

THE EMERGENCE OF BIPOLAR SOCIETY IN KAZAKHSTAN UNDER CONDITIONS OF ITS TRANSFORMATION INTO A COLONY-SETTLEMENT*

¹*Kadyrzhanov Rustem*, ²*Maulen Aiganym*

^{1,2}*Institute of Philosophy, Political Science and Religious Studies CS MSHE RK (Almaty, Kazakhstan)*

¹*rustem_kadyrzhan@mail.ru*, ²*aikowa_95_15@mail.ru*

¹*Кадыржанов Рустем Казахбаевич*, ²*Маулен Айганым*

^{1,2}*Институт философии, политологии и религиоведения КН МНВО РК (Алматы, Казахстан)*

¹*rustem_kadyrzhan@mail.ru*, ²*aikowa_95_15@mail.ru*

Annotation. The article substantiates that the emergence of a bipolar demographic structure of the population of Kazakhstan does not date back to the Soviet period, as is commonly believed, but to the colonial period of its history. The emergence of a bipolar society in Kazakhstan occurred in the period from the 1860s to 1917 during the transformation of Kazakhstan from a protectorate into a colony-settlement of Russia. The resettlement policy of the tsarist authorities had a decisive influence on the immigration of about three million peasants from the European part of Russia to Kazakhstan, to whom the authorities transferred pasture lands taken from the Kazakh nomads. In the emerged bipolar society, interethnic tension increased sharply, which ultimately led to the uprising of 1916. At the same time, interethnic tension and uprising contributed to the emergence and growth of national self-awareness of the Kazakhs.

Key words: Kazakhstan, bipolar society, colony, settlement

Introduction

The main purpose of the article is to explore the emergence of a bipolar society in Kazakhstan since the 1860s until 1917, when Kazakhstan was transformed into a settlement colony after Russian authorities resettled peasants from the European part of the empire and transferred them nomadic pasture lands. These processes, on the one hand, worsened the socio-economic situation of the Kazakhs, putting them on the brink of survival. On the other hand, the seizure of their lands in favor of the settler colonists expanded interethnic contacts in the steppe and contributed to the emergence of their ethnonational identity.

* The article was prepared as part of a grant funding project AP 14871282 «Ethnopolitical demography and transformation the transformation of bipolar society in Kazakhstan»

During the Soviet period, as part of the campaigns of industrialization, collectivization, and the rise of Virgin Lands, the trend of absolute and relative reduction of Kazakhs and the simultaneous increase of Russian and other Soviet peoples in Kazakhstan gained new momentum. As a result, the bipolar society in the republic remained, and the Kazakhs became a minority in it. This led to the Russification of the Kazakhs and other negative consequences for their national building.

Today in Kazakhstan, due attention is not paid to the study of the influence of ethno-demographic processes, in particular, the bipolar structure of the population on national building. In this regard, the collective book published back in 1999, edited by the Norwegian scientist Pal Kolsto, "Ethnic integration and nation-building in post-Soviet societies: Latvia and Kazakhstan" [1] remains relevant. Today, when the post-Soviet ethno-demographic dynamics has brought to a transformation of the bipolar society in Kazakhstan, it is necessary to study the evolution of the bipolar society of Kazakhstan and its influence on the national building at its various historical stages.

Methodology

The main subject of this article is the bipolar society in Kazakhstan at the historical stage of its colonial dependence on Russia. Therefore, in the theoretical and methodological aspect, we relied on the theory of bipolar societies presented in the works of D. Horowitz [8], P. Kolsto [1], R. Milne [2]. In the article, we relied on historical and demographic studies of Kazakhstan in the period 1860-1917, when it transformed into a colony-settlement of Russia resulted from the resettlement policy of the tsarist authorities. In this analysis, we relied on the works of B. Dave [3], N. Masanov [4] and M. Olcott [5].

The Transformation of Kazakhstan Into a Colony-Settlement of Russia

Although the Kazakh khans and sultans became Russian subjects back in the eighteenth century, the colonization of the Kazakh lands by the tsarist authorities began almost a hundred years later from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The colonization of the Kazakhs and the modernization based on it were initially associated with the management of the nomadic society by the Russian authorities, therefore administrative and legal reforms were of primary importance. At the same time, the Kazakhs themselves continued, like their fathers and ancestors, to live a nomadic lifestyle, roaming with their cattle across the endless steppes.

The situation in the Kazakh lands began to change after the reform of Emperor Alexander II, who freed millions of peasants throughout Russia from serfdom. The tsarist authorities faced with the problem of providing the peasants with land, and their eyes turned to the east - to Kazakhstan and Siberia. In 1868, the tsarist government adopted the Temporary Regulations on the Steppe Regions of Kazakhstan,

according to which the Kazakh lands became the property of the Russian state. From this time on, the resettlement of peasants from the European part of Russia to Kazakhstan began, marking a new stage in the colonization of Kazakh lands. From 1865 to 1895 about 35,000 migrants from the European part of Russia moved to Kazakhstan, increasing pressure on limited land and water resources and thereby causing a reduction in Kazakh pastures [3; 38].

The new stage of colonization of Kazakhstan, which began with the resettlement of Russian peasants to Kazakh lands in the 1860s, meant the transformation of Kazakhstan from a protectorate of Russia into its colony-settlement. This type of colony describes the situation when a colony becomes a place of residence for colonists who migrated from the metropolis, that is, they begin to live on occupied lands. The USA, Canada, Australia and many other countries initially existed as colony-settlements, later turning into states independent from the mother country.

Trend of Reduction in the Share of Kazakhs in the Population of Kazakhstan

With the transformation of Kazakhstan into a Russian colony-settlement general population of the Kazakh lands, a growing trend of a decrease in the share of the indigenous population and a simultaneous increase in the share of the Russian colonists arose in the general population. This trend turned out to be long-term in its manifestation in the historical evolution of Kazakhstan, lasting for almost a century until the 60s of the twentieth century.

Although the nomadic Kazakhs never conducted their own census, nevertheless, according to many observations, their numbers were quite stable for a long time, neither increasing nor decreasing significantly. Experts explain that nomadic cattle breeding itself and the living conditions of the Kazakhs in the steppe area were in close connection with the number of livestock, which, in turn, depended on the natural and climatic conditions of the Kazakh lands, such as precipitation, drought, various cycles and changes under these conditions [4].

If there are no long-term natural disasters in the life of a nomadic people that sharply worsen living conditions in the steppe, then the balance between the number of people and livestock does not undergo significant changes and, accordingly, the indigenous population of the steppe remains rather stable in number over a long time. As for another external factor of a socio-political nature, such as the colonization of Kazakh lands, until the end of the nineteenth century, it did not have a significant impact on the population of the Kazakhs. This is due, in our opinion, to the fact that during this period the taking of pastures from the nomadic population in favor of Russian peasant colonists had not yet acquired the gigantic proportions that happened later at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The first Russian population censuses, 1897 and 1913, quite convincingly demonstrated the trend of a decrease in the share of Kazakhs on their lands and

an increase in the share of Russian colonist settlers, which began in the 1860s. We must note that in these two Russian censuses there was no such category of population registration as a person's nationality or ethnicity. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, national identity did not yet have the meaning for individuals and census authorities that it acquired in subsequent decades. In both Russian censuses, the leading religious identity for a person and society of that time was present in the form of a question about his religion. Moreover, in the 1897 census there was a question about linguistic identity, whereas in the 1914 census it was absent.

Thanks to the question of linguistic identity, we can today judge the number of certain peoples who spoke the languages that they indicated in the 1897 census. At that time, the Russia's peoples, including the Kazakhs, had a closer, one might say, unambiguous connection between the language and ethnicity, which made it possible to judge a person's nationality based on linguistic identity. According to the results of the Russian census of 1897, 4 million 84 thousand people spoke the Kyrgyz-Kaisak language. From this, however, one cannot conclude that all of them are Kazakhs, since the Kyrgyz-Kaisak people in pre-revolutionary Russia meant both the current Kazakhs and the current Kyrgyz. At that time, they were considered one people speaking the same language, so under the number 4.084 thousand there are hidden two peoples that are close, but nevertheless, different for today.

Based on additional indicators from the materials of the Russian census of 1897, the American researcher of Kazakhstan Martha Olcott was able to determine that the number of Kazakhs in the above figure speaking the Kyrgyz-Kaisak language was 3.39 million people, which means that the number of Kyrgyz at that time was 694 thousand people. In percentage terms, the share of Kazakhs among the total population living on Kazakh lands was 81.7%, and the share of the settled population, consisting of Cossacks, Russian migrant peasants, and local agricultural peoples, was 15.7% [5; 83, 90]. These 1897 Russian census data recorded a trend of decreasing percentage of Kazakhs and increasing percentage of settler-colonials starting in the 1860s.

The Resettlement Policy of Tsarism and the Transformation of Kazakhstan Into a Bipolar Society

The main wave of peasant colonization in Kazakhstan began after 1906, when Stolypin's reforms provided the administrative prerequisites for the mass resettlement of peasants from the European part of Russia to Kazakhstan. As a result, by 1914, Russian peasants seized 40 million dessiatines of Kazakh lands, which amounted to 20 percent of their total area. By 1916, the share of Russian settlers in the four steppe regions reached 41.6% of their total population. By that time, in the territories that make up modern Kazakhstan (the Steppe region together with Semirechye and Syrdarya region), there were already about 3 million settlers, while the number of Kazakhs was not much higher [3; 38].

We see, therefore, that already before the revolution of 1917 in Russia, Kazakhs made up only 58.4% of the population living here on their land, and colonist settlers already made up 41.6% of the population. In other words, it arose in the 1860s the trend of a reduction in the share of the indigenous Kazakh population in their lands and a simultaneous increase in the peasant population who moved here from European Russia led to the formation of a bipolar society in Kazakhstan.

However, according to one of the leaders of the “Kazakh” newspaper, an unsigned editorial article dated January 4, 1915 gives a figure of six million of the Kazakh population. This estimate, of course, is a rough one, indirectly based on the results of the 1913 Russian census. In accordance with the results of this census, there were counted one million tents, or yurts, that is, in modern parlance, households among the Kazakhs during that period. According to the author of the editorial, on average, Kazakhs have six people per yurt (household). In accordance with these calculations, the number of Kazakhs in the first half of the 1910s turns out to be six million people [6; 5].

If we compare the resulting estimates of the number of Kazakhs based on the materials of the 1913 Russian census and the estimates of the Kazakh population based on the approximate estimate of the Kazakh newspaper in January 1915, then a serious discrepancy is evident between these estimates. According to the Kazakh newspaper, the number of Kazakhs was about six million people, and according to indirect results of the 1913 census, a little more than four million people. The difference between these estimates is about two million people, which is a very big significance for such a small people as the Kazakhs.

Such a large discrepancy in the number of the Kazakhs at the beginning of the twentieth century undoubtedly requires its own scientific explanation. As far as we know, there is currently no such explanation in the scientific literature for various reasons. However, we would like to draw attention not so much to the difference in estimates of the number of Kazakhs between the national newspaper and the official census conducted by the state. Much more important, from our point of view, is the difference between these institutions in the approach to whether the number of nations and ethnic groups in the Russian Empire must be included into count or not. Although the Kazakh newspaper was not able, naturally, conduct a census, nevertheless, the question of the number of the Kazakhs was of paramount interest to it. At the same time, the Russian authorities, when organizing the census, did not pay any attention to counting the number of their peoples (or nations and nationalities in modern terminology).

Census and National Imagination

With the development of modernization processes from the mid-nineteenth century, national processes began to come to the fore, within which nations and national states began to emerge as a new form of socio-political organization of

society. National processes in imperial Russia and around it became the reality of its domestic and foreign policy. Like other empires that existed at that time, Russia began to imitate its imperial statehood in the form of a national state. Benedict Anderson called this imitation policy of Russia and other empires “official nationalism” [7; 83-112].

In the internal life of the Russian Empire in its numerous colonies and outskirts, emerging national processes began to give rise to ethnonational movements, parties, newspapers and other means of expressing their interests. Population censuses are beginning to play a major role in these processes, contributing to the emergence and growth of national imagination and national identity. It is no coincidence that B. Anderson calls the census, along with geographical maps and museums, the most important factors of the national imagination [5; 163-186].

The knowledge of the size of a nation obtained through a census is similar in its role to the national imagination to the territorial boundary, which delineates the national territory as the most important attribute of the nation. As Anderson notes, a nation imagines itself as limited in its territory and population, that is, as having borders both in the size of its land, in which the nation lives and beyond which another nation lives, and in the size of its numbers, beyond which other nations are counted [5; 5]. The border and the map depicting it answer the question: where is our land, where does it end and where does someone else’s land begin? Similarly, the size of a nation answers the question: how many of us are there on our land? Are we many or few in comparison with other nations? Museums answer the question: where do we come from and since what time?

The more developed the national imagination, the stronger the interest of the elites and masses in their numbers, land and past. In this regard, the mention of its author in the newspaper “Kazakh” about the number of Kazakhs in the context of the 1913 Russian population census seems completely unsurprising. For national elites, the question of the size of their nation is of paramount importance, revealing one of the main attributes of the nation. Elites always strive to present their nation as more numerous, seeing this as an indicator of its power. Perhaps that is why the author of the mentioned editorial article in the “Kazakh” newspaper presented the size of the Kazakh nation at that time as six million people, which, as we noted above, is significantly more than the indirect data of the 1913 census.

At the same time, the authorities of imperial Russia tried to downplay the number of Kazakhs and their other peoples, or completely silence the question of their nationality. As throughout the world, in Tsarist Russia the national movement of its numerous colonial peoples rose and expanded. By fighting these movements with punitive methods, Russia had earned the name “prison of nations.”

Russia sought to create loyal subjects from its colonial peoples, including the Kazakhs. The tsarist authorities saw religion as one of the main means of solving this problem, on the way to converting subordinate peoples into Orthodox Christians. In the case of the sedentary peoples of Central Asia, the tsarist authorities

understood the deep roots of Islam among them and therefore did not particularly try to convert them to Orthodoxy. However, in the case of the nomadic peoples of this region, the colonial authorities saw less influence of Islam among them, so they made more efforts to convert them to Orthodoxy, but did not achieve any significant success along the way.

At the same time, the authorities tried in every possible way to avoid everything that connect their subjects with the national identity, looking this in their language, culture, history, customs, way of life, land, territory, etc. Among the factors of national identity, a large place belongs to the size of the nation, which is determined during the census. However, the Russian authorities sought to avoid the imagination of its people as a nation and perceive themselves in this matter, including their numbers. Although the census was necessary and the authorities conducted it twice, they sought to minimize as much as possible social factors that were in one way or another connected with the nation and the national identity of their subjects.

In the list of questions in the 1897 census, the authorities included a question about the language of their subjects, since language is the most important factor in social communication. Knowledge of the languages used in the empire and the number of their speakers gave the authorities important information about the society they governed. However, in the emerging national communities of the peoples of Russia, information on the number of speakers of their language gives an almost complete picture of the number of these peoples, many of whom saw themselves as a nation. Therefore, the imperial authorities of Russia, in our opinion, in the fight against national movements of their peoples, excluded the language from the next census of 1913. They thereby showed that it was desirable for them that their subjects identify themselves as Orthodox, Muslims, Jews, etc., but not like Ukrainians, Georgians, Kazakhs, Tatars, Jews, etc.

Bipolar Society and the Emergence of the Kazakh Nation

As we wrote above, a bipolar society had developed in Kazakhstan after the reduction of the Kazakhs' share and of the absolute and relative increase in the number of colonist settlers from the European part of Russia.

We bear in mind the differences in the assessment of the number of Kazakhs, associated with the peculiarities of the 1897 and 1913 Russian censuses. Despite this, we believe that by 1916, a demographic structure of the population in Kazakhstan had developed in the ratio of 60:40, where the number 60 expresses the proportion of Kazakhs, and 40 expresses the proportion of settler colonists. This ratio fully corresponds to the definition of a bipolar society.

A bipolar society is a society in which two ethnic, religious or other groups, equal or fairly close in size to each other, constitute the majority of the population of this society, while other groups are minorities in it. In his classic book *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (1985), Donald Horowitz defines such societies as centrally fo-

cused because their structure with two poles, between which there are no intermediary social groups, focuses both poles on mastering or influencing the center [8; 39].

Along with centrally focused systems, Horowitz identifies dispersed systems of multiethnic societies. In dispersed systems, such as, for example, Tanzania, there are several, three or more, main ethnic groups, none of which is capable of dominating the others. Ethnic conflicts in such societies occur, as a rule, on the periphery of the system, while the center of the system is able to position itself as a disinterested arbiter, rising above private group interests. Ethnic tensions in dispersed societies often become serious, but they never involve competition for control of the state or threaten its existence. Under such circumstances, Horowitz notes, the state usually has a margin of safety, since the demands of one group can be satisfied painlessly for the interests of other groups [8; 38].

The situation is different in centrally focused systems in Horowitz's typology. Such systems bear a high potential of conflict between its two poles, that is, between the main groups. Due to their bipolar structure, conflicts and contradictions between two polar opposite groups cannot be distributed among other parts, groups and compartments of social integrity, but cover this entire integrity in its comprehensiveness. When, in a bipolar society, Horowitz notes, there is conflict between two major groups, there is little opportunity for the center of the political system to appease one group without antagonizing the other. The conflict between the two main ethnic groups covers the entire society and state [8; 39].

The ethnodemographic structure of the population in colonial Kazakhstan in the second decade of the twentieth century was fully consistent with the definition of a bipolar society in the form of a centrally focused system. There were two main opposing groups, consisting of the indigenous Kazakh population and colonist settlers from the European part of Russia, which together covered the entire population of the Kazakh lands. Until a certain point, they coexisted in isolation from each other, when the Kazakhs grazed cattle on their pastures, and the Russians and peasants of other nationalities farmed on lands taken from the Kazakhs. However, when the mass of arriving peasants became comparable to the Kazakh population, and the seizure of land from them acquired an alarming proportion, the likelihood of interethnic conflict in what had become a bipolar society increased sharply.

The psychological background of ethnic tension intensifies when under the growth of the newcomer population, the local people experience a sense of demographic insecurity. This situation gives rise to a fear among the local people of extinction in the face of an increasing influx of foreign peoples. It is precisely how "fear of extinction" that Horowitz describes the situation that many peoples in different parts of the world have faced or continue to face [8; 175-181].

In bipolar societies, ethnic tensions often lead to conflicts between the two main groups. In colonial Kazakhstan and Turkestan, ethnic tensions between the local population and colonists arriving from the European part of Russia led to the uprising of 1916. The immediate impetus for the uprising was the decree of Tsar Nicholas II

of June 25, 1916 on the conscription of the *inorodtsy* population of Turkestan and the Steppe Territory in rear work in the front-line areas. Although the local population resisted primarily against the tsarist authorities, immigrants from the European part of Russia were also targets of significant attacks. There were many casualties, destruction and other results of aggression among colonists. Therefore, it would be correct to say that the 1916 uprising was at the same time an interethnic conflict.

The 1916 uprising initially broke out in Turkestan, in what is now Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, but then spread to other parts of the region that today make up Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Semirechye, Turgai and the Irtysh region became major centers of uprising. The uprising had brought a large number of casualties, especially among the local population, under the attacks of the regular tsarist army. However, in terms of the growth of national identity, such an event played a huge role. It was at this time that the birth of the Kazakh nation took place.

When talking about the origins of the Kazakh nation, we mean the nation as the unity of political and cultural communities in a certain territory. In this form, nations appear in human history only with the development of modernization processes, industrial society and capitalism, that is, in the nineteenth century. As an ethnic group leading a nomadic lifestyle with its own language, culture, and customs, the Kazakhs appeared much earlier. However, such an ethnic group, formed in a traditional society, before and outside of industrial society, is not a nation in a proper sense.

The origin and emergence of the Kazakh nation was a fairly long socio-historical process, lasting several decades in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This process took place in the context of the colonial modernization of Kazakhstan, in which demographic and migration processes played a major role, leading to the formation of a bipolar society in it. Therefore, the formation of a bipolar society in Kazakhstan in the process of the influx of migrant peasants and transformation into a colony-settlement with a reduction in the share of indigenous people in the country's population became one of the main factors in the emergence of the Kazakh nation. The uprising that took place in Turkestan and Kazakhstan in 1916 was an event that tragically highlighted the process of the birth of the Kazakh nation. The existence of the Kazakh nation, which, represented by the Alash party, demanded autonomy and then an independent state, became a *fait accompli* for everyone.

Conclusion

The article traced the emergence of the bipolar structure of the population of Kazakhstan in the context of its transformation from a protectorate of Russia, which indirectly controlled a nomadic society through the Kazakh khans and sultans, into a colony-settlement with an increasing peasant population from the European part of the empire. This transformation became a result of the policy of resettling peasants from the European part of Russia and allocating them with land on the territory of Kazakhstan at the expense of the Kazakh pastures. This policy resulted

in an influx of a huge mass of peasants at the beginning of the twentieth century, comparable in size to the population of the indigenous people of Kazakhstan. As a result, a bipolar population structure has developed in Kazakhstan, which, as world experience shows, carries a potential for conflict. This potential became a reality in 1916, when a rebellion broke out in Kazakhstan and Turkestan against the tsarist policies of colonialism and settler colonists from Russia.

The bipolar society that emerged during the considered period of Kazakhstan's history became the first stage in its evolution. It was during this period that a tendency arose to reduce the share of Kazakhs in the total population of the Kazakh lands and the formation of a bipolar Kazakh-Russian society began. The second stage is associated with the Soviet period in the history of Kazakhstan (1920-1991), in which until the 1960s there had been an absolute and relative decrease in the number of Kazakhs in the population of Kazakhstan and the bipolar structure of society with Kazakhs as a demographic minority had come to reality. Finally, the third stage of periodization of the history of Kazakhstan in the context of the processes of modernization and nation-building opens with the beginning of the period of independence in 1991, when these processes are included in the development agenda of the country in a new era. During this period, there was a demographic growth of the Kazakhs and a significant reduction in the Russian population, which constituted the main content of the post-Soviet ethno-demographic dynamics in Kazakhstan. This period is associated with the transformation of the bipolar society in Kazakhstan towards the demographic dominance of the Kazakhs, which is one of the important factors in the formation of the national state in the country. At the same time, the question of whether the demographic dominance of the Kazakhs and the transformation of a bipolar society is a sufficient condition for the formation of a national state in Kazakhstan requires analysis.

List of references

1 Kolsto P. (ed.). Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Post-Soviet Societies: An Investigation of Latvia and Kazakhstan. – Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999.

2 Milne R.S. Politics in Ethnically Bipolar Societies. – Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981.

3 Dave B. Kazakhstan: Ethnicity, Language and Power. – London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

4 Масанов Н. Миграционные метаморфозы Казахстана. – В кн.: Вяткин А., Космарская Н., Панарин С. В движении добровольном и принудительном: Постсоветские миграции в Евразии. – М.: Наталис, 1999. – С. 127-152.

5 Olcott M.B. The Kazakhs, 2nd edition. – Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1995.

6 «Қазақ» газеті. 1915 жыл / Құраст.: С.О.Смағұлова, Г.М.Абиқова. – Алматы: «Елтаным баспасы», 2017. – 528 бет.

7 Anderson B. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. – London and New York: Verso. – Revised edition, 2000.

8 Horowitz D. Ethnic Groups in Conflict. – Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1985.

Transliteration

1 Kolsto P. (ed.). Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Post-Soviet Societies: An Investigation of Latvia and Kazakhstan. – Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999.

2 Milne R.S. Politics in Ethnically Bipolar Societies. – Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981.

3 Dave B. Kazakhstan: Ethnicity, Language and Power. – London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

4 Massanov N. Migratsionnye metamorfozy Kazakhstana [Migration Metamorphoses of Kazakhstan]. – V kn.: Vyatkin A., Kosmarskaya N., Panarin S. V dvizhenii dobrovol'nom i prinuditel'nom: Postsovetskie migratsii v Evrazii. – M.: Natalis, 1999. – S. 127-152.

5 Olcott M.B. The Kazakhs, 2nd edition. – Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1995.

6 «Kazak» gazetі. 1915 zhyl [«Kazakh» Newspaper. 1915 Year] / Kurast.: S.O. Smagulova, G.M. Abdikova. – Almaty: “Eltanym baspasy”, 2017. – 528 b.

7 Anderson B. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. – London and New York: Verso. – Revised edition, 2000.

8 Horowitz D. Ethnic Groups in Conflict. – Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1985.

Қадыржанов Р.Қ., Маулен А.

Возникновение биполярного общества в условиях трансформации Казахстана в колонию-поселение

Аннотация. В статье обосновывается, что возникновение биполярной демографической структуры населения Казахстана относится не к советскому периоду, как это принято считать, а к колониальному периоду его истории. Возникновение биполярного общества в Казахстане происходило в период с 1860-х гг. по 1917 г. в ходе трансформации Казахстана из протектората в колонию-поселение России. Решающее влияние на эту трансформацию оказала переселенческая политика царских властей, в результате которой из европейской части России в Казахстан переселилось около трех миллионов крестьян, которым власти передавали отнятые у казахских кочевников пастбищные земли. В возникшем биполярном обществе резко возросла межэтническая напряженность, что в итоге привело к восстанию 1916 г. В то же время межэтническая напряженность и восстание способствовали появлению и росту национального самосознания казахов.

Ключевые слова: Казахстан, биполярное общество, колония, поселение.

Қадыржанов Р.Қ., Маулен А.

Қазақстанның отарлы-қонысқа айналуы жағдайындағы биполярлық қоғамның пайда болуы

Аңдатпа. Мақалада Қазақстан халқының биполярлық демографиялық құрылымының пайда болуы кеңестік кезеңге емес, оны отаршылдық кезеңге жатқызылады. Қазақстанда биполярлық қоғамның пайда болуы 1860-1917 жылдар аралығында Қазақстанның протектораттан Ресейдің колониялық-отырысқа айналуы кезінде болды. Бұл трансформацияға патша өкіметінің қоныс аудару саясаты шешуші әсер етті, нәтижесінде Ресейдің еуропалық бөлігінен Қазақстанға үш миллионға жуық шаруалар қоныс аударды, билік оларға қазақ көшпелілерінен тартып алған жайылымдық жерлерді берді. Пайда болған биполярлық қоғамда этносаралық шиеленіс күрт өсіп, нәтижесінде 1916 жылғы көтеріліске әкелді. Сонымен бірге этносаралық шиеленіс пен көтеріліс қазақтардың ұлттық санасының пайда болуына және өсуіне ықпал етті.

Түйін сөздер: Қазақстан, биполярлық қоғам, колония, қоныстандыру.