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Russia mostly inherited from the Soviet Union a spatial distribution of population. The break up of the Soviet Union caused many Russians, Russian speakers to leave non-Russian states of the former Soviet Union for Russia. In addition, many high skilled people emigrated from Russia to developed countries. Since the border regimes were relaxed, there has been a significant increase in the amount of illegal migration in Russia. These different migration flows to some degree affected an economic performance of Russia. This paper is devoted to the study of migration processes that have taken place in Russia since 1990s.

Keywords: migration, immigrants, emigrants, net migration

Russia mostly inherited from the Soviet Union a spatial distribution of population. In the 1990s, the largest migration stream has been from northern part of Russia to central regions. As well, the break up of the Soviet Union caused many Russians, Russian speakers to leave the former Soviet Union republics for Russia. In addition, many high skilled people emigrated from Russia to developed countries. Since the border regimes were relaxed, there has been a significant increase of illegal migrants in Russia. These different migration flows to some degree affected an economic performance of Russia. In this paper, there will be studied migration processes that have taken place in Russia since 1990s.

Migration system of Russia

Migration is a strategy that people use in response to definite circumstances. According to migration theory, potential migrants calculate costs and benefits of moving, and if benefits overweighs the costs, then the person migrates. Potential migrants calculate employment possibilities, various non-economic, quality-of-life conditions. According to neoclassical economics, differentials in wages among countries play a significant role in people's migration from low-wage to high-wage regions. In the case of Russia, it is real wages (taking into account the regional cost of living) that causes migration. With distance, the cost of transporting family and belongings increases.

People who migrate tend to be more entrepreneurial, ambitious and more able (Chiswick, 2000). Migration flows are skewed by education, age, sex, life cycle. The level of migration increases as levels of education and income rise. People living in urban areas tend to have higher migration levels than people from rural areas. People who have just completed schooling and are beginning their careers have highest migration rates.

Migration turnover then slows down as people begin to raise families (Heleniak, 2001) These peculiarities have important implications as for regions of high immigration as for regions of high emigration. Regions with high emigration tend to lose more educated, more able young people, and destination areas gain those people. In the Soviet Union, certain ethnic groups such as Russians (and other Slavic groups), Tatars, Jews, Armenians, Georgians, Latvians, Estonians have higher levels of migrateability since these groups possessed socioeconomic characteristics associated with migration (Lewis, Rowland, Clem, 1976)

From this summary of migration theory, we can figure out factors which defined the pattern of Post-Soviet migration. First of all, such significant event as the break-up of the Soviet Union had the most impact on international migration: what has been internal migration became international migration (Heleniak, 2001). A large part of Post-Soviet migration consisted of people returning to their ethnic homeland. Many Russians came back to Russia from non-Russian former Soviet Union republics. In the Soviet Union, both internal migration and international migration were tightly controlled. This control was mostly aimed at keeping people at certain places and within the country. In the post-Soviet Russia, control over migration was weakened. With price liberalization in 1992, variables in people's migration cost-benefit equation changed rather quickly. In the post-Soviet Russia, unemployment has become a reality of market economy and this reality also played role in migration processes. During Soviet time, enterprises had limited opportunities for international trade. With transition to market economy, many firms began to interact with outside world, which raised awareness of economic opportunities abroad for Russians as well as for foreigners in Russia.

Migration in Post-Soviet Russia

Russia has experienced continued immigration. But despite it, Russia's population has been declining in the period of 1990s — beginning of 2000s. Russia's population has peaked at 148,7 million in 1992, after which it has been declining. By the beginning of 2001, the population had fallen by 3,5 million from its peak and became equal to 145,2 million. Net immigration to the country has compensated for less than half of the natural decrease over that period (Heleniak, 2001).

During the Soviet period, Russia has experienced mostly out-migration to the non-Russian states. In 1975, this trend was reversed, and from that year till the end of 1991 net migration to Russia from non-Russian states averaged about 160 000 annually (Goskomstat Rossii).

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, net migration to Russia increased significantly. It peaked at 809 614 in 1994, after that year it began to decline. By 1999, it amounted to 129 230. Migration level was defined mostly by migration with the former Soviet Union states. At the same time, the level of migration with far abroad has remained relatively stable during the 1990–2000s. The population increase from migration in the period 1989–2000 was 3,6 million. This number consisted of net immigration of 4,7 million from non-Russian former Soviet Union states and net emigration to far abroad of 1.1 million (Goskomstat Rossii).

As for migration by country, since 1989 till 2000 three countries accounted for the majority of people migrating from Russia: Germany (57 %), Israel (26 %), the United States (11 %). In the period 1995–1999, about 45 % of emigrants consisted of Germans, who were attracted by economic opportunities in Germany. The second largest group of emigrants was Russians (36 %), whose destination choices were more dispersed. About half of Russians (51 %) went to Germany, 25 % — to Israel, 15 % — to the US, and 11 % — to other countries. The share of Jews in the bulk of emigrants was 13 %, they went to Israel (54 %), the US (27 %), Germany (21 %). As a result of emigration, the German population in Russia had declined by 49 % in the period 1989–1999, Jewish population — by 43 % in the same period (Goskomstat Rossii).

Although, the emigration to the far abroad has not been massive, it should be noted that high numbers of people with high qualifications have decided to leave. Among emigrants from Russia, 21 % of people have a higher education. If to analyze by country, of emigrants going to Israel, 30 % have a higher education, of emigrants going to the US, 42 % have a higher education. This «brain drain» pattern is consistent with migration theory. People who choose to migrate tend to be among the more educated cohorts in any country. One of the contemporary challenges of Russia is to find channels to refrain these shares of society to play a role in the socio-economic development of the country.

As for migration with former Soviet Union (FSU) states, since 1983, Russia has had a positive migration balance. Central Asian countries have been sending countries for about half of all migrants to Russia, the

three Transcaucasus countries 15 %, the Baltic countries 7 %. The main push factors behind the migration have been mostly ethnic violence in homeland in 1990s and job opportunities in Russia in 2000s.

Over the chaotic period of 1989–1993, there was no clear pattern of migration between Russia and the former Soviet Union countries. But since 1994, a clear pattern of migration has emerged: from that time there has been net positive migration to Russia every year.

According to the 1989 USSR population data, a total of 25 289 543 people living outside of Russia stated their nationality was Russian. From that time on, there has been net migration to Russia of 3 045 808 Russians, or 12 % of the Russian diaspora population. This net migration consists of immigration to Russia of 4,9 million Russians and an emigration from Russia of 1,9 million Russians.

If to consider by country, from four countries — Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Georgia, Tadjikistan — half or more of the Russian population decided to leave. From two countries, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, about quarter of the Russian population has migrated. From Kazakhstan, 17,8 % of the Russian population has chosen migration as a strategy of adaptation. From Baltic states and Moldova, 10–13 % of the Russian population have left. From Belarus and Ukraine only a small share of the Russian population has left.

Conclusion

The situation of declining and aging population is common for many western countries. Russia faces the same problem. Russia, like many of those countries, is considering «replacement migration» — international migration to offset population decline (UN, 2000). On the other hand, Russia is somewhat different from western countries and can actually take advantage from this difference. The thing is that there exists a large cohort of educated people in the former Soviet Union states who speak the same language and share a similar culture whose integration into Russian society would be much easier. Russia's economic development requires more labor force, than Russia has, which means that migration balance will remain positive in the coming future. Therefore, migration policy of Russia needs further improvements. ■

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Миграция в России в 1990–2000 годах

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Россия в основном унаследовала от Советского Союза пространственное распределение населения. Распад Советского Союза послужил причиной того, что много людей, говорящих на русском языке, покинули бывшие союзные республики и уехали в Россию. Кроме того, многие высококвалифицированные люди эмигрировали

из России в развитые страны. Также в 1990х годах имело место значительное увеличение численности нелегальных мигрантов в России. В целом, различные миграционные потоки в некоторой степени повлияли на экономические показатели России. Данная статья посвящена изучению миграционных процессов, имевших место в России в 1990–2000х годах.

Ключевые слова: миграция, иммигранты, эмигранты, абсолютная миграция
