

On the Issue of Ethnodemographic Changes in Kyrgyzstan in the 1920s-1930s

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Abstract. The article analyzes a number of problems caused by complex ethnodemographic processes in the situation of autonomous and union statehood of Kyrgyzstan. Special attention is paid to the ambiguous influence of migration processes on changes in the number, national and social composition of the population. It is shown that large-scale socio-economic transformations have caused new phenomena in the demographic and migration situation. New sources are put into circulation, a comparative analysis of statistical data on ethnodemographic processes is carried out, including on the example of some of the most representative regions of the republic. It is concluded that the interaction and assimilation of different ethnic groups led to the cultural enrichment of the region and the complication of interethnic interaction.

Keywords: Kyrgyzstan, ethnodemography, ethnic composition of the population, migration, Soviet national policy

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Introduction

Kyrgyzstan is a multicultural and multinational state, and researches of the dynamics of ethnodemographic changes help to understand the way different ethnic groups formed and interacted on its territory, which is important for ensuring cultural diversity and socio-cultural integration in modern society.

The study of the dynamics of ethnodemographic changes in Kyrgyzstan in the 1920s and the 1930s is especially relevant, when the state structure was being established and the territorial organization as well as the ethnic composition of the population were transforming. Before the revolution, Kyrgyzstan was divided into different administrative and territorial units which hardly had a shape of a unified political entity. The formation of the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region and the change in its status by the end of the 1930s contributed to strengthening the republic's capabilities in socio-economic and cultural development. In the context of large-scale transformations, various demographic changes took place, including migration processes, which affected the population and national composition, making it more complex and diverse.

Historical and demographic studies of Central Asia, including the periods before and after the 1917 revolution, include the work of such scientists as G.K.Krongardt [14] and N.E.Bekmakhanova [4], each of whom considered demographic aspects and the history of the population in different periods of time. In Soviet times, the study of the ethnodemographic development of Kyrgyzstan, including the 1920s–1950s, adhered to the concept of a class approach. In the works of N.E.Bekmakhanova, G.K.Krongardt, V.S.Zhelokhovtsev, the changes in the social structure of the population in the demographic context and the dynamics of the number of social groups were considered in detail. Thus, V.S.Zhelokhovtsev [8] attracted a wide range of sources to analyse the population base by social groups. V.M.Ploskikh [21] presented a historical and demographic analysis of the population change in the republic until the middle of the XX century. These studies demonstrate various aspects of the demographic development in Kyrgyzstan, including socio-cultural and professional and educational changes characteristic of the 1920s and 1930s. However, the uneven study of ethnodemographic processes in Kyrgyzstan persisted due to a particular incompleteness of sources, and in recent times it has become possible to conduct a more comprehensive analysis in the population size and ethnic composition of the peoples in Kyrgyzstan, taking into account modern methodological tools and newly identified sources.

Russian historians focus on the socio-cultural and demographic transformations of the Kyrgyz population. Sh.D.Batrybayeva is most actively engaged in studying these issues [3]. She provides a general description of such changes in the first half of the 20th century, summarizes data on the social, educational and professional structure of Kyrgyzstan related to its demographic development. Her works cover issues of socio-territorial dynamics, changes in social classes and professional structure, as well as the level of education and culture of the population as the reflection of socialist system success; and she conducts her studies taking into account the ethnic diversity of the population. A.T.Kushubekov [16] focuses on the study of changes in the ethnic composition of Kyrgyzstan in the twentieth century. The author analyses ethnic groups considering migration and assimilation processes, as well as formation of new ethnic groups and other factors affecting the structure of region's population.

The works of Russian scientists such as K.Kulmatov [15], V.B.Zhiromskaya [9], F.L.Lisitsyn [17], as well as methodological generalizing studies [1:9] show important theoretical approaches and contain valuable data on the number, composition of the

population and socio-political changes on the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan. The relevance of this article lies in considering a number of specific issues, identifying new facts and deepening our understanding of ethnodemographic processes, with an emphasis on their importance for the dynamics of the social structure and features of inter-ethnic communications during the most intense political, socio-economic and cultural transformations.

The purpose of the article is to analyse the key factors that influenced the ethnodemographic dynamics of the country in order to establish qualitative changes in the national composition and social structure of Kyrgyzstan in the 1920s and 1930s.

Materials and methods

To achieve the goal, various data sources were used, including published documents, archival materials, statistical reports and historical documents, as well as data from the population censuses of 1926, 1937 and 1939. Various methods, including classification, problem-chronological, statistical, synchronistic methods, etc., were used to analyse ethnodemographic processes in Kyrgyzstan during the specified period, the principles of objectivity, historicism, consistency and comparativism were taken as the basis for the research.

In particular, the problem-chronological method made it possible to identify key problems and events chronologically related to ethnodemographic changes in the selected period, as well as to analyse their impact on the socio-economic development of the region, including the dynamics of the economic development, the composition of the population and migration processes in the region.

Comparative and synchronistic methods were used to compare the data on demographic processes in Kyrgyzstan with the data from other republics and regions, and the ratio between ethnic groups in the republic.

The statistical method is extremely important for the quantitative analysis of changes in population size, age structure, gender and ethnicity distribution, as well as for studying the dynamics of migration processes.

Results

An important stage in the history of Kyrgyzstan was the formation of the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region (AR) as part of the Russian SFSR in 1924. It became the first state entity in Kyrgyzstan. The creation of the autonomous region provided the Kyrgyz people with a unique opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination and contributed to the preservation and development of their culture, traditions and language. The Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region became the centre to bring the Kyrgyz people from different regions together, contributing to their rapprochement and ethnic consolidation.

The development of Kyrgyzstan's statehood in the period under study was quite rapid, and its political status was increasing at each stage. In 1925, during the national-territorial demarcation in Central Asia, the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region received great political, socio-economic and cultural opportunities for further development, but the leadership of the autonomy sought further status enhancement. As a result, in April 1927 it got the status of the Kyrgyz Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic (ASSR) within the RSFSR, which was the largest union republic in the USSR. Finally, in 1936, the Republic became a union republic (the Kyrgyz SSR), strengthening its status and organizational, institutional, personnel, financial, logistical, and social opportunities for further development.

The Kirgiz region underwent significant changes in the organization of the territory where various ethnic groups settled. By 1917, the complexity of the situation was determined by the fragmentation of Kyrgyzstan in administrative and territorial sphere: the northern part was part of the Semirechensk and Syr-Darya regions, and the southern part was part of the Ferghana and Samarkand regions on the Turkestan Territory. In these areas, the Kyrgyz people were a national minority, which hindered their consolidation, socio-economic and cultural development.

The creation of the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region led to unification of these territories into an integral administrative unit. It united areas that previously belonged to different regions of the Turkestan ASSR, including Karakol and Naryn counties, part of the Zhetysui (Semirechensk) region, 10 parishes of Andijan County, 10 parishes of Namangan County, 5 parishes of Ferghana County, 2 parishes of Kokand County and Osh County, as well as Ferghana Region and 14 parishes (Talas section) Aulie-Ata district of Syr-Darya region [12:174]. These regions, counties and parishes remained unchanged until 1930, when yet another administrative redistribution was carried out, during which, as well as throughout the entire country, the republic switched to a district system. Instead of former counties and parishes, 24 districts were created in the republic. While zoning the counties and parishes got unified but it did not seriously affect the settlement of the Kyrgyz people and representatives of other peoples, but the new division increased the number of inhabitants in administrative units.

In addition, the number of enterprises and farms in each administrative unit, i.e. the economic capacity changed, and the conditions for economic relations between the regions of the republic were reconsidered. In the case of mixed ethnic composition, this also affected the nature of inter-ethnic relations.

As a result of transformations in the Kyrgyz economy in the second half of the 20th century, the population structure changed. New socio-professional groups emerged, including workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. The agriculture of the republic underwent a number of reforms, starting with the implementation of the land-and-water reform, in which the excess of land from farms exceeding the established norms was subject to seizure, and the entire land fund was distributed among the working population regardless of gender and nationality, among private (dehkan) farms which were in need of land. In total, land management was carried out for 18 587 farms [5: 137]. The land-and-water reform contributed to changes in the socio-cultural area of Kyrgyzstan, creating

more equitable conditions for various national and socio-cultural groups, contributing to greater diversity and economic interaction between them.

The Soviet power actively pursued the policy of resettlement within the framework of agricultural collectivization in Kyrgyzstan, which significantly influenced the ethnodemographic processes. The process of settling, especially of the nomadic Kyrgyz, and changes in their cultural and ecological environment brought to an introduction of new housing forms, and the collectivization also led to reorganization of agriculture and labour relations. The effect it had on the lifestyle of all nationalities was quite contradictory, and it seriously influenced socio-cultural aspects, religious beliefs, behavioural norms, economic activity and education of the Kyrgyz people and other peoples living in the autonomy. They were experiencing a complicated adaptation of their ancestral traditions and customs to new living conditions.

Industrial development also became an important factor of ethnodemographic changes in Kyrgyzstan: with the serious objective lack of national personnel, the development was largely carried out at the expense of visiting specialists and workers from other regions of the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that the republic was initially considered as a supplier of raw materials, many plants and factories were built there, food, coal, light and heavy industries developed, infrastructure was built, including railways, highways and power plants. The process of industrialization increased the influx of migrants from other regions of the USSR, mainly engineering and technical specialists and skilled workers. Normally, in new multinational work collectives experienced personnel helped local residents to acquire necessary professional skills. However, the involvement of Kyrgyz people in industrial production was limited by a number of factors, such as the socio-economic and cultural underdevelopment of the region, low population density, low level of urbanization among the indigenous population and the influence of patriarchal traditions, which made it difficult for local people to adopt to an urban lifestyle and work at industrial enterprises [6]. In general, during this period in Kyrgyzstan, significant changes took place in both the numerical and qualitative composition of the working class, and the sectoral composition of industrial workers became more diverse. The reforms contributed to the process of inter-ethnic integration and the growth of social mobility of the indigenous population. As a result, the region became more culturally diverse and industrialized, which had a significant impact on strengthening the Kyrgyz statehood.

Cultural innovations also played a big role for the development of the republic. The literacy campaign created foundations for the introduction of nationwide education. If at first it caused a negative reaction from the population, then by the 1930s, literacy became a key factor for the social adaptation, and the campaign became more massive, which provided a qualitatively new image of the Kyrgyz nation.

Demographic processes experienced inertial development: during the 1920s and 1930s, the country's birth rate remained quite on the same level. The general analysis of ethnodemographic processes in Kyrgyzstan, including its population, its ethnic composition, educational level and many other characteristics, is based on the data of the population censuses from 1926, 1937 and 1939.

Thus, in 1927, the total population of Kyrgyzstan counted 993 004 people. By 1939 it reached 1,458 213 people. The average mechanical population increase in 1937 and 1938 was 23 579 people. From 1927 to 1939, the mechanical population increase amounted to 329 534 people. Consequently, from 1927 to 1939, due to the natural movement of the population arriving from outside, the national indicator increased, which eventually amounted to 38.4% [13:331-335].

This indicates that mechanical factors were the first reason for the population growth in Kyrgyzstan during this period. They included migration, deportations and evictions due to mass repression. For example, deportation of peoples from the border areas, resettlement of Korean, Chinese and other ethno-social groups led to an overall increase in the population of the republic [13:331-335]. In addition, these changes formed a new demographic image of Kyrgyzstan and significantly influenced the structure and composition of its ethnocultural space (see Table 1).

Table1. Demographic dynamics of the population of Kyrgyzstan (1927-1939) [3].

Years	Population increase only by 1/1	Including the growth per year		Issyk-Kul	Tien-Shan	Osh, Jalal-Abad	Frunze	Total
		Natural population growth	Mechanical population growth					
Dynamics of the population growth				Dynamics of the Kyrgyz population growth per district				
1927	993004	1012864	15440	97,9	336,6	144,6	661,2	97,9
1928	1028304	1033121	28690	99,3	341,3	146,6	670,3	99,3
1929	1061811	1051718	44660	100,7	346,1	148,7	679,8	100,7
1930	1096378	1067493	94320	102,1	350,9	150,8	689,4	102,1
1931	1161813	1081371	173320	103,6	356,2	153,1	699,8	103,6
1932	1254691	1092293	200160	105,2	361,2	155,4	710	105,2
1933	1292453	1051878	220468	106,9	366,9	157,7	721	106,9
1934	1272344	1061345	240776	108,5	372,4	160,1	731,8	108,5
1935	1302117	1074081	260845	110,2	377,6	162,5	742,6	110,2
1936	1335159	1089118	281393	112,2	383,6	165,1	754,7	112,2
1937	1370503	1108722	305463	113,8	389,7	167,7	766,5	113,8
1938	1414181	1128679	329534	115,6	395,9	170,4	778,7	115,6
1939	1458213			117,4	402,3	173,1	791,1	117,4
Census of 1939				117,0	403,5	141,9	754,6	117,0
Discrepancies				0,4	1,2	-31,2	36,7	0,4

Source: Calculated according to: Batyrbayeva Sh.D. The population of Kyrgyzstan in the 20-50s of the XX century: Historical and demographic analysis. Bishkek, 2003.

The population growth of the Kyrgyz SSR from 1927 to 1939 was due to several factors: the influx of labour force from outside to fulfil the first five-year plan; spontaneous migration caused by economic difficulties in the central regions of the USSR; resettlement of Kazakhs who survived the famine in 1932 to Kyrgyzstan; placement of dispossessed peasants as part of the collectivization process.

At the second stage, from 1933 to 1936, the total population of the Kyrgyz SSR increased by 81 234 people as a result of migration processes. However, the mechanical population growth was significantly lower compared to the first stage, and the exact identification of its annual rate is hard due to circumstances. It is known that mistakes and excesses in socialist transformations, especially in agriculture, as well as the attraction of human resources for industrialization caused demographic crises and catastrophes in certain regions. These factors influenced spontaneous migration of peasants during the time of famine, as well as the temporary suspension of mass resettlement to remote areas, including Kyrgyzstan [3:119]. It should be noted that at that time there occurred the placing of ethnosocial groups deported to the territory of the republic from the western regions of the USSR, which brought to the increase in mechanical growth which was greatly influenced by this process.

People subjected to “Kulak transportation” were called “special settlers” before 1934, then they were called “labour settlers” from 1934 to 1944, and they began to be called “special settlers” again from March 1944. Since 1949, they received the name of “deportees”. At different times, the number of labour settlers, special settlers or deportees in the Soviet Union reached tremendous proportions. For example, 1,317 022 people were recorded on January 1, 1932, 1,142 084 – in 1933, 1,072 546 – in 1934, 973 693 – in 1935, 1,017 133 people – in 1936, 916 787 – in 1937, 877 651 – in 1938, and 938 552 – in 1939 [11:150–151]. However, these figures probably underestimate the real number of settlers, since there was a high mortality rate among the dispossessed peasants, and there were many cases of escapes. In addition, some of the dispossessed peasants were resettled in other regions, including Kyrgyzstan. Since the early 1930s, a new wave of forced relocations began. Officially, it was justified since it had a goal to ensure security and stability in various regions of the country, and to reduce criminal activity, in inter-ethnic relations inclusive.

During three years since 1935, the Baltic peoples were also deported; as a result, 27 thousand citizens of Finnish nationality were resettled to the republic. By the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR (CNC USSR) №776–120 dated April 28, 1936, 45 000 Poles and Germans were evicted from the border areas with Poland, Ukraine and Belarus. Subsequently, over 35 820 Poles were also deported. In total, 172 000 Korean and 11 000 Chinese people and several hundred Poles from the Far East were resettled in the USSR; 1 325 citizens of Kurdish nationality were deported from Transcaucasia, 812 of them to the Kyrgyz SSR [13:331–335].

Meanwhile, in 1932 and 1933, famine took place in some regions of Kyrgyzstan, which became the main cause of the demographic crisis. The most vulnerable in those years were residents of grain districts of the Talas and Chui valleys, partly of the Issyk-Kul basin, since

they bore the main burden of implementing bread-harvesting plans, but did not have any benefits, that is, no special government assignments for the bread supply, which concerned only livestock and cotton-growing regions in the republic. Famine in the Chui and Talas valleys, partly in the Issyk-Kul basin, was of the same threatening nature as in Kazakhstan. In addition, these were some areas where the residents of Siberia and Kazakhstan who migrated due to hunger were mainly housed, thereby not only exacerbating hard situation of providing bread to the local population, but also spreading epidemic diseases, which, as is known, intensified in those troubled years. And finally, it was from the territory of these regions that bread was exported due to the region's proximity to the central highways. Therefore, the previously established value of the calculated average annual growth rate of the Kyrgyz population of the Frunze and Issyk-Kul regions was much lower than in other regions.

1926–1929. In the course of the ongoing socio-economic policy, medical care and the financial situation of the population were improving; care was being taken for women and children, etc. Although there was an outbreak of plague in 1928, thanks to medical workers it was stopped in a very short time¹. In general, the annual population growth rate over these years in the regions remained the same as throughout the republic in general, 1.4%;

1930–1931. The initial phase of a negative trend in demographic development manifested itself in those years as the result of unreasonably overestimated plans for harvesting agricultural products during the collectivization period and the settling process. The positive changes that had begun in the natural movement stalled. But the consequences of the socio-economic deterioration manifested themselves later, and in the years under review, on the contrary, we can see that the positive trend of purposeful work carried out among indigenous people since the mid-1920s, to reduce mortality, especially among children, continued. Until the clear moment of hunger and the effects of jute in 1931, there was a progressive increase in the population, therefore, the national growth rate remained unchanged for residents of two regions, namely 1.5%;

3) 1932–1933. These years were the most difficult stage in the demographic state of the population; since, despite the decrease in state plans for agricultural procurement, mandatory supplies of agricultural products turned out to be unbearable, exacerbating the already complicated position of rural residents, which was the result of not only erroneous policies towards the peasantry in the region, but also due to natural disasters (jute, crop failure). The further spread of mass infectious diseases and mobilization of all resources, including human ones, to complete the first five-year plan led to an increase in mortality. As a result, hidden hunger was observed throughout the republic, with its strongest manifestations noticed in the valley areas of Talas, Chui, and partly in the Issyk-Kul basin, which resulted in large human losses.

All major human losses in these areas occurred in 1933, since the effect the improvement or deterioration of socio-economic living conditions of the population in

¹ Abdrakhmanov Yu. 1916. The diaries. Letters to Stalin / Auth. introduction by J. Dzhunushaliev, I.E.Semenov; A.I.Eroshenko. Frunze: Kyrgyzstan, 1991:106.

the region had on the demography was quite gradual, while famine and an epidemic of highly contagious infectious diseases covering large territories occurred without delay, increasing mortality among both children and adults, thereby sharply reducing natural growth. These crises are described in the memories of older generation, and are also indirectly evidenced by the data on the spread of contagious infectious diseases in the republic, with over 80% of infections registered in the Frunze region in February and March 1933.

The results of the 1926 and 1939 censuses revealed significant changes in the number of not only Kyrgyz, but also other ethnic groups of the republic's population. It can be concluded that a sharp increase in the number of Tatars, Tajiks, Mordvins and Kazakhs could cause changes in the geographic distribution of the population, which in turn could affect the ethnic composition of the population in different regions. The increase in the number of Russians and representatives of other nationalities may also be associated with planned relocations. Forced migration could also contribute to the change in the number of ethnic groups (see Table 2).

Table 2. The relative growth rate of the population of Kyrgyzstan by individual nationalities from 1926-1939. (in %).

Nationality	Kyrgyz	Russians	Uzbeks	Ukrainians	Uigurs	Dungans	Tatars	Germans	Azerbaijanians	Tajiks	Kazakhs	Mordovs	Arabs
Men	111,5	256,7	136,1	211,2	124,4	98,9	395,6	264	221,4	407,7	1531,7	736,4	64,8
Women	116,8	263,6	140,3	217,0	108,5	91,6	422,8	283,3	162,2	390,8	1209,5	862,9	76,6
Total	114,1	260,1	138,1	214,1	177,8	98,6	408,3	273,6	193,8	400,1	1357,0	793,8	69,9

Source: Calculated according to: The All-Union Population Census of 1926, vol. VIII:216–217; The Russian State Archive of the Economy of the Russian Federation. F. 1562, inv. 336, case 265, sh. 9.

In general, in the first third of the 20th century, significant changes took place in the ethnocultural space of Kyrgyzstan, caused, among other reasons, by the population migrational processes. These changes in the ethnic structure became key factors which shaped further demographic and cultural development in the republic. Different ethnic groups of migrants brought their traditions, customs and knowledge into the public life of Kyrgyzstan, which in a certain way influenced culture and demographic structure of the indigenous population. It is important to note that immigrants of different nationalities, as a rule, had a higher level of cultural, educational and professional development compared to the local population, which facilitated the exchange of knowledge and skills, as well as an increase in the general cultural level of the population, especially in economically and culturally significant spheres of life.

The redistribution of the population between rural and urban areas played an important role in changing the social structure and level of education of the population in the 1920s-1930s. These processes took place due to the industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture and the creation of new educational and cultural institutions in the republic, which contributed to the transformation of the entire society. The share of the urban population increased from 12.2% to 18.5% of the total population, which means an increase of 220.8%. The development of cities, including Naryn, Frunze, and Kyzyl-Kiya, where the urban population grew more than twice, meant not only accelerated urbanization, but it also influenced the resettling of the Kyrgyz people and people of other ethnic communities. Considering the urban population growth rate, Jalal-Abad district stood out amid other regions, and Tien Shan's rates were only a bit lower. According to the absolute increase in the urban population, Frunze district was in the first place, and Osh district was in the second. In 1939, the share of the urban population in the total population of Kyrgyzstan was about 40.9%. (See Table 3)

Table 3. Urban population growth from 1926 to 1939 and its share in the total population [1].

Regions and Districts	% in 1939 compared to 1926			% of urban population	
	Urban population	Rural population	Total	By 17.12.1926	By 17.01.1939
Kyrgyz SSR	220,8	135,1	145,6	12,2	18,5
Districts					
Jalal-Abad	287,2	133,3	141,4	5,3	10,7
Issyk-Kul	199,2	121,7	129,4	9,9	15,3
Osh	175,6	135,6	141,8	15,5	19,2
Tien-Shan	278,9	118,5	121,0	1,6	3,6
Frunze3	251,5	150,3	168,9	18,3	27,3

Source: Calculated according to: Batyrbayeva Sh.D. The population of Kyrgyzstan in the 20-50s of the XX century: Historical and demographic analysis. Bishkek, 2003.

In general, in the 1920s and 1930s, Kyrgyzstan experienced a significant urban growth associated with the development of industry. This included the construction of new industrial facilities and the creation of conditions for the development of urban life. About 30% of the urban populations were locals, but the majorities were Russians and representatives of other nationalities with a higher level of education and professional training. Cities became industrial, administrative and educational centres. Mechanization at enterprises and the opening of educational institutions required citizens to have a high level of education and professional skills. This process made Kyrgyzstan more socially diverse, educated and modern, affecting the dynamics of identity and lifestyle of the population. Thus, literacy provided an opportunity to assimilate modern cultural norms and patterns of behaviour, as well as active social mobility in the professional field and the

civil sphere. A comparative analysis of the gender, age and ethnic structure of urban and rural populations also revealed significant differences in literacy rates, especially between men and women. These differences played an important role in shaping the demographic landscape during this period.

The main directions of the Cultural Revolution in Kyrgyzstan in the early years of the Soviet government were the creation of a public education system, primarily a school network, and the elimination of illiteracy among the adult population of the republic. It should be emphasized that language policy was one of the key problems of cultural transformations in the early years of Soviet power. The main component of this problem was undoubtedly ideological. We can confidently say that the impetus for the development of Kyrgyz linguistics as a science was given due to a large-scale campaign to eliminate illiteracy in the region. It was within the framework of cultural revolution that it became possible to resolve one of the most crucial issues of the Kyrgyz statehood - the issue of language, its written design and, as a result, its acquisition of the status of a national language. The creation of a public education system in Kyrgyzstan was fraught with a number of significant problems characteristic of that time: the formation of a new statehood, civil war, famine and devastation, and, as a result, a shortage of funds allocated by the RSFSR for the needs of social programs.

Between the censuses of 1926 and 1939, Kyrgyzstan as a whole saw a significant improvement in the literacy rate of the population. In 1926, only 42.2% of young people (9-19 years old) in urban areas were literate, while in rural areas there were about 16.1% of them. However, by 1939, the literacy rate increased in all age groups and in both places of residence. 95.9% of young people in urban areas became literate, and 91.3% – in rural areas. The total literacy rate of the population was 93.4% [3:187]. These changes testify to the successful efforts of the State to spread education and improve literacy, which seriously contributed to social progress in those forms that proved to be in demand during the accelerated course of modernization.

As a result of demographic and migration processes, the ethnocultural space of the republic became more complex, the mobility of the population increased and its social structure changed. The ethnic composition of the population also underwent significant changes, having a profound impact on the socio-economic development of Kyrgyzstan during this period. New forms and ways of interaction and mutual adaptation of various ethnic groups appeared. New settlers introduced their cultural peculiarities and traditions into daily life of the republic, they also learned skills to organise life and work from the indigenous people, which led to mutual cultural and inter-ethnic enrichment, which, nevertheless, did not exclude their contradictions occurring between the indigenous peoples and the newcomers who happened to live together on the same territory.

In the second half of the twentieth century, changes in the demographic behaviour of the urban population began to manifest themselves. Until the late 1930s, ethnicity played a leading role in demographic processes, but later socio-economic and political factors began to exert their influence. Interaction between people of different cultures working together in collective farms, industrial and cultural institutions caused changes in the ratio of urban

and rural populations, socio-professional structure and educational level. These changes influenced the demographic consciousness and gave rise to a new demographic behaviour of the urban population in the second half of the twentieth century.

Conclusion

The analysis of ethnodemographic transformations in the republic in the 1920s and 1930s showed multi-factorial nature of their causes and consequences. It is revealed that the demographic and migration processes that took place in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s, including in Kyrgyzstan, were influenced by large-scale socio-economic and cultural transformations. This had a significant impact on the ethnosocial structure, demographic processes and socio-cultural dynamics of Kyrgyzstan. In the period under study, significant changes in the social structure of Kyrgyzstan took place. New social classes – workers and intellectuals – became an integral part of society, and an increase in the level of literacy of the population provided a qualitative improvement in the rise of the Kyrgyz ethnosocial community, as well as other peoples of the USSR. An increase in the variety of ethnic groups living in the republic was observed as a consequence of socio-economic and migration components of the state policy of socialist modernization, nation-building and civic consolidation, which had contradictory character and results. The emergence of new social classes and improving literacy rates became an integral part of these demographic changes. It is important to note the role of the policy for national self-determination and strengthening the status of Kyrgyzstan within the USSR in the process of transition of traditional Kyrgyz society to modernity. The analysis of the data obtained during our research allowed us to conclude that the policy of resettlement, forced migration of different ethnosocial groups of the population influenced inter-cultural communication. They were accompanied by a complication of interaction and mechanisms of inter-cultural adaptation of different ethnic communities and groups, the comprehensive study of which seems to be our further urgent task.

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