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All-Union censuses as resources of historical and demographic research of the urban population in 1950-1980-s.

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Abstract. The results of All-Union censuses' analysis as sources of historical and demographic research are represented in the paper. The Censuses characterize different groups of the population at a particular time. They form a large set of statistical materials distributed in various thematic tables. The sources of the paper are systematized into census tables submitted to the state archives, as well as statistical collections where the results of the censuses are presented in a concise form. The aim of the paper is to describe those census materials that are valuable for the research of demographic characteristics of the urban population. Internal criticism of sources and the method of comparative analysis are research methods. As a result, it is revealed that All-Union censuses with certain shortcomings included are generally an accurate statistical resource. However, the situation might be different for the population of individual republics and regions. The country's leadership insisted on hiding the information about the size and territorial location of certain categories of the population. The special census procedure was applied to military personnel, employees of local KGB bodies and employees of individual industrial enterprises, etc. Closed cities which population was also distributed across different regions of the country were not included into the census systematized tables. The author's method for calculating the approximate size of population attributions, which requires Soviet-era statistics, and recalculations based on the results of the 2002 All-Russian Census is applied. Currently, most of the census materials can be easily found in central and regional archives and libraries. Certain difficulties occur while searching for some rarely found information that is obvious due to the fact that they have not yet been transferred to archives from departmental repositories. Thus, as a result of the analysis of statistical collections and tables, the census data relevant for the study of the urban population, their completeness and reliability are revealed in the paper for the first time. The specific features of publications of the results of different censuses are represented and the places of their storage are indicated. It gives an opportunity for scholars to introduce with the materials that can be a foundation for further description of the most important trends and patterns in the numerical, gender, age, social class, and national composition of the urban population in the 1950-s and 1980-s.

Keywords: historical demography; sources; All-Union population censuses; accuracy of censuses; accessibility of censuses; Soviet Union; statistics

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Всесоюзные переписи как источники историко-демографических исследований городского населения в 1950-е – 1980-е гг.

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Аннотация. В предлагаемой статье представлены результаты изучения Всесоюзных переписей как источников историко-демографических исследований. Переписи характеризуют разные группы населения в конкретный момент времени. Они представляют собой большой комплекс статистических материалов, распределенных по различным тематическим таблицам. В качестве источников статьи выступили систематизированные переписные таблицы, переданные в государственные архивы, а также статистические сборники, в которых итоги переписей представлены в сжатом виде. Целью работы является описание тех материалов переписей, которые представляют наибольшую ценность при изучении демографических характеристик городского населения. В качестве методов исследования выступили внутренняя критика источников, метод сравнительного анализа. В результате сделан вывод, что Всесоюзные переписи при наличии отдельных недостатков в целом являются довольно точным статистическим источником. Однако в отношении численности населения отдельных республик и областей ситуация выглядит иначе. Руководство страны считало, что от общества следует скрывать информацию о численности и территориальном расположении некоторых категорий населения. Особый порядок переписи распространялся на военнослужащих, сотрудников местных органов КГБ и работников отдельных промышленных предприятий и т.д. Не выделялись в переписных систематизированных таблицах также закрытые города, население которых тоже распределялось по разным регионам страны. Автором представлен метод вычисления приблизительных размеров приписок к населению, для чего необходимы данные статистики советского времени, и перерасчеты, осуществленные от результатов Всероссийской переписи 2002 г. На сегодняшний день большую часть переписных материалов можно без особых затруднений обнаружить в центральных и региональных архивах и библиотеках. Определенные сложности могут возникнуть лишь при поиске некоторых редко встречающихся сведений. Это обычно связано с тем, что они еще не переданы в архивы из ведомственных хранилищ. Таким образом, в результате анализа статистических сборников и таблиц в статье впервые выявлены актуальные для изучения городского населения переписные данные, их полнота и достоверность. Показаны специфические черты публикаций итогов разных переписей и указаны места их хранения. Это дает возможность ученым получить представление о материалах, на основе которых можно определить важнейшие тенденции и закономерности в численном, половозрастном, социальноклассовом, национальном составе городского населения в 1950-1980-е гг.

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Ключевые слова: историческая демография; источники; Всесоюзные переписи населения; точность переписей; доступность переписей; Советский Союз; статистика

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1950-1980 жылдардағы қалалық халықты тарихи-демографиялық зерттеулердің дереккөзі ретінде Бүкілодақтық халық санағы

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Аңдатпа. Бұл мақалада Бүкілодақтық халық санақтарының тарихи-демографиялық зерттеулер үшін дереккөзі ретіндегі маңызы қарастырылады. Санақтар белгілі бір уақыттағы әртүрлі халық топтарын сипаттайды және тақырыптық кестелерге бөлінген ауқымды статистикалық материалдар кешенін құрайды. Зерттеу дереккөздері ретінде мемлекеттік архивтерге тапсырылған жүйелендірілген санақ кестелері мен қысқаша санақ нәтижелері берілген статистикалық жинақтар пайдаланылды. Мақаланың мақсаты – қалалық халықтың демографиялық сипаттамаларын зерттеу үшін аса құнды санақ материалдарын сипаттау. Зерттеу әдістері ретінде дереккөздердің ішкі сыни талдауы мен салыстырмалы талдау әдісі қолданылды. Зерттеу нәтижесінде Бүкілодақтық халық санақтары кейбір кемшіліктеріне қарамастан, жалпы алғанда, дәл статистикалық дереккөз болып табылатыны анықталды. Алайда жекелеген республикалар мен облыстардағы халық санына қатысты жағдай өзгеше. Ел басшылығы кейбір халық санаттарының саны мен аумақтық орналасуы туралы ақпаратты қоғамнан жасыру қажет деп санаған. Санақтың ерекше тәртібі әскери қызметшілерге, жергілікті КГБ органдарының қызметкерлеріне және кейбір өнеркәсіптік кәсіпорындардың жұмысшыларына қатысты қолданылған. Сондай-ақ жабық қалалар да жүйелендірілген санақ кестелерінде жеке көрсетілмеген, олардың халқы елдің әртүрлі өңірлеріне бөлініп көрсетілген. Автор халық санына жасалған қосымшалардың шамамен көлемін есептеу әдісін ұсынады, ол үшін кеңестік кезеңдегі статистикалық деректер мен 2002 жылғы Бүкілресейлік халық санағы нәтижелеріне қайта есептеулер қажет. Бүгінгі таңда санақ материалдарының басым бөлігін орталық және өңірлік архивтер мен кітапханалардан қиындықсыз табуға болады. Тек сирек кездесетін кейбір мәліметтерді іздеу барысында қиындықтар туындауы мүмкін, бұл олардың ведомстволық сақтау орындарынан архивтерге әлі тапсырылмағандығымен байланысты.

Осылайша, статистикалық жинақтар мен кестелерді талдау нәтижесінде алғаш рет қалалық халықты зерттеу үшін өзекті санақ деректері, олардың толықтығы мен шынайылығы анықталды. Әртүрлі санақ нәтижелерінің жариялану ерекшеліктері көрсетіліп, олардың сақталу

орындары аталды. Бұл ғалымдарға 1950–1980 жылдардағы қалалық халықтың сандық, жынысжас, әлеуметтік-таптық және ұлттық құрамындағы маңызды үрдістер мен заңдылықтарды анықтауға мүмкіндік береді.

Түйін сөздер: тарихи демография; дереккөздер; Бүкілодақтық халық санағы; санақ дәлдігі; санақ қолжетімділігі; Кеңес Одағы; статистика

Introduction

A full-fledged study of demographic processes is possible only with the broad involvement of statistical sources. These are numerical data that characterize a variety of quantitative patterns in the social life. Government statistics recorded changes in all areas of the national economy, including the demographic subsystem of the country. During the All-Union censuses, extensive and diverse information about the population was collected. However, only a certain part of it can be used for historical and demographic research. Therefore, it is important to find out which census materials which are the most valuable for research of demographic characteristics of the population.

The general principles of collecting, processing and classifying census materials are reviewed in several works (Kiseleva et al. 1983; Merkov 1959; Problems of demographic statistics ... 1966). Some attention was paid to the preparation and conduct of each of them separately (All-Union Population Census ...1976; All-Union Population Census ...1984). In 2013, a paper dedicated to the 200th anniversary of Russian statistics was published, which presents the history of audits and censuses in Russia since ancient times (History of population censuses ...2013). At the same time, pre-war censuses are analyzed in detail in the published works as historical sources (Zhiromskaya et al. 1996; Isupov 2000; Isupov 2011). There are much fewer specialized publications related to the post-war censuses. Among them, a collection of scientific papers prepared at the Novosibirsk Institute of History SB RAS (Demographic History of Russia ...2016) should also be noted.

In general, little attention has been paid to the research of post-war Soviet population censuses as sources of historical and demographic research. For the first time, the features of the census information representation, its completeness and reliability, and differences in content are analyzed based on statistical collections and systematized tables. The specifics of different censuses publication are revealed, and their storage locations are indicated.

Materials and methods

The research methods are the internal criticism of sources and the method of comparative analysis. They offer an opportunity to evaluate the completeness, reliability, accuracy and uniformity of statistical information. Researching the organization of statistical observation and the content of the development tables are a part of internal criticism of the sources. The comparative method consists of data and censuses comparison conducted at different times. Since the degree of preservation of the census data is generally satisfactory, the place and time of creation, the name and originality of the documents are not controversial; the method of external criticism of the source was not applied.

The sources of the paper are publication and systematized tables compiled based on the results of four All-Union censuses conducted from 1959 to 1989. A significant part of the statistical materials obtained during the All-Union censuses are now in the central and regional archives. At the same time, it is somewhat more difficult to gain access to documents that remain in storage in departmental archives. The main body of census tabular information has been transferred to the Russian State Archive of Economy (RGAE). Some of the tables can be found in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) (Dashinamzhilov et al. 2019: 166-173). Some census information was transferred to the libraries of scientific organizations (Distribution of permanent population ...1973). The fact is that some of them had the right to receive census data in order to carry out their planned scientific work. The analysis of the officially published summary results of the All-Union censuses is held in the present paper.

The content of the censuses

Conducting censuses was a large-scale event with the concentration of significant material and human resources and the participation of all levels of government. Events like this, held on average once every ten years, were necessary, first of all, to solve the socio-economic problems of Soviet society. Since the most important questions in the questionnaires have not changed over time, it is possible to compare the results of the censuses in a number of key parameters.

At the same time, the number of indicators developed in the census programs was different. For example, in 1959, the census consisted of 15 questions that were asked to the entire population. In this respect, it differed little from the previous one, conducted before the war (1939). In 1970, for the first time, seven questions were included in the census forms, which were asked to only a quarter of the total population (out of eighteen). They concerned the place of work, occupation, migration, etc. In 1979, the number of such issues was reduced to five, and their total number to sixteen. The 1989 census program was the most extensive, as it had already included twenty–five questions (thirteen mandatory and five selective), seven of them were about the housing situation (Dashinamzhilov 2018: 30).

As a result, the censuses differed greatly in the number of thematic tables. There were the least of them in the first post–war census (36), and in 1970 - already 66. In 1979, their number decreased due to fewer questions asked (54) (History of population censuses ...2013: 267). The numbering of the tables compiled from the data of the continuous and sample censuses was slightly different. So, when naming information obtained in the first way, the letter "c" was added to the table number (for example, "table 5c"). The letter "b" was added to the numbers of the tables formed according to the data of the sample census (for example, "table 18b"). There was no such order in the 1959 census. The addition of letters had a different meaning there. At the same time, some of the tables then had a fractional numeric designation (for example, table 2.5).

The socialist society was heterogeneous in terms of demographic and social characteristics. In this regard, for population groups with similar characteristics, development was carried out throughout the population, cities and villages. The information about the number of inhabitants of urban and rural settlements is the most valuable. Collecting such data on the Soviet Union as a whole, an economic region or a republic gives a chance to make an in-depth comparative analysis of the urbanization and demographic development of the urban population specifics of the selected region. Data on the number of urban residents during the census years is necessary

to calculate the natural and mechanical growth of urban settlements in the inter-census period. In addition, it is also necessary to include information on current statistics on the number of births and deaths.

If a researcher makes a more thorough analysis of the demographic aspects of urbanization, then an in-depth research of the population of each specific city is necessary. For example, while making a research of different functional types of urban settlements such as administrative, industrial and transport, or local organizing centers. Information about the number, age, and national composition of all cities is always available in the census tables. Sometimes it was published in statistical collections.

Another important indicator of urbanization is the nature of the population distribution across cities, which differ in the number of inhabitants. In thematic tables, such a distribution is usually made by regions and republics. Therefore, in order to study in detail, for example, the characteristics of the urban population of an economic area, it is necessary to combine data on all its constituent regions. However, such information is already represented in published statistical collections based on the results of the censuses. The only inconvenience is the lack of comparability of the published data, and therefore it is necessary to consolidate certain categories of cities or search for detailed information about them in other sources.

It is helpful to reveal the specifics of the cities distribution by size because it offers a general view of productive forces concentration and the nature of the economic development of regions, their role in the inter-district division of labor, which is important for interpreting migration processes. To understand the patterns of urbanization, a comparative analysis of large and small urban settlements at the beginning and at the end of the researched historical period is especially relevant. Finally, analyzing the distribution structure of the urban population helps to understand the features of reproductive processes, since the parameters of fertility and mortality depend on the size of cities.

There is valuable information in tables where the population is distributed by gender and age, education, nationalities, occupations, sources of livelihood and social groups. The most important demographic characteristics of the population are gender and age. Most demographic scientists collect information about large territorial entities (regions, territories, or republics). With the support of such information one can calculate the average age, the dynamics of population aging, and assess gender disparities. These data are necessary to identify the structural features of the urban population of the area under study. In some cases, such data help to explain trends in the general coefficients of natural population movement (mortality, fertility).

Such characteristics as age and gender characteristics were thoroughly developed in the censuses. Thus, educational or national composition of the population data were presented not only in general terms, but also with a distribution by age cohorts. In the 1959 census, the question about birth year was not asked, and the ages were determined orally from the interviewees. Due to periodic problems with age accumulation (age rounding) and the accumulation of errors that occurred when determining the age structure, they went on asking for the birth year only since 1970, (All-Union Population Census...1969; All-Union population census...1987).

Demographic data reflecting gender and age composition have traditionally been presented in the form of tables with the population divided by gender and broken down by one-year and five-year age cohorts. Such tables were developed for republics, regions, districts, urban settlements, and villages with populations exceeding a certain threshold (3,000 in 1970, 5,000 in 1979 and 1989).

Gender and age are important demographic indicators that, in addition to current accounting information, help to analyze the reproduction of the population. Such materials are necessary for calculations, together with data on age-related fertility and mortality, of the coefficients of total fertility and life expectancy. It is meaningful to research the age composition of the population of cities of various categories, since it differed significantly at different stages of historical development, especially in small urban settlements. However, such an analysis requires a larger array of sources, which are not always found in archives.

Censuses are the main resource of information about the national and linguistic composition of the population. Traditionally, the question of national identity was included in all the questionnaires. The right to determine it was given to the respondents themselves. As for minors, their parents were responsible for them. In the case of a mixed marriage and disagreements that arose between them with the definition of the nationality of the child, their ethnicity was determined by the affiliation of their mother. The number of nationalities varied slightly in each of the censuses. So, in 1959 and 1989 the entire population of the USSR was divided into 128 ethnic groups and peoples, in 1970 and 1979 into 122 and 123, respectively (Dashinamzhilov et al. 2019: 169).

During the census process the confusion in local names of ethnic groups often occurred. To solve such situations, a special reference material such as dictionaries of peoples and languages was published. They contained recommendations on placing an ethnographic group or a local dialect. Based on the responses received, the specialists of the statistical offices prepared detailed information on each nationality, including information on occupations, sources of livelihood and membership in social groups.

For example, in 1970, a comprehensive study of the national composition of the population of the Soviet Union was conducted. Tables have been created for the largest ethnic groups of republics, national districts, regional centers and large cities (100,000 people and above) with information on their number, level of education, native language and marital status, and gender and age structure. For all other administrative divisions and localities (districts, medium and small urban settlements, and large villages) Their numbers and native language were indicated.

Since the processes of demographic transition were different among the different peoples of the Soviet Union, data on the sex and age composition of their population are helpful for identifying the specifics of their reproduction. Combined with current statistics, which collected and processed information on ethnic age fertility and mortality, calculating the coefficients of total fertility and average life expectancy is necessary.

Assimilation was an important process that influenced on the quantitative composition of peoples, when one nationality, perceiving the language, culture and way of life of another, eventually merged with it. The census materials offer an opportunity to indirectly assess this process by determining the language of the respondents and, above all, the proportion of people who recognized Russian (or any other language) as their mother tongue. Depending on this, it is possible to determine the extent of assimilation and, indirectly, its impact on the numerical representation of the people. Based on the census data, it is also possible to identify the proportion of interethnic families in their total number.

Information about the educational composition of the population plays an important role in historical and demographic research. Based on the tables, it is possible to research the level of education of various age cohorts, social groups, and nationalities. In the censuses of the 1920s, information about the literacy of the population was collected. Only before the war, in 1939, the question about the level of education was included in the questionnaire. In 1959 the issue of literacy was excluded from the census program (Population of Western Siberia ...1997: 13).

Various methods of assessing the level of education were used in the censuses. In 1939 and 1959, it was calculated for the entire population, with data per 1,000 people. In 1970 and 1979, the methodology was adjusted: the level of education was determined for people since 10 years old and older. From this moment they can receive primary education and it is the first step of the educational ladder. In the last Soviet census of 1989, the age threshold was raised to 15 years. This modification made it possible to evaluate the effectiveness of the implementation of the law on universal secondary education.

Information about education is highly important for determining the local specifics of the birth rate and mortality of the population. In Soviet period it was discovered that the birth rate decreases as the educational level increases. People with higher and incomplete higher education have the lowest number of children in their families. While the largest number of children is among people with or without primary education. The mortality rate of the population also has certain logic. Highly educated people, as a rule, lived longer than the rest of the population.

The research of the social structure of society was important for political needs. The country's leadership made propaganda about the elimination of exploitative strata of the population in the USSR, and was proud of the high proportion of the working class and the peasantry. The issue of the social group was first included in the program in 1939 and was represented in all subsequent censuses until the end of the Soviet period.

Due to demographic research it was discovered that the social composition and demographic behavior of the population were in a certain relationship. Thus, in the course of sociological surveys, it was revealed that the collective farm peasantry had the highest birth rate, while employees had the fewest children. The death rate among employees was also lower than that of workers or collective farmers. A certain influence on the reproduction of the population was exerted by its employment in physical or mental labor, as well as sources of livelihood. Thus, the significant employment of women in personal subsidiary farming was a factor in the high birth rate.

To assess local peculiarities in the reproduction of the population, the most general information about the education of the population, its employment and socio-class composition is usually sufficient. To achieve this, one can also use information about the average family size, which is widely represented in published collections.

In conclusion, it is necessary to add a few words about the materials of sample surveys conducted, as already mentioned, since 1970. (Demographic History of Western Siberia...2017: 17). The selective method was significantly economical because it reduced the number of people in the census process and decreased the time spent on its materials development. It was applied for obtaining answers on a wide range of issues, from employment of the population to the birth rate of generations and the intensity of migration processes. Since 1970, information about the socio-class composition of society was also determined on the basis of such data. The analysis of the migration census tables proved that they are not quite accurate, but they

can be used in general trends in inter-district population movement's research. The current accounting information turned out to be more relevant.

Information about the total birth rate of women of different generations is highly important among the sample data. It was developed according to different republics and nationalities. Discussions about the expediency of collecting data on the number of children born were conducted back in the 1950s, but for some reasons the corresponding issue was not included in the program of the 1959 census. This happened only 20 years later, in 1979, when such information was obtained through a survey of women aged 16 and older. Subsequently, such data was collected regularly. They make it possible to identify trends in fertility not among conventional, but among real generations.

At the same time, it must be mentioned that birth rates in real generations are also imperfect. In particular, they are much less related to specific historical conditions, as they represent the results of the reproductive behavior of different generations of women over many years. At the same time, they make it almost impossible to determine how a particular historical event influenced the birth rate, which is especially important for historians and there might be a lot of the latter in the life of a generation. In addition, complete information about the total birth rate can be obtained only by the end of the reproductive period, or by the age of 50.

Availability of census data

In Soviet period it was not easy to get access to the materials of the All-Union censuses. Statistical offices often refused to do this, even to interested scientific organizations. For example, the data from the 1959 census could only be issued on an official basis, including for use in unpublished dissertations of doctoral and postgraduate students. Moreover, for the above-mentioned organizations, information on the distribution of the population by social groups, occupations, branches of the national economy, and sources of livelihood was provided in a special way, in a truncated form. And only in the absence of such pre-prepared information could the statistical offices allow them to manually extract information. Such materials were stamped with special stamps "not subject to publication in the open press" and sent not to the employee who made the extracts, but to the head of the organization that sent the request. Such stamped extracts can sometimes be found in libraries. The census materials became publicly available already in the post-Soviet period.

Information from the All-Union censuses was also published in periodicals, but in a stripped-down form. For example, information on the age composition according to the 1959 census could only be published for enlarged 10-year groups. The publication of information on national composition and education was subject to restrictions. Moreover, the texts of newspaper articles had to be sent first to the CSO's population census department for verification.

Some of the census materials were published for public or limited use. However, their substantive value was, of course, lower than that of the systematized tables. The results of the 1959 All-Union Census were presented in sixteen volumes, fifteen of which were devoted to the Union republics. One consolidated volume included data on the entire Soviet Union. Subsequently, the order of publication of the materials was changed. The data from the 1970 census, published between 1972 and 1974, were structured along thematic lines rather than by national and territorial entities. The amount of information provided by the 1979 census

was significantly reduced. In the mid-1980s, the only collection was released that included data published in the journal Bulletin of Statistics immediately after the census.

In addition, the materials of all censuses were selectively published in special publications for official use. There was a limited accessing to them, and special permission had to be obtained to view them. They were published by the printing houses of the central statistical offices in a limited edition, usually in 200-300 copies. On the title page of each such collection, in addition to the "chipboard" stamp, the serial number of the copy was indicated. The results of the 1970 and 1979 censuses were published in ten volumes for private use. Moreover, the last of them was republished during the perestroika period and became publicly available.

In addition to the publications mentioned above, the statistical offices of the USSR and the RSFSR published a wide range of various thematic collections. Some of them were transferred to specialized collections of libraries of research institutes. In them, information about the population was presented in more detail, although often also in a camouflaged form. For example, in the collection "Age composition and marital status of the population of the RSFSR (according to the 1979 All-Union Population Census)", published in 1980. The age composition is represented by such cohorts, which significantly complicated the calculations of reproduction and comparison with other censuses ("0-2" years, "3-6", "7-9" years, etc.).

However, they were convenient because the information in them was often published in comparison with previous censuses, by enlarged demographic groups (Age composition of the population ... 1962; National composition of the population ...1975; Urban settlements of the RSFSR ...1980). Local statistical offices also published such collections, but this time in relation to the population of regions, territories and republics (Distribution of permanent population ... 1973; Results of the All-Union population Census ...1971). At the moment, access to them in those libraries where they have been preserved is free.

The results of the last Soviet census (1989) were published in small pamphlets (Population of the USSR ...1990). More detailed materials had already been prepared, but the collapse of the Soviet Union did not allow them to be published. Some of the collections on the Russian Federation were published in 1990-1991. (Urban settlements of the RSFSR...1991; National composition of the population...1990; Age composition of the population...1990).

A lot of information about the 1989 census was also published by local statistical offices (National composition of the Altai Territory's population...1991; Results of the All-Union census ...1990; Brief socio-demographic characteristics ...1990). If there is a shortage of statistical sources, you can refer to the collections of materials from the 2002 All-Russian Census. They often presented information in comparison with the previous census (The results of the All-Russian population census ...2004; The main results of the 2002 All-Russian population Census ...2005). However, it should be mentioned that, unlike in 1989, in 2002 the special order of the population census was no longer applied, and some regions changed their administrative boundaries.

Accuracy of censuses

The Soviet population censuses conducted after the war was highly accurate. Thus, in 1959, as a result of inspections, 789.0 thousand persons were noted who were not counted during the census, which amounted to 0.37% of the total number of residents of the country. Subsequently,

this indicator decreased from 0.25% in 1970 to 0.12% in 1979 (Podyachikh 1976: 45; Labutova 1984: 25). In 1989, it increased slightly (to 0.14%) (Population of the USSR...1990: 4, 9).

However, the population situation inside the country was slightly different. The political leadership of the country considered it necessary to keep the location of certain groups of citizens a secret.

This applied to military personnel of the Soviet army who were enrolled at their place of service, but who were counted in the census results at the places of conscription; military construction units of various ministries and departments; paramilitary guards; personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs¹. The special procedure of the census also applied to employees of local KGB bodies and employees of individual industrial enterprises². The closed cities, whose population was distributed among different regions of the country, were also not distinguished in the census systematized tables. The methodology and principles governing the distribution of the population being rewritten in a special order by regions of the country in the pre-war period have already been described in the literature and are unlikely to have changed in the later period (Zhiromskaya 2001: 51-60).

It is hardly possible to obtain the original, unchanged demographic data now. To do this, it is necessary to find and analyze a large number of materials from specialized archives, which would contain specific information about the postscript to the population, and it is not known whether they have been preserved at all. For example, researchers who dealt with the problem of closed cities used other data (Reut 2012: 131).

According to V.B. Zhiromskaya's estimates, which are based on the last pre-war census of 1939, the discrepancy with real data is about two percent. Such attribution sizes are generally quite acceptable and acceptable. The alternative method developed by the author for determining the initial population size involves the use of data calculated back in Soviet period and subsequent recalculations based on the results of the 2002 census.

According to statistical data published in the collection "The number, composition and movement of the population in the RSFSR" (1990), the population of the Kemerovo region in early 1990 amounted to 3176.3 thousand people. Recalculations carried out on the basis of data from the 2002 All-Russian Census showed that in 1990 the population of Kuzbass actually numbered 3,099.2 thousand people. The artificial excess was 2.5%, which is a postscript to the real number of residents of the region, since after the collapse of the USSR, a special procedure was no longer applied when conducting censuses.

It was revealed that the population of the Novosibirsk Region was also overestimated by 1.7%. At the same time, the calculated difference was minimal in the Omsk Region and the Altai Territory. In the Tyumen region, on the contrary, the population in Soviet times was underestimated by 0.5%. The population of the Tomsk Region was downplayed the most (by 6.2%), where Seversk, one of the largest closed cities in the country, was located. It should be noted that the revealed numerical discrepancies do not significantly affect the calculations of population movement indicators, with the exception of the period from 1989 to 1990, where such estimates significantly distort the natural growth and migration in 1989.

Before the war, there was a problem of age accumulation, that is, the concentration of the population in ages ending in the digits 0 or 5. This phenomenon was caused by inaccuracies that arise in questions about age: people might not remember their exact age, deliberately exaggerate or underestimate it. With the increase in the education of the population, the accumulation

coefficient (Whipple index) decreased. Since 1970, the introduction of the date of birth into census programs has led to its almost complete disappearance.

Conclusion

Thus, it was revealed that based on the materials of the All-Union censuses it is possible to reconstruct the overview on the demographic development of the country. Despite the fact that the programs do not completely coincide, they give an opportunity to identify the most important trends and patterns according to number, gender, age, social class, and national composition of the urban population. The only problems arise in applying published materials because they sometimes do not agree with each other.

Domestic censuses are usually poorer in terms of content compared to developed Western countries. So, if in 1989 there were 25 questions in the Soviet census, then in the USA in 1990 there were 71. In Western countries, for example, questions might be asked about participation in previous wars, smoking, and the nature of past work, and physical disabilities, which may provide additional information useful to a demographic scientist.

To date, most of the census materials can be easily found in central and regional archives and libraries. Difficulties may arise only when collecting some rare information, which, as a rule, has not yet been transferred to archives from departmental repositories. It should be remembered that censuses provide information about the population of a country at a predetermined point in time. To understand the processes of reproduction, information on current population accounting is needed.

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Notes

- 1. Materials of the All-Union population census (population of rural councils, districts, and settlements). Ust-Ordynsky District State Archive (hereinafter UODSA), fr.-92, op.1, 195a, l.64-68.
- 2. Population calculations based on the 1989 census. The State Archive of the Trans-Baikal Territory (hereinafter SATBT), fr.-1645, op.19, d.19, l.55

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