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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT:  
CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN RUSSIA

Context

International migration of population which the authors define as the totality of various types of spatial mobility of population through state boundaries (resettlements, labor force migration, “brain drain”, etc) appears to be one of essential features of the development of the certain countries as well as the entire world.

The history of Russia, both during the Tsarist and the Soviet periods, has been also closely related to migration of population. However, in 1990’s the international migration has become a matter of special significance and large scale in Russia, as it can be clearly seen from tables 1 and 2. Therefore, the departures of Russians for private reasons including specific circular migration of Russian “chelnoks” increased more than 18 times between 1988 and 1998! Simultaneously the arrivals of foreign citizens to Russia increased more than 12 times (see table 1).

International migration of population in Russia is becoming more and more corresponding to the world trends, however, at the same time some peculiarities that are typical exclusively for Russia, have appeared and developed. These are: the migration exchange within the frames of the former Soviet Union – a unique situation when internal migration has immediately turned into international migration which needs absolutely new approach and completely different migration policy; the entrance of Russia into the world labor market (Russia has become the third world center – after the USA and Germany – attracting immigrants and foreign labor force) while the national labor market has not been formed yet; an obvious ethnic character of international migration at least till mid-1990’s; etc.

Our paper will concentrate on only two aspects of interrelation between international migration and development in Russia: economic and demographic, which are in our opinion most important for the contemporary society.

Methods

From the point of view of methodology the most topical issue for Russia is to classify the migrant flows and to define the most considerable for Russia’s current situation types of migration (internal, “external”, international), kinds of migration (non-return, seasonal, circular, etc.) and its forms (voluntary, forced, illegal, etc.).

The significance of this question is resulting from the appearance of a new international migration space on the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1990’s. This phenomenon has become the reason of a number of false approaches to international migration studies in Russia and correspondingly – to single-sided concept of migration policy which nowadays should be absolutely different from that of the Soviet period.

We will mention herebelow only three of these false approaches, or myths, that - regrettably - are becoming of a certain official character in Russia.<sup>1</sup>

The first myth is related to “identification” of previous migration movements between Russia and other Soviet republics within the frames of the USSR and international migrations between new independent states in the post-Soviet epoque. This leads to wrong approaches for contemporary migration policy concept and its priorities, as well as to false conclusions such as “international migrations on the post-Soviet territory are freezing” (Zh. Zayonchkovskaya)<sup>2</sup> which are based exclusively on quantitative indices of the former internal migration.

The second myth deals with the idea that the contemporary international migration in Russia is in fact the repatriation of Russians from the former Soviet republics. In this context all the Russian-speaking population of the former USSR republics is often considered as Russians. On this basis a false conclusion that the majority of migrants in Russia in the 1990’s are not economic migrants but repatriates who are understood as forced migrants. It is not quite correct. Our principal idea is that in spite of extremely serious problems caused by forced migration (viewing the process broader), nevertheless it is not forced migration but voluntary economic migration that determines international population flows, and in the case of Russia as well.

It is to be noticed that in the context of economics, among the major theories associated with the initiation of migration flows (the “new economics” of labor migration, world system theory, economics of family migration, etc.), the most interesting for us is the labor market segmentation theory which demonstrates considerable peculiarities when applied in Russia.

The third myth regards migration as an exceptionally economic process, which does not effect demographic development directly. Consequently, as some authors claim, the acceptance of migration in the subject of demographic science could be only “formal”.<sup>3</sup> We can’t agree with this point of view. Moreover, our research shows that such kind of migration as resettlement, or non-return migration – which definitely should be regarded as a demographic process – performs as an important component of the demographic transition. In this sense it had and still has direct influence on the demographic development in Russia (see figure 1 and table 3).

### Results

The analysis of various classifications, accepted terminology and data sources on international migration shows up that in the case of Russia the most significant issue is the definition of three types of migration: internal, “external” and international. This definition (its necessity has been stressed by A. Zolberg, in particular) clearly demonstrates that international migration in Russia is not “freezing”, but on the contrary, it is increasing. Good illustration for this can be seen from the tables 1 and 2 that show for example that international circular migration in Russia in 1988-1999 more than tripled; it increased for 9% only during the latest two

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<sup>1</sup> For example, *The Report on Human Potential Development in the Russian Federation in 1999* (1999), edited by Y. Fyedorov, UNDP, Moscow; Zh. Zayonchkovskaya (2000) Paper “Migration Policy” for the project of *The Russia’s Development Program up to 2010*, The Center for Strategic Research, April 2000; *The Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation Government (Project)* (1999), pp. 10-20 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> *The Report on Human Potential Development...* (1999), p.78.

<sup>3</sup> V.A. Borisov (1999) *Demography*, Moscow, p.13 (in Russian).

years. The same tendency is fair for foreign labor force in Russia: it increased from 129.000 in 1994 to 242.000 in 1998, i.e. roughly doubled.

As we see the general classification of international migration, it is important to differ clearly non-return and return migration, especially such a kind of the latter as the long-term (permanent) migration; this will provide – above all – more exact registration of migrant flows.<sup>4</sup>

Basing on this broad sense (see scheme 1) it is reasonable to estimate the global “nation of migrants” as 600-700 millions; this amount definitely has enormous effects on different aspects of life of the contemporary world community as well as of particular countries.

From the economic point of view it is important for Russia that it is joining the international labor market by means of both exporting and importing labor resources. At the same time in accordance with the theory of labor market segmentation the well-shaped enclave labor markets of legal and illegal migrants have grown up in several regions of Russia (Moscow, the Far East and others). The distinctive feature of the situation in Russia is resulting from the fact that the appearance of these enclave migrants’ markets, as well as the entrance of the country into the world labor market, are taking place while the national labor market has not been formed yet. Moreover, the existence of enclave markets, illegal by nature, hampers the forming of civilized national labor market in Russia. Besides, the forming of the CIS common labor market is obviously lagging behind the needs of today’s economic needs.

The demographic aspect of our research demonstrates the role of international migration as a whole in the development of Russia’s population, though this role has not been always positive (e.g. at the period between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the mid-1970’s). However, in 1990’s the international migration in Russia has gained particular importance – it has half-compensated the natural decrease of population during 1992-2000 (see figure 1 and 2 and table 3). Nevertheless it should be designated as a mistake if to believe that encouraging of migrants (even if net immigration exceeds 1 million that is very doubtful under current economic conditions in Russia) by itself could radically change the existing negative demographic trends in Russia.

The negative aspect of the contemporary migration is related to a large-scale emigration to the western countries (mainly to Germany, Israel, USA) which exceeded 1 million in 1990’s (see table 4). This emigration when being combined with the growing natural decrease has a disastrous effect on Russia’s demographic development. We can remind the words of the outstanding Russian scientist M. Lomonosov – he wrote in 1761: in Russia the emigrants are treated as the deceased, though alive but diminishing the actual population of the country.

Emigration is even more harmful for certain ethnic groups in Russia. Thus the German and Jewish populations tend to desolation (for example, the number of Jewish population in Russia has diminished during the last century from 5 million to slightly above 300.000 – taking into consideration the natural decrease of Jews during the latest decades.

“Brain drain” is another painful facet of migration from Russia; as a result of intellectual emigration the country incurs heavy economic and social losses. However, it is a subject of a special research.

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<sup>4</sup> It is to be mentioned that the problems of classification and registration of international migration exists also in many other countries of the world though the enormous attempts to unify the understanding of main categories have been undertaken since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

As a whole our research has shown up that international migration is becoming the determining process in Russia's demographic development; in the nearest decades it is likely to define this development.

### Conclusion

The unification of classification, terminology and registration of international migration of population allied with the development of up-to-date methods of its analysis is extremely actual. This can be provided both by world migration scientific centers and by advanced researchers of migration.

In Russia's economic context it would be very useful to study if its current migration trends correspond to the new theoretical constructions, like "the new economics of labor migration", "the economics of family migration", etc. (see D. Massey, H. Zlotnik and others). This would help to develop a really effective federal migration policy and the corresponding regional migration programs.

In Russia's demographic context the matter of particular interest is the analysis of the role and the place of migration in the concept of the "second demographic transition" though presently the country is still on the forth stage of the classical demographic transition.

The study of international migration in the frames of the new conception of "replacement migration" is also topical, however accent should be made not only on migration balance but on absolute numerical values (numbers of immigrants and emigrants) as well.

Other directions of research are also promising, concerning both methodology (mathematical models, biographical and expert methods, etc.) and certain processes (illegal migration, "brain drain", etc.).

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**Table 1. Migration of Russian and Foreign Citizens in Russia,  
by purpose of travelling  
(excluding CIS, thousands)**

Purpose of travelling	Years								
	1988	1990	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Departures of Russian citizens abroad, thereof for:	2312	4204	8589	9244	8396 (21329*)	7788 (12260)	9423 (11182)	8430 (11711)	8186 (12631)
permanent residence	21	104	114	105	110	99	84	80	85
business	495	1082	2759	2283	1696	1600	1539	1415	1410
tourism	590	1200	1577	2522	2555	3422	4084	3251	2579
private	136	720	2965	3024	2925	1448	2397	2522	2978
other reasons**	1070	1096	1174	1310	1220	1318	1291	1242	1219
Arrivals of foreign citizens to Russia, thereof for:	2533,4	2998,2	5386,4	3315,3	5313,4	5498,4	6494,6 (17463)	6285,2 (15805)	6839,9 (18496)
permanent residence	0,4	1,2	2,4	3,3	2,4	2,4	3,6	3,2	2,9
business	796	1094	2204	1267	2186	2274	1972	1876	1997
tourism	910	1080	1543	915	1787	1716	2290	1904	1898
private	116	295	836	412	544	721	1139	1453	1962
other reasons***	711	628	801	718	794	785	1088	1049	1080
Total	4824	7097	13859	12451	13707 (31619)	13284 (28468)	15914 (28645)	14712 (32756)	15023 (31127)

\* Figures in brackets take into account migration exchange with CIS and Baltic countries.

\*\* Transportation staff (sailors, pilots, etc.).

\*\*\*Transit migrants and transportation staff (in 1995 – 84,000 and 710,000 correspondingly).

Source: Data of the Russian Federation National Statistic Committee.

Table 2.

**Foreign Labor Force in Russia (thousands)**

Country	1994		1995		1996		1997		1998		1999	
	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%
Ukraine	55,1	42,7	94,2	33,5	98,7	33,8	76,6	31,7	73,7	30,4	62,9	29,8
Belarus	5,8	4,5	11,1	3,9	10,3	3,5	1,0	0,4	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Moldova	3,7	2,9	6,7	2,4	9,4	3,2	8,9	3,7	10,5	4,3	8,6	4,1
Uzbekistan	1,5	1,2	3,6	1,3	4,1	1,4	3,2	1,3	3,0	1,2	3,4	1,6
Turkmenistan	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,04	0,3	0,1	0,4	0,2	0,3	0,1	0,0	0,0
Tadjikistan	0,6	0,5	1,5	0,5	2,0	0,7	3,1	1,3	3,3	1,4	4,1	1,9
Kyrgyzstan	0,1	0,08	0,7	0,2	1,2	0,4	1,2	0,5	0,7	0,3	0,0	0,0
Kazakhstan	1,0	0,8	2,1	0,7	2,2	0,8	1,8	0,7	1,8	0,7	0,0	0,0
Georgia	0,9	0,7	7,0	2,5	8,1	2,8	6,7	2,8	6,3	2,6	5,2	2,5
Armenia	1,7	1,3	6,1	2,2	7,1	2,4	6,9	2,9	7,5	3,1	5,2	2,5
Azerbaijan	0,4	0,3	1,3	0,5	2,2	0,8	3,2	1,3	4,0	1,7	2,8	1,3
Lithuania	2,2	1,7	4,0	1,4	4,6	1,6	3,6	1,5	3,0	1,2	} 4,4	2,1
Latvia	0,3	0,2	0,4	0,1	0,5	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0		
Estonia	0,5	0,4	2,4	0,9	3,6	1,2	1,6	0,7	1,4	0,6		
Total in CIS & Baltic states	73,8	57,2	141,2	50,2	154,3	52,8	118,2	48,9	115,5	47,6	96,6	45,7
Other states thereof from:	55,2	42,8	140,2	49,8	137,9	47,2	123,3	51,1	126,8	52,4	114,8	54,3
China	20,3	15,7	26,5	9,4	24,0	8,2	22,2	9,2	23,3	9,6	24,3	11,5
Turkey	12,1	9,4	36,2	12,9	39,0	13,3	33,2	13,7	35,7	14,7	26,7	12,6
Northern Korea	5,9	4,6	15,0	5,3	7,8	2,7	10,4	4,3	9,4	3,9	10,1	4,8
Former Yugoslavia	4,0	3,1	15,9	5,7	18,6	6,4	16,9	7,0	14,1	5,8	9,8	4,6
Total	129,0	100,0	281,4	100,0	292,2	100,0	241,5	100,0	242,3	100,0	211,4	100,0

Source: Labor and Employment in Russia (Statistical Bulletin) Moscow, Goskomstat, 1999, pp.234-240.

Table 3.

**Components of population size changes in Russia (thousands)**

Years	Population by the end of years	Total Increase	Including	
			Natural Increase	Net migration
1897*	67473	-	-	-
1897-1916	91000	23527	24392	-865
1917-1926	93600	2600	5100	-2500
1927-1940	111359	17759	16960	799
1941-1945	97547	-13812	-9953	-3859
1946-1950	102945	5398	6505	-1107
1951-1955	112266	9321	9991	-670
1956-1960	120766	8500	9283	-783
1961-1965	127189	6423	6944	-521
1966-1970	130704	3515	4107	-592
1971-1975	134690	3986	4180	-195
1976-1980	139028	4338	3731	607
1981-1985	143835	4807	3938	869
1986-1991	148704	4869	3759	1110
1917-1991	148704	57704	64545	-6841***
1992	148750	46	-207	253
1993	148452	-298	-738	440
1994	148393	-59	-869	810
1995	148063	-330	-833	503
1996	147591	-472	-816	344
1997	147191	-400	-750	350
1998	146771	-420	-705	285
1999	146003	-768	-923	155
2000	145263	-740	-954	214
1992-2000	145263	-3441	-6795	3354

\* As for beginning of the year

\*\*Including migration balance with non-former Soviet Union countries: between 1927 and 1940 as well as between 1951 and 1987 it was not numerous (e.g. in 1986 – 2.300 in comparison with 20.400 in 1989 and 102.500 in 1990). It was mostly sizable between 1917 and 1925 when more than 2,5 million persons had emigrated to the Western European countries, the USA and other foreign states.

\*\*\*This figure includes nearly 3,6 million persons who had emigrated to non-former Soviet states.

Sources: Population of Russia. 1973. Moscow, 1975, pp.14,70 (in Russian);  
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Population of Russia over Hundred Years (1897-1997). Moscow, 1998, pp.32-34, 84-85 (in Russian).

Table 4.

**The Dynamics of “External” Non-Return Migration in Russia in 1980’s – 1990’s (thousands).**

Migration Flows	Years											
	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Arrived,	874,2	854,6	913,2	692,2	926,0	923,3	1146,7	842,1	633,6	584,8	498,8	369,6
thereof from:												
CIS and Baltic states	873,8	854,3	912,0	690,9	924,3	920,9	1142,4	839,7	631,2	581,0	494,8	366,7
other countries	0,4	0,3	1,2	1,3	1,7	2,4	3,3	2,4	2,4	3,6	3,2	2,9
Departed,	791,9	739,3	729,5	675,5	673,1	483,0	337,1	339,6	290,0	235,6	213,3	215,0
thereof to:												
CIS and Baltic states	771,1	692,7	625,8	587,1	562,8	369,2	231,7	229,3	191,4	151,2	133,0	129,7
other countries	20,8	46,6	103,7	88,4	110,3	113,8	105,4	110,3	98,6	84,4	80,3	85,3
Migration balance,	82,3	115,3	183,7	16,7	252,9	440,3	809,6	502,5	343,6	349,8	284,7	154,6
thereof with:												
CIS and Baltic states	102,7	161,6	286,2	103,8	361,5	551,7	910,7	610,4	439,8	429,8	361,8	237,0
other countries	-20,4	-46,3	-102,5	-87,1	-108,6	-111,4	-102,1	-107,9	-96,2	-80,8	-77,1	-82,4

Sources: Russia’s Demographic Yearbook 1996, Moscow, 1996, pp. 486 – 489 (in Russian).

Social and Economic Situation in Russia 1996, Moscow, 1997 (in Russian).

Population and Migration in the Russian Federation in 1999, Moscow, Goscomstat, 2000 (Statistical Bulletin) p.32 (in Russian).

Table 5.

**Emigration from Russia to the Non-Former Soviet Union States, by Ethnic Groups, 1993 – 1999.**

Ethnic Groups	1993		1994		1995		1996		1997		1998		1999	
	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%
Russians	21,3	18,7	24,1	22,8	28,8	26,1	29,2	29,5	29,8	35,3	29,3	36,4	34,5	40,4
Germans	47,5	41,7	47,1	44,6	51,3	46,5	38,6	39,1	30,0	35,5	28,3	35,2	28,0	32,8
Jews	14,0	12,4	13,6	12,8	12,8	11,6	12,5	12,6	9,5	11,4	7,3	9,3	9,0	10,7
Others	31,0	27,2	20,6	19,8	17,4	15,8	18,3	17,8	15,1	17,8	15,4	19,1	13,8	16,1
Total	113,8	100,0	105,4	100,0	110,3	100,0	98,6	100,0	84,4	100,0	80,3	100,0	85,3	100,0

Sources: Russia's Demographic Yearbook 1998, Moscow, 1999, (in Russian).

Population and Migration in the Russian Federation in 1999, (Statistical Bulletin), Moscow, Goskomstat, 2000 (in Russian).

### Scheme 1. General Classification of International Migration of Population.

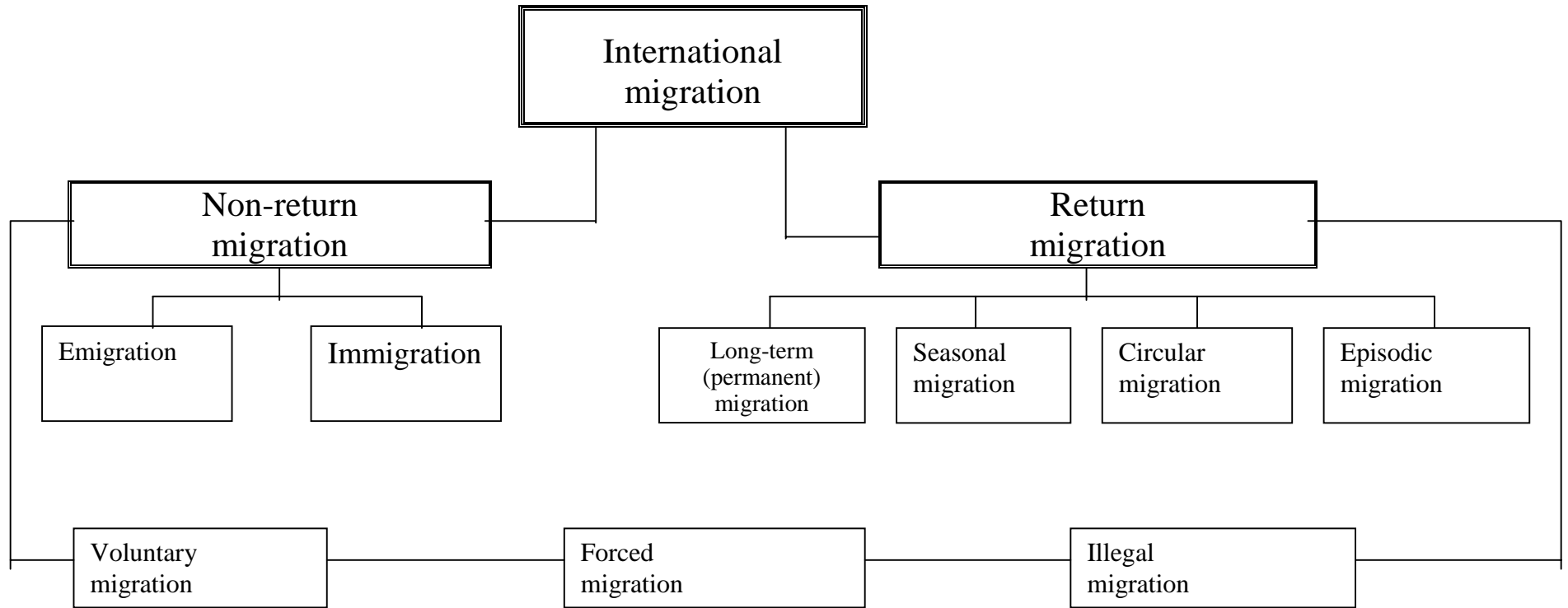


Figure 1

