuhambetova resides in the district of Shanyrak-1. After the clashes with security forces in 2014, local residents elected her chairman of the "People's Committee for the protection of constitutional rights to land and housing". On July 2009, in an interview with us, Zaure Nurmukhanbetova said that the parts of the population had acquired the rights for plots of land and housing, others having rented land took residence for legal employment and social benefits in a city. There were those who managed to legalize the private property. There were also some plots of land and buildings which remained problematic, as they located in the prohibited area within the Red Line, like the water and pipelines protection zones [25]. It's completely in the logic of radical development of conflict due to the special significance of any part of land as a strategic resource for life and housing, as in case with the internal migrants. According to the last population census in Kazakhstan, in 1999, the internal migrants have already achieved one third of population of the big cities. Therefore such kind of conflicts can be classified often as intractable problems.

The ethnic structure of internal migrants also has its logical explanation. Typically, internal migrants are mainly Kazakhs, which could be easily explained. The ethnic Kazakh population has been always dominant in rural areas of the country. The logic behind this was the policy to control internal migration within the framework of a centralized

system of governance during the Soviet period. This was an ideological commitment to the idea of keeping indigenous population in rural areas where they were employed in cattle breeding and agricultural sector. This policy led to the emergence of the ethnic Kazakh dominance in the makeup of the rural population.

However, the crash of Soviet planned economy led to the decline of agriculture and production activity of the rural settlements, where the majority of local people used to work. A host of problems in the rural settlements led to deterioration of the social services and quality of life at large. And all these have occurred rather quickly and in nearly every area of agriculture. As a result, rising socio-economic gap between a city and a village had undermined the value of rural life. As of today, only few rural areas could have brought agricultural production back on a comparable scale.

This situation has tremendously stimulated internal migration aspiration within Kazakhstan. Especially since the start of the post-Soviet period nothing would have stopped the ethnic Kazakhs' migration towards big cities and their countryside. The ethnic Kazakhs who have returned to Kazakhstan from China, Uzbekistan and Mongolia aren't making up a considerable part of newcomers in the cities. There is also few groups of settlers from the zones of ecological disasters (the Aral Sea region, the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site), but their share is quite minimal. This contingent of migrants as an independent factor is not able to have significant influence in shaping the face of modern cities.

However, the dynamics of internal migration did not change the percentage of rural population, which remains relatively stable. The rural settlements are still home to more than one third of Kazakhstan's population. There is also need to state that increasing number of the youth implies a host of difficulties that would be faced by the country in the future. Statistics depicted such dynamics three decades ago. In the case of Kazakhstan, one should take into consideration the following.

Since the demographic structure of internal migration, as it was mentioned above, basically consists of the ethnic Kazakhs, a sense of belongingness to indigenous population results in their active movement within the country giving migration ethnic overtones.

Conclusion. What should be done to stop a large-scale internal migration in Kazakhstan? And should it be done? That's a tricky question. For the most part, internal migration patterns in Kazakhstan remain largely unknown. From one hand, the point here is that internal migration patterns in Kazakhstan mostly refer to inevitable urbanization process of the country. In this regard, a specific package of measures either special programs aimed at stepping down this process, as such do not exist. From the other hand, the causes of that situation originated from decline of agriculture and rural settlements. The traditional rural landscape and way of life came to nearly complete halt at a time when the limited industrial jobs and enterprises preserved in urban areas. Many internal migrants from rural areas in Kazakhstan had no other choice rather than to move towards the big cities, at best. How to revitalize and make rural areas more attractive for a life, that's another matter.

The government should adopt a set of measures for agricultural development and create new industries and job opportunities in agrarian areas. Special efforts should be made to boost peasant agriculture and rural communities, not saying about raising income and commercializing agriculture. Otherwise, until rural areas throughout Kazakhstan are far from improving people will continue to leave rural settlements as unattractive places being in favor of a big city. In this respect, the issue of internal migration must be settled on a nation-wide level. At the same time, the dynamics of internal migration illustrates how the demographic of the outskirts of towns significantly changes and increases some conflict when internal migration rate within a country reaches a very high level.

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ҮЛКЕН ҚАЛАҒА КӨШУ: ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ ІШКІ МИГРАЦИЯ

Аннотация. Мақалада Қазақстандағы ішкі көші-қон сипаты және бұл қозғалыстың елдің урбанизациясына әсері қарастырылады. Ірі қалаларда сақталып қалған өнеркәсіп, экономикалық және әлеуметтік артықшылықтар және жұмыс күшінің аумақтық бөлінісінің үздіксіз тереңдеуі ауыл тұрғындарының ірі қалаларға ағылуын туындатады. Ауыл тұрғындарын үлкен қалаларға көшуге итермелейтін себептер: жұмыс табу, білікті медициналық көмекке деген қажеттілік, үлкен қаланың мәдени-білімдік әлеуеті. Ірі қалалар бағытындағы ішкі қозғалыстардың динамикасы және олардың қалалық инфрақұрылымға әсері елдің ең ірі қаласы саналатын Алматы мысалында айқын көрінеді. Осыған байланысты авторлар Алматы агломерациясының өсуі оның қала маңындағы аудандар мен жақын маңдағы ауылдық елді мекендерге байланысты болғанын көрсетеді. Зерттеу барысында мигранттардың өмір сүру әдістері мен Алматы қаласының шетінде орналасу әдістері анықталды.

COVID-19 эпидемиясы ірі қалалардың экономикалық жағдайын нашарлатты. Ірі қалалардағы

экономикалық белсенділіктің төмендеуі жұмыссыздықтың көбеюіне әкелді, бұл өз кезегінде жақын арада әлеуметтік және саяси шиеленісті тудыруы мүмкін. Қалалық инфрақұрылымға қысымның артуын ішкі көші-қонның қала шетіне әсері Алматы қаласының мысалынан оңай байқауға болады. Қаланың географиялық жағынан ауылшаруашылық және халық көп шоғырланған аудандармен, инфрақұрылымдық әлеуетімен, сондай-ақ жайлы климаттық, білім және мәдени орта болуы ауыл тұрғындарының Алматыға жаппай қоныс аударуына себеп болатындығы көрсетілген. 1992 жылдан бастап қала халқының саны 63,5% өсті. 2019 жылы тұрғындар саны 1 854 800 адам дықұрады. Елдің жалпы халық санында қаланың үлесі 1992 жылғы 6,9% -дан 2019 жылы 10,1% -ға дейін өсті. Бұл үрдіс Алматы облысындағы шағын қалалар мен ауылдық елді мекендердегі қақтығыстардың потенциалын төмендетіп, Алматы қаласының маңындағы жағдайды күрт нашарлатты. Негізінен бұл қақтығыстардың көпшілігі шешілмеген тұрғын үй мәселелерімен байланысты.

Түйін сөздер: Қазақстан, Алматы, ішкі миграция, көші-қон заңдылықтары, жұмыссыздық, қаланың шеті, конфликт

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ПЕРЕЕЗД В БОЛЬШОЙ ГОРОД: ВНУТРЕННЯЯ МИГРАЦИЯ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается природа внутренней миграции в Казахстане и влияние этого движения на урбанизацию страны. Сохранившаяся промышленность в крупных городах, а также экономические и социальные преимущества городов и продолжающееся углубление территориального разделения рабочей силы характеризуются притоком сельского населения в крупные города. То, что побуждает людей переезжать из сельской местности в крупные города, звучит вполне обыденно. Это поиск работы, потребность в квалифицированной медицинской помощи, культурный и образовательный потенциал большого города. Динамика внутренних перемещений в направлении крупных городов и их влияние на городскую инфраструктуру хорошо видно на примере Алматы, который является крупнейшим городом страны. В связи с этим авторы отмечают, что рост Алматинской агломерации происходил за счет ее пригородных территорий и близлежащих сельских поселений. В ходе исследования были выявлены способы выживания мигрантов и способы размещения на окраинах Алматы.

Вспышка COVID-19 ухудшила экономическую ситуацию в больших городах. Снижение экономической активности в крупных городах привело к росту безработицы, что, в свою очередь, может вызвать социальную и политическую напряженность в ближайшем будущем. Растущее давление на городскую инфраструктуру можно легко увидеть на примере города Алматы, где влияние внутренней миграции на окраины города является уникальным кейсом. Географическая близость города к аграрным и густонаселенным районам, инфраструктурный потенциал и комфортная климатическая и образовательно-культурная среда - вот что часто принимают во внимание сельские семьи, если они решили мигрировать в Алматы. С 1992 года население города выросло на 63,5%. В 2019 году население составляло 1 854 800 человек. Доля города в общей численности населения страны увеличилась с 6,9% в 1992 году до 10,1% в 2019 году. В то же время перемещение на небольшие расстояния между малыми городами и сельскими поселениями в Алматинской области снизило конфликтный потенциал в местах исхода населения и ухудшило ситуацию на окраинах Алматы. Большинство конфликтов так или иначе связаны с нерешенными жилищными вопросами.

Ключевые слова: Казахстан, Алматы, внутренняя миграция, модели миграции, безработица, окраины городов, конфликт.

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МАЗМҰНЫ
Экономика – Экономика - Economics

Абиева С.Н., Kurmantaeva A.Zh. Temirova Zh.Zh. ИНВЕСТИЦИЯЛЫҚ КЛИМАТ-ШЕТЕЛДІК ИНВЕСТИЦИЯЛАРДЫ ТАРТУ ҮШІН ҚАЖЕТТІ ШАРТ.....	6
Azimkhan A., Sartova R.B., Bakpayeva A.K. ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT CONDITION OF SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESSES IN THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN.....	14
Bielova I., Bukhtiarova A., Taraniuk L., D'yakonova I., Pakhnenko O. ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY AS A FACTOR OF INFLUENCE ON MORTALITY FROM COVID-19.....	19
Bekbusinova G.K., Baymbetova A.B., Meldebekova A.D., Zhakhmetova A.K. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INTERACTION OF THE NATIONAL FINANCIAL AND CREDIT SYSTEMS OF THE EAEU COUNTRIES.....	27
Dyulger G.P., Dyulger P.G., Alikhanov O., Latynina E.S., Baimukanov D.A. MODERN METHODS OF DIAGNOSIS OF MAMMARY TUMOR AND TUMOR-LIKE LESIONS IN CATS.....	33
Gerasymchuk N.A., Stepasyuk L.M, Titenko Z.M., Yermolenko I. M. MARKET COMPETITION AT THE LEVEL OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS DISTRIBUTION.....	40
Hutorov A., Gutorov O., Krasnorutskyy O., Groshev S., Yermolenko O. SMART-SPECIALIZATION DEVELOPMENT OF FARMS.....	45
Zhakupov Y., Berzhanova A. EVALUATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN.....	53
Kazbekova L., Utegenova K., Bekesheva D., Akhmetova A., Kultanova N. APPROACHES TO THE ASSESSMENT OF CORPORATE MANAGEMENT EFFECTIVENESS.....	58
Kenzhegaliyeva Z. Zh., Mussayeva A.A., Igaliyeva L.N. ANALYSIS OF HOUSING AND UTILITIES SECTOR ACTIVITIES IN ENSURING ENVIRONMENTAL SAFETY IN ATYRAU.....	65
Kovalenko V., Sheludko S., Sergeeva O., Kyriazova T., Yesina O. CREDIT SUPPORT FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT: COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF UKRAINE AND KAZAKHSTAN.....	72
Mukina G.S., Sultanova Z.Kh., Aiguzhinova D.Z., Amerxanova A.Kh., Kenzhin Zh.B. PREDICTIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE NECESSITY FOR HUMAN RESOURCES IN THE REGIONS.....	81
Mukhamedkhanova A. B., Tulemetova A. S., Zhuryinov G.M. INTERACTION BETWEEN INNOVATION FORESIGHT AND ENSURING THE COMPETITIVENESS OF BUSINESS STRUCTURES.....	86
Maisigova L.A., Serikova M.A., Moldashbayeva L.P., Zhumatayeva B.A., Varaksa N.G. EDUCATION PERFORMANCE AUDIT.....	92

Nurzhanova A., Niyazbekova Sh., Issayeva B., Kamyshova A., Popova E. MECHANISMS FOR REDUCING ECONOMIC RISKS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL AND MEDIUM BUSINESSES OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN.....	99
Sartova S.B., Nurbayeva G.E., Bayandina G.D., Khasenova S.M. MODERN APPROACHES TO THE ASSESSMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES AS THE MAIN FACTOR OF REGIONAL COMPETITIVENESS.....	104
Semenov V.G. , Baimukanov A.D., Alentayev A.S., Mudarisov R.M., Karynbayev A.K. DAIRY PRODUCTIVITY OF HOLSTEIN COWS OF DIFFERENT BREEDINGS UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF COMMERCIAL DAIRY FARMS.....	110
Sembiyeva L.M., Zhagyparova A.O., Tulegenova Zh.U., Orynbekova G.A., Vasyl Derii. DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF ORGANIZATION OF STATE AUDIT TYPES.....	116
Shamuratova N.B., Baitilenova Y.S., Narenova A.N., Nazikova Zh.A., Kamerova A.A. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BIOFUELS WITH A FEEDSTOCK FUEL COMPLEX.....	122
Shamshudinova G.T., Altybassarova M.A., Akhmejanova G.B., Turlybekova A.M., Aitzhanova D.N. THE POPULATION CENSUS AS A LARGE-SCALE AND MULTI-PURPOSE SOURCE OF THE STATE INFORMATION.....	128
Zakharkin O.O., Hrytsenko L. L., Zakharkina L. S., Myroshnychenko Iu. O. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF RETURN AND VOLATILITY OF THE KAZAKH AND UKRAINIAN STOCK MARKET SUBJECT TO THE INVESTMENT TIME HORIZON.....	133

Құқықтану - Юриспруденция - Law

Arabaev Ch.I., Ryskulov Sh.D., Zhylkichieva K.S. ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF INCOME OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS IN CIVIL AND BUDGETARY LEGISLATION OF THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC.....	139
Altybaeva A.T. CONTROL FUNCTION OF PARLIAMENT AND PRINCIPLE OF DIVISION OF POWERS.....	148
Akhmejanova G.B., Mussabekova N.M., Voronova T.E., Shamshudinova G.T., Avilkhan A. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE AND RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN: CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL ASPECTS.....	153
Plotskaya O. A., COMMON LAW IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARIAN SOURCES.....	159
Yakhyaev M.Y. CONDITIONS FOR THE OCCURRENCE OF OBLIGATIONS TO COMPENSATE FOR DAMAGE CAUSED BY LAWFUL ACTIONS OF STATE BODIES, AS WELL AS THEIR OFFICIALS.....	165

Педагогика – Педагогика - Pedagogy

Anzorova S., Madiyarova D., Zubets A., Zhumadilova G., Alieva S., Tlessova E. INTEGRATION OF DIGITAL AND PEDAGOGICAL TECHNOLOGIES IN THE PROCESS OF TEACHING STUDENTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND PEDAGOGICAL AREAS OF TRAINING.....	170
Kondratska L.A., Romanovska L.I., Natsiuk M.B., Dovgan O.Z., Kravchyna T.V. CURRENT PROJECTS OF EDUCATIONAL DOMAIN: FROM MASK EXPANSION TO LIVE BREATHING.....	176

Yunusov A.A., Zhokhov A.L., Yunusova A.A., Suleimenova G., Zhumadullayev D.K. DIALOGUE OF CULTURES AS A TOOL OF THE MODERN PROFESSIONAL OF PEDAGOGICAL PROFILE.....	184
---	-----

Филология – Филология - Philology

Bazarbayeva Z.M., Chukayeva T.K. FOLKLORIC DISCOURSE AS AN OBJECT OF PHILOLOGICAL RESEARCH.....	190
---	-----

Жеменей И., Батырхан Б.Ш. САҒДИ МЕН АБАЙДЫҢ РУХАНИ САБАҚТАСТЫҒЫ.....	196
--	-----

Рахимбекова Г.О., Жумадилаева О.А. ISSUES OF TEACHING STUDENTS OF NON-LINGUISTIC UNIVERSITIES A PROFESSIONALLY-ORIENTED FOREIGN LANGUAGE.....	203
---	-----

Omarova A.K., Kaztuganova A.Zh., Turmagambetova B., Tursunova G. KAZAKH ELITE AND MUSIC (1920-1930).....	208
--	-----

Оразалиева Э. Н. ТІЛ КӨРНЕКІЛІГІ – ӨЗГЕШЕ ТАНЫМ ӘЛЕМІ.....	214
--	-----

Тарих – История - History

Терещенко В.М. НЕБО НОМАДОВ ВЕЛИКОЙ СТЕПИ.....	222
--	-----

Саясаттану – Политология – Political science

Altybassarova M.A., Moldabayeva S.K., Rakhmetova D.A. THE MAIN PREREQUISITES FOR THE EMERGENCE AND SPREAD OF EXTREMISM IN THE MODERN SOCIETY.....	230
---	-----

Assanbayev M.B., Kilybayev T. MOVING TO A BIG CITY: INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERNS IN KAZAKHSTAN.....	235
--	-----

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