

Talgat Zh. Makalakov * 

Abylkas Saginov Karaganda Technical University, Karaganda, Kazakhstan
(*Corresponding author's e-mail: makalakov77@mail.ru)

Deportation of the Peoples of the North Caucasus to Kazakhstan in the 1940s: From Collective Memory to National and Cultural Identity

This article analyzes the formation of collective memory and cultural identity among North Caucasian peoples deported to Kazakhstan in 1943–1944. It focuses on the transgenerational transmission of trauma, the role of family narratives, religious practices, and the custom of *adat*. The study demonstrates that the identity of the third and fourth generations has a binary character: the Caucasus remains a sacred ancestral homeland, while Kazakhstan is perceived as the actual Fatherland. Archival documents reveal how these communities resisted Soviet assimilation, with the older generation playing a crucial role in preserving their heritage. The empirical focus is on the deportation of Chechens, Ingush, Karachays, and Balkars, who were forcibly resettled to Kazakhstan in 1943–1944. While deportation processes in the 20th-century USSR are well-studied, domestic scholarship has paid less attention to the formation of cultural identity among the deported. This article posits that the deportation was not merely a historical event of Soviet nationality policy, but a prolonged sociocultural process. In this context, the collective memory of the tragedy became a vital resource for identity transformation and consolidation. Forced migration did not destroy the national identity of North Caucasian peoples; on the contrary, it catalyzed its strengthening. Stripped of their territory, these communities relied on collective memory, language, and traditional institutions to survive. Faced with the challenges of physical adaptation and the pressure to assimilate, they successfully reproduced themselves as independent ethnic and cultural entities. By maintaining their religious practices and cultural heritage, they transformed the space of their exile into a «site of memory,» ensuring their survival as distinct communities. This research highlights the resilience of the North Caucasian people and the duality of their post-deportation identity. Through a synthesis of historical documents and sociological analysis, the article provides insight into how forced resettlement shaped the cultural landscape of modern Kazakhstan. It underscores the importance of memory as a mechanism for cultural endurance under systemic pressure, offering a deeper understanding of how displaced groups reconstruct their sense of self in a new, often hostile environment.

Keywords: Kazakhstan, deportation, North Caucasus, household and economic settlement, collective memory, cultural trauma, sites of memory, identity, *adat*, family.

Талгат Ж. Макалаков

Әбілқас Сағынов атындағы Қарағанды техникалық университеті, Қарағанды, Қазақстан

XX ғасырдың 40-жылдарындағы Солтүстік Кавказ халықтарының Қазақстанға депортациялануы: ұжымдық жадтан ұлттық және мәдени бірегейлікке дейін

Мақалада 1943–1944-жылдары Қазақстанға жер аударылған Солтүстік Кавказ халықтарының ұжымдық жады мен мәдени бірегейлігінің қалыптасу үдерісі талданды. Сонымен бірге жарақаттық тәжірибенің ұрпақтан ұрпаққа берілуіне, отбасылық нарративтердің, діни және дәстүрлі құқықтық тәжірибелердің (әдет-ғұрып), сондай-ақ жер аудару кеңістігінің «жады орнына» айналуына ерекше назар аударылған. Үшінші және төртінші ұрпақтың бірегейлігі бинарлық сипатқа ие екендігі көрсетіледі: Кавказ қасиетті тарихи атамекен ретінде сақталса, Қазақстан олардың нақты Отанына айналған. Архивтік құжаттар этномәдени бірегейлікті сақтаудың және кеңестік әкімшілік жүйенің ассимиляциялық саясатына қарсы тұрудың негізгі тетіктерін анықтауға мүмкіндік береді. Сонымен қатар арнайы қоныстанушылардың аға буынының өздерінің ұлттық және мәдени болмысын сақтауға бағытталған ұжымдық әрі жеке әрекеттері қарастырылды. КСРО-дағы депортациялық үдерістерді зерттеу бүгінгі күні тарихи ғылымдағы өзекті бағыттардың бірі болып қала береді. Алайда отандық ғылымда тарихи жады мәселесі, әсіресе депортация туралы ұжымдық жадтың Қазақстан жағдайында ұлттық және мәдени бірегейлікті қалыптастырудың маңызды ресурсына қалай айналғаны, оның ішінде салыстырмалы тұрғыда, жеткілікті деңгейде зерттелмеген. Осы зерттеуде Солтүстік Кавказ халықтарының Қазақстанға депортациялануы кеңестік ұлттық саясаттың тарихи фактісі ретінде ғана емес, ұжымдық жадының депортацияға ұшыраған қауымдардың ұлттық және мәдени бірегейлігін сақтау мен трансформациялаудың негізгі факторларының біріне айналған ұзақ мерзімді әлеуметтік-мәдени үдеріс ретінде қарастырылады. Мәжбүрлі қоныс аудару Солтүстік Кавказ халықтарының

* ©2026 The Author(s). This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>)

ұлттық бірегейлігін жойған жоқ, керісінше, оның нығаюына ықпал етті. Өйткені тарихи атамекенінен айырылған жағдайда ұжымдық жад, ана тілі, діни тәжірибелер мен дәстүрлі институттар этномәдени тұтастықты сақтаудың басты тетіктеріне айналды. Күштеп қоныс аудару жағдайында жер аударылған қауымдар тек жаңа ортаға бейімделу және физикалық тұрғыдан аман қалу мәселесімен ғана емес, сондай-ақ тілін, дәстүрлерін, діни тәжірибелерін және мәдени мұра элементтерін сақтау арқылы өзін дербес этникалық әрі мәдени қауым ретінде қайта өндіру міндетімен де бетпе-бет келді.

Кілт сөздер: Қазақстан, депортация, Солтүстік Кавказ, шаруашылық-тұрмыстық бейімделу, ұжымдық жад, мәдени жаракат, жады орындары, бірегейлік, әдет-ғұрып, отбасы.

Талгат Ж. Макалаков

Карагандинский технический университет имени А. Сагинува

Депортация народов Северного Кавказа в Казахстан в 40-е годы XX века: от коллективной памяти к национальной и культурной идентичности

В статье анализируется процесс формирования коллективной памяти и культурной идентичности северокавказских народов, депортированных в Казахстан в 1943-1944 гг. Особое внимание уделяется трансгенерационной передаче травматического опыта, роли семейных нарративов, религиозных и правовых практик (адат), а также трансформации пространства ссылки в «место памяти». Показано, что идентичность третьего и четвертого поколений имеет бинарный характер: Кавказ остаётся сакральной прародиной, а Казахстан — реальной Отчиной. Архивные документы позволяют проследить формы сохранения этнокультурной идентичности и противодействия ассимиляционным практикам советской административной системы, а также коллективные и индивидуальные действия старшего поколения спецпереселенцев ради сохранения собственной идентичности. Проблема исследования депортационных процессов в СССР остается одной из наиболее популярных тем (причины и сам процесс переселения, вопросы адаптации и т.д.). В отечественной науке проблеме исторической памяти уделено значительно меньше внимания. Например, тому, как коллективная память о депортации преобразилась в ресурс формирования национальной и культурной идентичности в условиях Казахстана, особенно в сравнительной перспективе. В данной работе депортация народов Северного Кавказа в Казахстан рассматривается не только как исторический факт советской национальной политики, но и как длительный социокультурный процесс, в ходе которого коллективная память о трагедии стала одним из ключевых факторов сохранения и трансформации национальной и культурной идентичности депортированных сообществ. Принудительная миграция не уничтожила национальную идентичность народов Северного Кавказа, а, напротив, стала одним из факторов её консолидации, поскольку в условиях утраты территории именно коллективная память, язык, религиозные практики и традиционные институты стали основными механизмами сохранения этнокультурной общности. В условиях насильственного переселения перед депортированными сообществами встала проблема не только адаптации и физического выживания, но и воспроизводства себя как самостоятельной этнической и культурной общности через сохранение языка, традиций, религиозных практик и элементов культурного наследия.

Ключевые слова: Казахстан, депортация, Северный Кавказ, хозяйственно-бытовое устройство, коллективная память, культурная травма, места памяти, идентичность, адат, семья.

Introduction

The problem of the deportation of the peoples of the USSR has remained one of the most extensively researched areas of domestic historical scholarship since the late 1980s. The mass forced resettlements carried out in the Soviet Union from the 1920s to the 1950s were both social and ethnic in character. According to P. Polian's estimates, 52 deportation campaigns were conducted in the USSR, most of them on ethnic grounds [1].

Despite the substantial body of research devoted to the causes and mechanisms of the deportations, the living conditions of special settlers, and the processes of their adaptation, considerably less attention has been paid to how the memory of deportation was preserved and transmitted to subsequent generations and how it influenced the formation of the national and cultural identity of deported peoples in Kazakhstan. This aspect defines the research interest of the present article.

The forced migrations of the peoples of the North Caucasus were among the largest population movements during the Second World War and the Great Patriotic War and had a long-term impact on the social, demographic, and cultural development of Kazakhstan. During the war years, the republic became one of the largest regions for accommodating special settlers. According to data from the NKVD of the

Kazakh SSR, as of 1 January 1945, 815,319 special settlers were registered in the republic, of whom 421,460 were North Caucasian peoples (Chechens, Ingush, Kabardians, Balkars, and Karachays) [2], [3; 232]. One of the main regions of their settlement was Karaganda Region, where one of the largest North Caucasian diasporas in the republic was formed [3; 232].

Under conditions of forced resettlement, the deported peoples faced the task not only of physical survival and adaptation to new socioeconomic conditions, but also of preserving their own ethnocultural identity. The absence of national educational institutions, the total prohibition of religious life, the disruption of traditional social ties, and constant administrative control created the threat of gradual cultural assimilation. In these circumstances, the family, the native language, religious practices, adat norms, and intragroup mutual assistance acquired special importance as the principal mechanisms for preserving historical memory and ethnocultural continuity.

As direct witnesses of deportation pass away, the study of mechanisms of intergenerational transmission of memory acquires particular scholarly significance. Family stories, personal recollections, religious traditions, memorial practices, and archival documents make it possible to trace how collective memory of deportation was transformed from the individual experience of the first generation into one of the most important elements of the national and cultural identity of contemporary descendants of the deported.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the formation of collective memory of the forced resettlement of the peoples of the North Caucasus to Kazakhstan and to identify its role in preserving and transforming the national and cultural identity of several generations of deported communities. To achieve this aim, the article draws on archival documents, eyewitness memoirs, and contemporary theoretical approaches in the field of memory studies in order to examine the main factors that ensured the preservation of ethnocultural distinctiveness, the native language, traditions, religious practices, and historical experience under conditions of forced resettlement.

The scientific novelty of the study lies in its interpretation of deportation memory as a dynamic intergenerational mechanism of identity construction rather than solely as a record of political repression or adaptation to special-settlement conditions. By combining archival evidence with eyewitness narratives and the conceptual tools of Memory Studies, the article traces the transformation of memory from the directly experienced trauma of the first generation into a resource of ethnocultural continuity for the third and fourth generations. The study further proposes a binary model of post-deportation identity in which the North Caucasus functions as the historical and sacred ancestral homeland, while Kazakhstan is incorporated into collective biography as a space of survival, rootedness, and civic belonging. This approach makes it possible to examine the preservation of language, religious practices, and adat not as isolated manifestations of tradition, but as interconnected mechanisms of memory transmission and identity reproduction.

Materials and Methods

Materials. The source base of the study comprises unpublished archival records, published documentary collections, and eyewitness memoirs. The principal archival materials were identified in three repositories. The State Archive of the Karaganda Region (GAKO), fonds 1p and 3p, inventory 1, files 119, 132, and 187, contains party and administrative documentation on the placement, employment, political supervision, and religious life of special settlers in Central Kazakhstan. These records are particularly important for reconstructing official assessments of Chechen and Ingush communities and the Soviet authorities' attempts to regulate religious and communal practices. The Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK), fond 708, inventory 16, file 54, sheets 94–95 and 98, preserves reports and memoranda of security and party bodies concerning education, separate classes for Chechen children, and administrative interpretations of traditional practices and adat among special settlers. The State Archive of the East Kazakhstan Region (GAVKO), fond 1p, inventory 1, files 2741 and 1430, contains regional party correspondence and official memoranda on mortality, food shortages, living conditions, and instructions concerning the official portrayal of the reasons for the deportation of Chechens and Ingush.

Published documentary materials include the collection *From the History of Deportations. Kazakhstan, 1939–1945*, which provides statistical and administrative evidence on the scale, distribution, and living conditions of deported populations. A separate group of sources consists of eyewitness recollections and memoir narratives, including the testimony of Issa Kodzoev in the *My GULAG* project and recollections of deported women published by Z.G. Saktaganova. These ego-documents were recorded decades after the events and therefore require source-critical consideration of retrospective reconstruction, emotional selection, and the influence of family memory. At the same time, their value for this study lies precisely in their ability to re-

veal recurring narrative motifs—hunger, loss of homeland, adaptation, and assistance from the local population—and to trace the transition from individual experience to intergenerational collective memory.

The study is based on an interdisciplinary approach combining historical research, social anthropology, and Memory Studies. The theoretical framework draws on Maurice Halbwachs's concept of collective memory [4], Benedict Anderson's understanding of the nation as an «imagined community» [5], Anthony D. Smith's ethnosymbolist approach [6], and studies of historical and collective memory by L.P. Repina and T.P. Emelianova [7], [8]. These approaches are used to examine memory as a socially reproduced phenomenon and to analyze the relationship between shared representations of the past, cultural symbols, and national identity. Research on deportation and the rehabilitation of deported peoples in Kazakhstan by M.K. Kozybaev, L.K. Shotbakova, and Z.G. Saktaganova also provides the historiographical context [9], [10], [11].

A set of mutually complementary historical methods was employed. The historical-chronological method was used to trace the sequence of forced resettlement, special-settlement restrictions, adaptation, and the subsequent institutionalization of deportation memory. The historical-comparative method made it possible to compare administrative practices and the mechanisms of memory preservation among deported North Caucasian communities. The historical-systemic approach was applied to interpret deportation as part of Soviet nationality and repressive policy while relating state measures to family, religious, linguistic, and customary institutions. Source criticism was used to distinguish the administrative language and ideological purposes of official documents from the retrospective and emotionally structured character of memoirs. Finally, an intergenerational analytical perspective was employed to compare the functions of deportation memory for the first, second, third, and fourth generations.

Results

An analysis of memoirs and archival materials shows that, for the first generation of deportees, memory of the homeland and of the process of forced resettlement had a stable traumatic character. Under the conditions of strict Soviet ideological control, when public discussion of deportation was severely prohibited until the late 1980s, the family became the only safe space for preserving the past. For the sake of objectivity, it should be noted that in the 1960s there were attempts to study and illuminate the process of deportation of the peoples of the USSR, including the North Caucasian peoples. However, these efforts were episodic, and there was no question of a comprehensive and objective study of the problem.

A. Etkind's concept [12], devoted to collective memory in relation to Soviet repressions, shows that the official silencing of repression generated «distorted» practices of memory, manifested in semi-clandestine family legends. For the deported peoples of the North Caucasus, whose tragedy remained an «inconvenient» topic for decades, such hidden forms of memory preservation were especially characteristic.

The specific features of collective memory formation are most clearly revealed in the recollections of direct witnesses of deportation. Archival documents make it possible to trace not only the everyday life of special settlers but, above all, to identify mechanisms for preserving collective memory and ethnocultural identity under conditions of forced resettlement. It should be borne in mind that eyewitness recollections were recorded decades after the events described, which inevitably affected the character of the narrative and the emotional assessment of the experience. At the same time, it is precisely these testimonies that make it possible to trace the formation of collective memory among several generations of deportees. Recollections of forced resettlement and of the first years of adaptation in the new place vary depending on a number of factors, including the narrator's age at the time of the interview and his or her intellectual and emotional experience. An analysis of these recollections shows that most of them are dominated by three main themes: the extremely harsh conditions of deportation, the difficult process of adaptation to new living conditions, and the support provided to the deportees by the local population, especially to children. These features of collective memory are confirmed by numerous eyewitness accounts, two of which are cited below. «The village to which we came was called Okrainka. It was in Kustanai Region, Ordzhonikidze District, the 'Path to Communism' collective farm. It was 100 km from Chelyabinsk. My father was a carpenter by profession. He suffered from tuberculosis for a long time and later died of that disease. But he worked until his last day. What saved our family from starvation was that he was a good craftsman. Of our family of 13, seven went to work. The chairman of the collective farm, Mikhailyuk, was a little Stalin; he did not think about people — work was the main thing for him. People could die of hunger; the main thing was that they met procurement targets. After the state took everything, very little remained. For labor days — 100 grams, 200 grams... The

first time we received six sacks of wheat for the year, we said: now this is living! I ate bread to my fill for the first time in 1948. Sometime around 1950 we saw money for the first time» [13].

The recollections of Ashat Ilyasovna Mazieva, born in 1931, state: «We were brought to Kazakhstan, to Karaganda Region, Nura District, the village of Zarechnoye. The local residents received us well; thanks to them, we survived. Everyone was ready to share a piece of bread. They themselves did not live very richly. They lived even worse than we had lived in our homeland. During the first winter, the local population took us into their homes. Then, in the summer, we began to build housing. The local population lived in dugouts. We were all sent to work on the collective farm, and labor days were recorded. We were paid nothing. They gave us bread, some kind of soup. That was all» [11; 242-243].

The transmitted memory is not factual in nature but deeply emotional. For the second and third generations, deportation is no longer simply a historical event but a mythologized point of origin for their own existence. The pain of losing the historical homeland is transformed into an intensified sense of ethnic solidarity and a desire to preserve traditional institutions, such as respect for elders, the norms of adat, and intragroup mutual assistance.

The collective memory of the deported peoples proved to be closely connected with the space of their subsequent residence. An analysis of memoirs shows that the places of initial settlement gradually acquired special symbolic meaning for several generations of descendants of special settlers. For example, the steppes of Saryarka and the industrial settlements around Karaganda, where trains arrived in 1944, underwent a complex semantic transformation over time. From an alien and hostile space of exile, they turned into new, sacralized «sites of memory». Cemeteries where the victims of the first and most difficult years of deportation were buried (those who died of typhus, hunger, and cold), old barracks, and the locations of special commandant's offices became spatial anchors of memory for descendants. At the same time, the region itself became a place of rootedness. The identity of descendants ceased to be exclusively retrospective («oriented toward the past, toward the Caucasus»); it began to incorporate the local context.

Integration into a new social environment and the emergence of a new identity took place in close interaction with the local population. By the time of the forced resettlement of the peoples of the North Caucasus in the 1940s, Kazakhstan represented a complex nexus of accelerated industrial development supported by evacuated enterprises and a camp system built around political prisoners and previously deported peoples.

The arrival in the spring of 1944 of almost 37,000 Chechens and Ingush (more than 9,000 families) had a significant effect on the historical demography of Central Kazakhstan. Archival materials show that forced resettlement was carried out without regard to kinship and family ties, had a mechanical-planned character, and was accompanied by gross violations of the rights of the deported. In 1944, 36,702 people were placed in Karaganda Region, some of whom were housed in dugouts, vegetable storage facilities, and cattle yards entirely lacking normal living conditions [14]. The special settlers were thrown into the severe conditions of the developing coal basin and adjacent agricultural areas. It was here, under conditions of exhausting physical labor and an acute shortage of basic resources, that a distinctive identity began to form.

Mechanisms for preserving the cultural code: language, religion, and customary law. Under conditions of complete separation from the historical homeland, the issue of preserving the inner core of the ethnic groups became critically important for their survival. The policy pursued by the Soviet state objectively contributed to the marginalization and assimilation of the settlers; however, the deported peoples developed effective mechanisms of resistance to cultural dissolution. The main pillars were language, religion, and adat. In the conditions of special settlement from 1944 to 1956, the open performance of religious rituals was prohibited. Mosques were closed, and mullahs were either repressed or forced to abandon their service. Nevertheless, numerous testimonies, including archival documents and historical studies, confirm that the deported peoples of the North Caucasus secretly preserved religious practice, mainly in small groups. Religious rites were performed within a narrow circle of relatives, in dugouts and caves, and became one of the key mechanisms for transmitting collective memory and maintaining national identity in an «alien environment.»

The Soviet administration attempted to suppress public religious rites, but in some districts special settlers openly demonstrated their faith, especially on the eve of religious holidays. One report states: «Due to insufficient political-educational and especially anti-religious work, cases of intensified activity by mullahs, clan authorities, and persons hostile to Soviet power have been noted in Shortandy District. For example, during the Muslim religious holiday of Uraza-Ait in July of this year, in the collective farm named after Comrade Shvernik, Ingush special settlers collected money and bought a bull calf, with which they demonstratively walked around the entire settlement. Near the cemetery, the bull calf was slaughtered. The meat, distributed piece by piece to those present, was eaten. A prayer was held, during which the mullah called on

the entire Ingush population not to go to work in honor of the holiday. As a result, 43 collective farmers did not go to work that day. At the Dzhelambet mine, 30 people did not go to work that day...

Recently, the influence of mullahs has increased; under the cover of performing religious rites, they organize illegal gatherings at which they conduct anti-Soviet agitation.

Several Chechen-Ingush communities led by mullahs exist on the territory of Shortandy District. At their gatherings, they call on young people not to wear their hair, not to join the Komsomol, not to go to clubs or cinemas visited by Russians, and not to play musical instruments...» [15].

Thus, religious practice performed not only its direct function but also served as a form of peaceful protest against the existing order. It became one of the main ways of preserving and reproducing collective memory.

Because there were no national schools, press, or literature in the places of exile, the native language was preserved exclusively within the closed family circle. The older generation assumed the full role of transmitters of the linguistic and cultural code. At the same time, Islam, under the anti-religious Soviet doctrine, took the form of hidden practices. Rituals — from daily prayers to funeral and marriage rites — were performed secretly but consistently, which strongly reinforced the internal cohesion of the community. Adat proved to be an equally resilient institution. In a situation where official law-enforcement and judicial bodies were perceived as elements of a repressive apparatus, traditional councils of elders helped regulate intragroup disputes, maintain social discipline, and organize assistance to the most vulnerable members of the diaspora. In these circumstances, the language issue became one of the key factors in preserving identity. Unlike other peoples deported to Kazakhstan during roughly the same period, the issue of primary education in the native language did not arise for the peoples of the North Caucasus. Archival materials confirm that in some districts of Kazakhstan primary classes were opened in which instruction was conducted in German, Polish, or Korean. Such a practice was possible primarily in areas of compact settlement of the corresponding ethnic groups, where the necessary teaching personnel existed. The situation was different for the Chechens and Ingush, mainly because they were settled across almost all regions of Kazakhstan; this was one of the principal reasons for the absence of primary classes in the Chechen or Ingush languages. Nevertheless, archival documents contain evidence of attempts to open classes in the Chechen language. One document notes: «In the city of Karaganda, the public education authorities in the previous academic year (the 1950 academic year) organized a special class for Chechen children at schools Nos. 21-23, with Chechens appointed as teachers. We believe that such an approach has not justified itself in practice, since, in the presence of separate classes, young people are insufficiently introduced to public life. (Deputy Head of the Operational Detachment of the MGB of the Kazakh SSR for Political Affairs — Major Kuksenok)» [16].

However, the absence of education in the native language of the North Caucasian peoples did not lead to the loss of that language. On the contrary, the family became the principal institution of intergenerational transmission of linguistic memory, turning language into one of the most important elements of collective identity.

Under conditions of limited trust in Soviet institutions, adat became the mechanism of the community's internal social self-organization. The adherence of North Caucasian peoples to tradition was perceived by the Soviet administrative system as a medieval remnant. One inspector wrote the following in an official memorandum: «Among the special settlers there are many facts indicating remnants of the feudal order, such as polygamy. Thus, in Tyulkubas District certain special settlers / Batalov Ali, Salsaev Tutu, Baisurnaev M., and others / have two or three wives each. There are a significant number of criminal manifestations among the special settlers, connected mainly with the theft of socialist property and hooliganism» [16].

Criminal offenses committed by special settlers from the North Caucasus can be conditionally divided into two groups. The first consists of offenses committed out of desperation, in an attempt to survive and save one's family from starvation. These were mostly thefts of livestock or other food products. Such crimes were especially characteristic of the first years of the forced resettlement of the peoples of the North Caucasus, when there was practically no food provision by the state in almost all regions of Kazakhstan or when supply interruptions occurred. Later, crimes of this nature were recorded on a much smaller scale. Numerous documented facts attest to the difficult situation of special settlers from the North Caucasus in the first years of their deportation. For example, Stavitsky, Deputy Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of East Kazakhstan Region, wrote in an official memorandum: «Among the able-bodied there are many who are not working because of the lack of warm clothing and footwear. Chechens who are not working live in exceptionally difficult conditions and have neither the opportunity nor the means even to redeem bread with ration cards, let alone other food products; this leads to severe exhaustion and mortality,

especially among children. According to incomplete data, among the total number of Chechens as of 1 January 1945, 332 persons died, including 190 children; since mortality is concealed, the dead are not registered anywhere and are buried secretly, hidden from the commandant's offices. The main cause of mortality is dystrophy and gastrointestinal diseases» [17]. Such conditions were observed in all regions of Kazakhstan and became one of the main causes of criminal offenses connected with the theft of another's property. The second group consisted of offenses motivated not so much by self-interest as by the desire to preserve traditional forms of social organization, religious practices, and elements of ethnocultural identity that conflicted with the requirements of the Soviet administrative system.

The role of the receiving side: empathy despite the system. The image of the local population occupies a special place in the historiography of deportation and in the collective memory of descendants. Official decrees by central authorities concerning the provision of housing, food, medical assistance, and employment for special settlers were systematically not implemented by local authorities because of limited resources or administrative indifference. In these circumstances, the line between life and death was often determined by informal support.

Archival documents show that from the first days of the placement of the deported peoples of the North Caucasus, Soviet authorities attempted to form a particular understanding among the local population regarding the reasons for their resettlement. To this end, secret instructions were sent to district leaders of the Kazakh SSR regulating procedures for working with special settlers and containing the official interpretation of the reasons for deportation. Thus, the head of Verkh-Uba District received the following directive: «In order to avoid incorrect interpretations of the reasons for the resettlement of Chechens and Ingush from the North Caucasus to Kazakhstan and to prevent possible attempts by settlers to spread provocative rumors, you must take the following into account: Chechens and Ingush were resettled to Kazakhstan by decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR because, during the Patriotic War and especially during the presence of German-fascist troops in the Caucasus, many Chechens and Ingush betrayed the Motherland, went over to the side of the German occupiers, joined the ranks of saboteurs and intelligence agents dropped by the Germans behind the Red Army lines for subversive work, and, with German support, created armed bands to fight Soviet power.

Before the war, many Chechens and Ingush had for many years participated in armed uprisings against Soviet power and, for a long time without being engaged in honest labor, committed bandit raids on collective farms in neighboring regions, robbing and killing people...» [18]. The content of such directives formed among local authorities an official interpretation of the reasons for the deportation of the peoples of the North Caucasus, which was then transmitted to the population. As a result, even before the arrival of special settlers, they were perceived as a potentially unreliable category of the population. This information policy contributed to the formation of a cautious attitude toward the newcomers, which objectively complicated their adaptation in the places of special settlement. At the same time, archival materials and eyewitness memoirs show that initial caution did not always determine actual relations between the local population and the deportees. The local Kazakh population, which had itself recently experienced a demographic catastrophe as a result of the famine of the 1930s, displayed a high level of empathy. Jointly overcoming the difficulties of the first years of special settlement contributed to the development of mutual assistance regardless of ethnic affiliation. The sharing of meager rations and the provision of space in cramped adobe houses and dug-outs to freezing families were manifestations of mutual aid that were permanently imprinted in the memory of the first generation of deportees. The recollections of Maryam Musaeva, recorded by her granddaughter Milana Maltsagova (School No. 2, tenth grade), state: «On 11 March 1944, we arrived with my sisters (the youngest was nine months old) and my little brother (four years old) in East Kazakhstan. They had never seen so much snow — one and a half meters. They were brought by sleigh to the district center of Predgornny. Aunt Zalva recalled: 'They began asking who we were, where we were from, who the adults were, who our parents were. I spoke Russian well and told them that our mother and brother worked at a military plant and that our father was at the front. I showed the last letter he had sent from the front. They asked us and themselves: why were you deported? Many people were perplexed. The logic of life did not fit the fiction about «Chechen bandits.» They called in the office cleaner. They heated the bathhouse and washed us. There were so many lice! They fed us milk and bread. In the morning they summoned the chairman of the collective farm, and we were placed in the collective-farm kindergarten'» [11; 241-242].

The assistance of the local population occupied a special place in the collective memory of the deported peoples of the North Caucasus. Decades later, manifestations of human compassion and mutual aid are preserved in family narratives alongside memories of the difficult conditions of deportation. As a result, in the

collective consciousness of descendants, the image of Kazakhstan is associated not only with the tragedy of forced resettlement but also with the experience of mutual support that enabled many families to survive the first and most difficult years of special settlement.

Kazakhstan as a space for the formation of a new identity. One of the most significant consequences of the forced migrations of the peoples of the North Caucasus was the gradual change in the perception of the space of exile itself. For the first generation, Kazakhstan was associated primarily with forced resettlement, difficult living conditions, the loss of the homeland, and the need for daily survival. For subsequent generations, however, this space was gradually re-evaluated. Historical memory of deportation did not disappear, but its symbolic content changed.

Long-term residence in Kazakhstan, inclusion in the republic's economic, educational, and public life, and the development of good-neighborly relations with the local population led to the formation of a new model of self-identification. At the same time, integration into Kazakhstani society was not accompanied by the loss of ethnocultural distinctiveness. On the contrary, the preservation of language, family traditions, Islamic religious practices, and adat norms enabled deported peoples to maintain a stable ethnic identity while simultaneously becoming part of Kazakhstan's public life.

In other words, the formation of the cultural and national identity of the peoples of the North Caucasus was a dynamic process of the constant reinterpretation of the past under the influence of new historical conditions, which confirms Stuart Hall's concept of cultural identity. In this context, the memory of deportation acts not only as testimony to collective trauma, but also as an important resource for constructing contemporary self-consciousness. The historical experience of forced resettlement was integrated into a new social reality; it did not destroy but, on the contrary, strengthened the sense of belonging to one's own people.

The receiving environment also played an important role in this process. Despite the state's policy of isolating special settlers and spreading negative stereotypes about the peoples of the North Caucasus, numerous archival documents and eyewitness recollections testify to manifestations of mutual aid and human solidarity on the part of the local population. This experience of jointly overcoming difficult living conditions gradually became an integral part of the collective memory of the deported peoples.

As a result, a distinctive binary model of identity formed in the collective consciousness of several generations. The North Caucasus continues to be perceived as the historical and spiritual ancestral homeland, the source of language, traditions, clan memory, and cultural heritage. At the same time, Kazakhstan occupies a special place as the space of historical survival, social adaptation, and the formation of new generations. It was here that families were created, children and grandchildren of the deported grew up, and new social ties and professional communities were formed.

Thus, the contemporary identity of the descendants of deported peoples is not an opposition between two spaces of memory but their mutually complementary coexistence. Historical memory preserves an emotional connection with the Caucasus, while Kazakhstan becomes not only a place of residence but also an important part of the people's collective biography. This dual identity demonstrates that prolonged residence in another cultural environment did not lead to assimilation; instead, it formed a new model of ethnocultural community combining loyalty to historical traditions with a stable civic belonging to contemporary Kazakhstan.

From the institutionalization of memory to social mobility. During the first decades after deportation, traumatic experience was transmitted exclusively through intrafamily channels. Beginning in the late 1980s, however, a process of active institutionalization of memory began. Classified materials on the deportation of the peoples of the USSR to Kazakhstan entered the public sphere. The construction of memorials to victims of political repression, the opening of access to regional archives, the publication of lists of special settlers, and the creation of ethnocultural associations legitimized this memory at the state level. For descendants of the deported, this became a crucial stage: their internal, deeply personal family pain received official recognition.

Today, an important sociological shift can be observed in the self-consciousness of the third and fourth generations of descendants of the deported. Cultural trauma no longer functions as a factor of marginalization. On the contrary, it has been transformed into a powerful stimulus for social mobility, economic activity, and constructive achievement. Memory of what their ancestors endured generates in contemporary generations a strong motivation to achieve stability and establish themselves in society. At the same time, North Caucasian ethnic identity does not conflict with broader Kazakhstani civic belonging. As noted above, the concept of the Homeland has acquired a binary character: the Caucasus remains a sacred ancestral homeland

and spiritual reference point, the repository of language and adat, while Kazakhstan is perceived as the real, hard-won, and inseparable Fatherland.

Discussion

The problem of the deportation of the peoples of the North Caucasus to Kazakhstan and its influence on the formation of collective memory and national identity is considered in this study through the prism of several interrelated theoretical traditions. The key methodological reference point is Stuart Hall's concept of cultural identity, according to which identity is not a fixed essence but a continuous process of construction under the influence of historical circumstances. Applied to the experience of deported peoples, this means that collective memory of forced resettlement became not merely a repository of the past but an active mechanism for forming ethnic solidarity and cultural distinctiveness in the multiethnic space of contemporary Kazakhstan.

The recollections presented above make it possible to move from an empirical description of deportation to an analysis of the mechanisms by which collective memory is formed. Their interpretation requires recourse to contemporary concepts in Memory Studies.

Central to understanding the nature of collective memory of deportation is the concept of cultural trauma introduced by J. Alexander. According to his definition, cultural trauma arises when members of a community perceive themselves as participants in a horrific event that leaves an indelible mark on group consciousness and irreversibly changes their future identity [19]. The forced migration of the peoples of the North Caucasus meets all criteria of cultural trauma: it was sudden and total, affected all spheres of social life, and marked an insurmountable rupture between the customary way of life in mountain villages and the conditions of existence in Kazakhstani exile.

Studying how subsequent generations construct their identity requires turning to M. Hirsch's concept of «postmemory» [20]. This term describes the specific experience of those who grew up in the shadow of traumatic memories that are not their own but are deeply intimate. Hirsch shows that descendants «appropriate» the memory of their ancestors through family stories and visual artifacts, experiencing it as part of their own identity. This explains the stability of North Caucasian identity in the third and fourth generations of the diaspora in Kazakhstan. Evidently, this tendency will persist for more than one generation.

A key role in understanding mechanisms of memory preservation is played by P. Nora's theory of sites of memory [21], which connects memory with the emotional experience of the present and the reconstruction of the past, emphasizing the special role of symbolic places. In relation to the deported, such «sites of memory» include not only memorial objects and cemeteries but also the very spaces where diasporas lived — settlements and quarters in cities and collective farms where communities were concentrated. Even for later generations who did not live in those places, they acquire special symbolic significance in the collective memory of descendants of the deported.

Jan Assmann's concept of cultural memory is also important for the study. According to this concept, historical experience is preserved through cultural practices, commemorative events, monuments, museum exhibitions, educational programs, and other symbolic forms of memory transmission [22]. This concept makes it possible to consider deportation as a significant element of historical memory that influences contemporary processes of preserving cultural heritage and ethnic identity. These include the state Day of Remembrance for Victims of Political Repression and Famine, observed annually in the Republic of Kazakhstan on 31 May; the Day of Remembrance and Sorrow of the Chechen and Ingush peoples, observed on 23 February; and local events, such as the unveiling on 30 May 2024 of a memorial in the settlement of Botakara in Karaganda Region dedicated to the Chechens and Ingush deported to Kazakhstan. These commemorative dates and memorial events show that the memory of deportation has gradually moved beyond family recollections and become part of Kazakhstan's public historical memory.

The social nature of collective memory is substantiated by M. Halbwachs [23], according to whom collective recollections arise not in individual consciousness but in the process of communication within a group. This is why family narratives of deportation, transmitted from generation to generation, possess such stability. P. Sztompka [24] supplemented this view by showing that social changes become traumatic when they are sudden, all-encompassing, and destroy the habitual foundations of existence.

A. Huyssen [25] introduces the metaphor of the «palimpsest» to describe the multilayered nature of historical memory: the settlements of Kazakhstan in which special settlers from the North Caucasus were placed carry several memorial layers that do not simply overlap — Kazakh nomadic memory, memory of the Soviet past, and the memory of deported diasporas. Localities, districts, or state farms did not always have names

that reflected their actual meaning; more precisely, the official name did not always convey the essence of the place. For example, in almost all regions of Kazakhstan in the postwar Soviet period there were German or Chechen settlements that officially bore entirely different names, but in the memory of descendants of special settlers they were associated with the place of exile of their ancestors.

Kazakhstani researchers K.A. Medeuova, U.M. Sandybaeva, and others [26] show that sites of memory in Kazakhstan function simultaneously as repositories of ethnic specificity and as spaces of interethnic dialogue. In the narratives of descendants, the assistance of the local population is perceived as a sacred debt of gratitude, which formed an inseparable spiritual bond between the peoples of the North Caucasus and the Great Steppe — a bond that remains clearly visible today.

Recent Kazakhstani scholarship published in 2023–2025 has significantly expanded the empirical study of deported communities. Kozgambayeva and Abildos examine the social adaptation of Chechens and Ingush and emphasize the difficulties of settlement, the stigmatizing policy of the Soviet state, and the role of Kazakh assistance in adaptation [27]. Makalakov and Shotbakova reconstruct the labor activity of Chechen and Ingush special settlers in Central Kazakhstan, showing both their integration into major industrial enterprises and the systematic disregard of their formally established rights [28]. More recent research on medical care and educational integration likewise demonstrates that adaptation was prolonged and constrained by high morbidity, inadequate healthcare, linguistic barriers, and social insecurity, even as special settlers maintained high labor activity and cultural distinctiveness [29]. These studies primarily foreground adaptation, labor integration, and institutional conditions. The present article complements this recent historiography by shifting the analytical focus to the intergenerational transformation of deportation memory and by examining how family narratives, language, religion, and adat jointly converted traumatic experience into a resource of identity reproduction. In this respect, the proposed binary model of identity — ancestral attachment to the North Caucasus combined with civic and historical rootedness in Kazakhstan — extends the discussion from the history of adaptation to the long-term cultural effects of forced migration.

Conclusions

The study conducted allows us to conclude that the forced resettlement of the peoples of the North Caucasus to Kazakhstan represents not only a tragic episode of Soviet nationality policy but also a prolonged historical and cultural process that had a determining influence on the formation of collective memory and national-cultural identity among several generations of deported peoples.

An analysis of archival documents, eyewitness recollections, and contemporary research shows that, under conditions of forced resettlement, the family, religious traditions, adat norms, preservation of the native language, and intragroup mutual assistance became the principal mechanisms for preserving historical memory and cultural distinctiveness. Under the prolonged ban on public discussion of deportation, family narratives performed the function of an alternative historical space, ensuring the intergenerational transmission of memory of the tragedy experienced.

The study confirms that collective memory of forced migration underwent a significant transformation. For the first generation, it was the direct experience of personal tragedy; for the second generation, it was the memory of family experience; for the third and fourth generations, it became a crucial element of national and cultural identity. At the same time, memory of deportation is not limited to reproducing the past; it performs a constructive function by ensuring the preservation of ethnocultural values, strengthening intragroup solidarity, and reproducing historical experience.

Of special importance is the transformation, identified in the study, of the image of Kazakhstan in the collective consciousness of forcibly resettled peoples. The space of forced resettlement gradually became a space of memory and then a space for the formation of new civic belonging. The contemporary identity of descendants of the deported is dual in character: historical memory preserves the sacred significance of the North Caucasus as the ancestral homeland, while Kazakhstan is perceived as the country in which several generations were formed, new social ties emerged, and a sense of civic community arose.

Deportation deprived peoples of territory, but it did not deprive them of memory. Memory itself became the space in which language, traditions, religion, and a sense of belonging to one's people could be preserved.

Thus, the historical experience of deportation testifies not only to the scale of the tragedy of the Stalinist era, but also to the strong capacity of deported peoples to preserve their own cultural distinctiveness under conditions of prolonged political and social pressure. In this case, collective memory acts not only as a

mechanism for preserving the past, but also as an important resource for the formation of contemporary national identity and the development of interethnic harmony in Kazakhstan.

The results obtained broaden contemporary understandings of the influence of forced migrations on the processes of forming collective memory and identity and may be used in further research on historical memory, ethnocultural processes, and the politics of memory in multiethnic societies.

References

- 1 Полян П. Не по своей воле...: История и география принудительных миграций в СССР / П. Полян. — М.: О.Г.И. Мемориал, 2001. — 327 с.
- 2 Сталинские депортации. 1928–1953 / сост. Н.Л. Поболь, П.М. Полян; под общ. ред. А.Н. Яковлева. — М.: МФД; Материк, 2005. — 904 с.
- 3 Абылхожин Ж.Б. Очерки социально-экономической истории Казахстана XX века / Ж.Б. Абылхожин. — Алматы: [б.и.], 1997. — 360 с.
- 4 Хальбвакс М. Социальные рамки памяти / М. Хальбвакс. — М.: Новое издательство, 2007. — 348 с.
- 5 Андерсон Б. Воображаемые сообщества. Размышления об истоках и распространении национализма / Б. Андерсон. — М.: Канон-пресс-Ц; Кучково поле, 2001. — 288 с.
- 6 Смит Э.Д. Национальная идентичность / Э.Д. Смит. — М.: Праксис, 2004. — 224 с.
- 7 Репина Л.П. Историческая память и современная историография / Л.П. Репина. — М.: Кругъ, 2003. — 320 с.
- 8 Емельянова Т.П. Коллективная память в контексте обыденного политического сознания / Т.П. Емельянова // Знание. Понимание. Умение. — 2012. — № 4. — С. 42–49.
- 9 Козыбаев М.К. Ақтандақтар ақиқаты / М.К. Козыбаев. — Алматы: Қазақ университеті, 1992. — 272 б.
- 10 Шотбакова Л.К. Депортация народов Кавказа в Казахстан: история и проблемы реабилитации / Л.К. Шотбакова // Вестник Карагандинского университета. Серия История. Философия. — 2022. — № 1. — С. 170–180.
- 11 Сактаганова З.Г. Фрагменты воспоминаний депортированных женщин: адаптация и жизнь в Казахстане / З.Г. Сактаганова // Мир Большого Алтая. — 2019. — Т. 5, № 2. — С. 233–246.
- 12 Etkind A. Warped Mourning: Stories of the Undead in the Land of the Unburied / A. Etkind. — Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013. — 328 p.
- 13 Проект «Мой ГУЛАГ». Из воспоминаний Иссы Кодзоева [Электронный ресурс] / Студия визуальной антропологии Музея истории ГУЛАГа. — 2018. — Режим доступа: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CM_j6DIYvgY
- 14 Из истории депортаций. Казахстан. 1939–1945 гг.: сборник документов: [в 3 т.] / под общей редакцией Д.Ю. Абдукадыровой. — Алматы: LEM, 2019. — Т. 3. — 708 с.
- 15 Государственный архив Карагандинской области (далее — ГАКО). — Ф. 1п. — Оп. 1. — Д. 119; Д. 132; — Ф. 3п. — Оп. 1. — Д. 187.
- 16 Архив Президента Республики Казахстан (далее — АП РК). — Ф. 708. — Оп. 16. — Д. 54. — Л. 94–95, 98.
- 17 Государственный архив Восточно-Казахстанской области (далее — ГАВКО). — Ф. 1п. — Оп. 1. — Д. 2741. — Л. 2.
- 18 Государственный архив Восточно-Казахстанской области (далее — ГАВКО). — Ф. 1п. — Оп. 1. — Д. 1430. — Л. 288.
- 19 Александер Д. Культурная травма и коллективная идентичность / Д. Александер // Социологический журнал. — 2012. — № 3. — С. 6–40.
- 20 Hirsch M. The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust / M. Hirsch. — New York: Columbia University Press, 2012. — 305 p.
- 21 Нора П. Франция-память / П. Нора. — СПб.: Издательство Санкт-Петербургского университета, 1999. — 328 с.
- 22 Ассман Я. Культурная память: письмо, память о прошлом и политическая идентичность в высоких культурах древности / Я. Ассман. — М.: Языки славянской культуры, 2004. — 368 с.
- 23 Хальбвакс М. Коллективная и историческая память / М. Хальбвакс // Неприкосновенный запас. — 2005. — № 2-3 (40-41). — С. 8–27.
- 24 Штомпка П. Социальные изменения как травма / П. Штомпка // Социологические исследования. — 2001. — № 1. — С. 6–16.
- 25 Huyssen A. Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory / A. Huyssen. — Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003. — 177 p.
- 26 Медеуова К.А. Практики и места памяти в Казахстане / К.А. Медеуова, У.М. Сандыбаева и др. — Астана: ЕНУ им. Л.Н. Гумилева, 2017. — 320 с.
- 27 Козгамбаева Г.Б. Қазақстанға Екінші дүниежүзілік соғыс жылдарында жер аударылған халықтардың әлеуметтік бейімделу мәселелері (шешен және ингуш халықтары мысалында) / Г.Б. Козгамбаева, Р. Абидос // Қазақ ұлттық университетінің хабаршысы. Тарих сериясы. — 2023. — Т. 111, № 4. — Б. 48–58.

28 Макалаков Т.Ж. Трудовая деятельность чеченцев и ингушей, насильственно переселенных в Казахстан в 40-е годы XX века (на примере Центрального Казахстана) / Т.Ж. Макалаков, Л.К. Шотбакова // Вестник Карагандинского университета. Серия «История. Философия». — 2024. — Т. 29, Вып. 3 (115). — С. 110–117.

29 Макалаков Т.Ж. Проблемы адаптации спецпереселенцев из Северного Кавказа в Казахстан: медицинское обслуживание и образование / Т.Ж. Макалаков // Вестник Карагандинского университета. Серия «История. Философия». — 2025. — Т. 30, Вып. 4 (120). — С. 91–100.

References

- 1 Polian, P. (2001). *Ne po svoei vole... Istoriia i geografiia prinuditelnykh migratsii v SSSR* [Not by Their Own Will: History and Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR]. Moscow: O.G.I.; Memorial [in Russian].
- 2 Pobol, N.L., & Polian, P.M. (Comp.). (2005). *Stalinskie deportatsii. 1928–1953* [Stalinist Deportations. 1928–1953]. A.N. Yakovlev (Ed.). Moscow: MFD; Materik [in Russian].
- 3 Abylkhozhin, Zh.B. (1997). *Ocherki sotsialno-ekonomicheskoi istorii Kazakhstana XX veka* [Essays on the Socio-Economic History of Kazakhstan in the Twentieth Century]. Almaty: [b.i.] [in Russian].
- 4 Khalbvaks, M. (2007). *Sotsialnye ramki pamiati* [The Social Frameworks of Memory]. Moscow: Novoe izdatelstvo [in Russian].
- 5 Anderson, B. (2001). *Voobrazhaemye soobshchestva. Razmyshleniia ob istokakh i rasprostraneni natsionalizma* [Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism]. Moscow: Kanon-Press-Ts; Kuchkovo pole [in Russian].
- 6 Smith, A.D. (2004). *Natsionalnaia identichnost* [National Identity]. Moscow: Praxis [in Russian].
- 7 Repina, L.P. (2003). *Istoricheskaia pamiat i sovremennaia istoriografiia* [Historical Memory and Modern Historiography]. Moscow: Krug [in Russian].
- 8 Emelianova, T.P. (2012). Kollektivnaia pamiat v kontekste obydenogo politicheskogo soznaniia [Collective Memory in the Context of Everyday Political Consciousness]. *Znanie. Ponimanie. Umenie — Knowledge. Understanding. Skill*, 4, 42–49 [in Russian].
- 9 Kozybayev, M.K. (1992). *Aqtandaqtar aqiqaty* [The Truth about the «Blank Spots»]. Almaty: Qazaq universiteti [in Kazakh].
- 10 Shotbakova, L.K. (2022). Deportatsiia narodov Kavkaza v Kazakhstan: istoriia i problemy reabilitatsii [Deportation of the Peoples of the Caucasus to Kazakhstan: History and Problems of Rehabilitation]. *Vestnik Karagandinskogo universiteta. Serii Istoriia. Filosofiiia — Bulletin of Karaganda University. History. Philosophy Series*, 1, 170–180 [in Russian].
- 11 Saktaganova, Z.G. (2019). Fragmenty vospominanii deportirovannykh zhenshchin: adaptatsiia i zhizn v Kazakhstane [Fragments of Memoirs of Deported Women: Adaptation and Life in Kazakhstan]. *Mir Bolshogo Altaia — The World of Greater Altai*, 5(2), 233–246 [in Russian].
- 12 Etkind, A. (2013). *Warped Mourning: Stories of the Undead in the Land of the Unburied*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- 13 (2018). Proekt «Moi GULAG». Iz vospominanii Issy Kodzoeva [Project «My GULAG». Memoirs of Issa Kodzoev]. Studio of Visual Anthropology, GULAG History Museum. [www.youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CM_j6DIYvgY). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CM_j6DIYvgY
- 14 Abdukadyrova, D.Yu. (2019). *Iz istorii deportatsii. Kazakhstan. 1939–1945 gg.: sbornik dokumentov* [From the History of Deportations. Kazakhstan. 1939–1945: Documentary Collection]. Vol. 3. Almaty: LEM [in Russian].
- 15 GAKO [State Archive of the Karaganda Region]. — F. 1p. — Op. 1. — D. 119; D.132. — F. 3p. — Op. 1. — D. 187 [in Russian].
- 16 AP RK [Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan]. — F. 708. — Op. 16. — D. 54. — L. 94–95, 98 [in Russian].
- 17 GAVKO [State Archive of the East Kazakhstan Region]. — F. 1p. — Op. 1. — D. 2741. — L. 2 [in Russian].
- 18 GAVKO [State Archive of the East Kazakhstan Region]. — F. 1p. — Op. 1. — D. 1430. — L. 288 [in Russian].
- 19 Alexander, J.C. (2012). Kulturnaia travma i kollektivnaia identichnost [Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity]. *Sotsiologicheskii zhurnal — Sociological Journal*, 3, 6–40 [in Russian].
- 20 Hirsch, M. (2012). *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 21 Nora, P. (1999). *Frantsiia-pamiat* [Realms of Memory: France]. Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg University Press [in Russian].
- 22 Assmann, J. (2004). *Kulturnaia pamiat: pismo, pamiat o proshlom i politicheskaia identichnost v vysokikh kulturakh drevnosti* [Cultural Memory: Writing, Remembrance of the Past and Political Identity in Early Civilizations]. Moscow: Yazyki slavianskoi kultury [in Russian].
- 23 Halbwachs, M. (2005). Kollektivnaia i istoricheskaia pamiat [Collective and Historical Memory]. *Neprikosnovennyi zapas — Emergency Reserve*, 2-3(40-41), 8–27 [in Russian].

- 24 Sztompka, P. (2001). Sotsialnye izmeneniia kak travma [Social Change as Trauma]. *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia — Sociological Studies*, 1, 6–16 [in Russian].
- 25 Huyssen, A. (2003). *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- 26 Medeuova, K.A., Sandybaeva, U.M., et al. (2017). *Praktiki i mesta pamiati v Kazakhstane* [Practices and Sites of Memory in Kazakhstan]. Astana: Eurasiskii Nacionalnoi Universitet imeni L.N. Gumilyova [in Russian].
- 27 Kozgambaeva, G.B., & Abildos, R. (2023). *Qazaqstanga Ekinshi duniezhuzilik sogys zhyldarynda zher audarylgan khalyqtardyn aleumettik beıimdelu maseleleri (sheshen zhane ingush khalyqtary mysalynda)* [Problems of social adaptation of deported peoples during the Second World War in Kazakhstan (on the example of Chechens and Ingush)]. *Qazaq ulttyq universitetinin khabarshysy. Tarikh seriiasy — Bulletin of the Kazakh National University. Historical Series*, 111, 4, 48–58 [in Kazakh].
- 28 Makalakov, T.Zh., & Shotbakova, L.K. (2024). Trudovaia deiatelnost chechentsev i ingushei, nasilstvenno pereselennykh v Kazakhstan v 40-e gody XX veka (na primere Tsentralnogo Kazakhstana) [Labor activity of Chechens and Ingush forcibly resettled to Kazakhstan in the 40s of the twentieth century (using the example of Central Kazakhstan)]. *Vestnik Karagandinskogo universiteta. Seriya Istoriia. Filosofiiia — Bulletin of the Karaganda University. History. Philosophy Series*, 29, 3(115), 110–117 [in Russian].
- 29 Makalakov, T.Zh. (2025). Problemy adaptatsii spetspereselentsev iz Severnogo Kavkaza v Kazakhstan: meditsinskoe obsluzhivanie i obrazovanie [The adaptation issues of special settlers from the North Caucasus in Kazakhstan: Medical care and education]. *Vestnik Karagandinskogo universiteta. Seriya Istoriia. Filosofiiia — Bulletin of the Karaganda University. History. Philosophy Series*, 30(4), 91–100 [in Russian].

Author Information

Talgat Zh. Makalakov (*corresponding author*) — PhD Student, Senior Lecturer, Abylkas Saginov Karaganda Technical University, Karaganda, Kazakhstan, e-mail: makalakov77@mail.ru, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2016-3056>

Автор туралы мәліметтер

Талгат Ж. Макалаков (*хат-хабарға жауапты автор*) — PhD докторант, аға оқытушы, Ө. Сағынов атындағы Қарағанды техникалық университеті, Қарағанды, Қазақстан, e-mail: makalakov77@mail.ru, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2016-3056>

Сведения об авторе

Талгат Ж. Макалаков (*автор-корреспондент*) — PhD докторант, старший преподаватель, Карагандинский технический университет имени А. Сагинова, Караганда, Казахстан, e-mail: makalakov77@mail.ru, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2016-3056>

Conflicts of Interest. The author declares no conflict of interest / **Конфликт интересов.** Автор заявляет об отсутствии конфликта интересов / **Мүдделер қақтығысы.** Автор мүдделер қақтығысының жоқ екенін мәлімдейді.