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**INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION\***

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## A. THE FEATURES OF THE STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN RUSSIA

Russia occupies a central position between two economic poles of the world economy (the rich North and the poor South) - it is the country, actively involved in the international migration process. On the one hand, Russians actively move into various countries of the world for living and for earnings. On the other hand, the territory of Russia has become attractive enough for migrants from less developed countries of Asia and Africa, the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Besides, the part of migrants from "the third world" countries considers the territory of Russia as a staging point, an original transit zone for the further migration to the economically developed countries of the West.

In the system of modern global migration processes, Russia became, and will for sure remain in the future, a large host country for two reasons.

**The internal reason** – the territory of the country is not densely populated. There has been a reduction in the population of Russia since 1993, and in the nearest future the manpower resources will also reduce, but at the same time, the economic requirement for manpower will increase. During the last fourteen years, the number of deaths in Russia exceeds the number of births by 800-900 thousand people. During the period of 1992-2004, the natural loss has come to 10.4 million. Owing to a positive migration growth of 3.6 million, the population of the country reduced by the beginning of 2005 in comparison with 1992 only by 5.3 million (without the correction of general population by the official statistics<sup>1</sup> according to the results of the population census of 2002, its size would have made up 141.5 million instead of 143.4 million in the beginning of 2005). According to the forecast of the state statistics of the Russian Federation, the country population by the beginning of 2011 will have made up nearly 138 million. Not only will the population reduce, but also the manpower in the country.

**The external reason** - Russia goes through an intensive "population press" from some densely-populated developing countries of the poor South (China and other countries of Asia, the Central Asian CIS countries). The Chinese People's Republic takes the first place in population size in the world – 1.3 billion, and annually the population of the country increases by 15-20 million. About 100 million borderers live on the frontier territories of Russia and China, while the number of people on the huge territory of the Far East federal district runs up to just 6.7 million.

In the absolute volume of immigration Russia has strongly established itself among the leading countries. According to the available data on the international comparison, during 1990-2000, Russia took the second place in the list of the countries actively accepting migrants with a parameter of 13.3 million people arriving. Our country has yielded "the palm of superiority" only to the USA, where nearly 35 million immigrants arrived during the named period (The International Migration Report, 2002, p. 3). According to alternative data, during the period of 1991-2001 Russia accepted 11 million migrants in absolute amount, that is on average 781 thousand annually. At the same time Germany accepted 865 thousand in absolute amount, and the USA - 924 thousand (The Basic Results of the Population Census, 2002, p.24). As for the relative index of immigration, Russia took the third place in the world, having accepted 54 immigrants per 10 thousand inhabitants during the period of 1989-2002. Only Germany overcomes Russia - 142 immigrants, but at the same time Russia overcomes the USA - 32 immigrants per 10 thousand people (the Population of Russia, 2004, p. 133).

The international statistic data require explanations because of the peculiarities of the Russian migration statistics. From the point of view of the statistical account, the international migration in Russia presents "an iceberg". "The surface", or the visible for the statistics part, is **migration for permanent**

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<sup>1</sup> At present the official statistics on migration is given by the Federal Service of State Statistics (Rosstat earlier known as Goskomstat of the Russian Federation).

**residence**, which is registered in the majority of official statistical editions, including the data given in the collections of the Federal Service of State Statistics (Rosstat). The legislative acts in the spheres of migration and citizenship and the internal instructions accepted by the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs have recently led to serious disorders in the migration statistics in the country. In particular, the forms of statistical account (primary the forms of migrants registration) which had been filed by passport registration offices, from 2002 ceased to be filed on foreigners (not Russian citizens), but some passport registration offices still continue to do it. It is possible to agree completely with the researchers, who say that the state migration statistics in Russia has lost one of its fundamental advantages – the unity of the gathering techniques of the primary information in the national scale (Chudinovskikh, 2004, p. 4).

It causes complexities with the full analysis of the migration situation and does not give an opportunity to realize the real situation in the migration sphere in the country without fundamental distortions. We have to use the data on migration, given in the publications of the state statistics because of the absence of any other adequate alternative sources of information.

The results of 2002 population census showed, that the population of the country is by 1.8 million larger than it is shown in the current account. Since the cases of birth and death in Russia are registered more or less precisely, the increase can be connected with the migration growth. Thus, the amendment of the population census was referred by Rosstat to the CIS countries and distributed equally over the previous years (Figure I). It proves that the migration growth was considerably larger, but there are doubts that it was distributed so equally. Moreover, there are no reasons to speak about the tendency of the net migration growth (on which some researchers have recently insisted).

Obviously, the migration growth was larger than it was given in all the official state statistics publications. We have no doubt that the net migration in Russia at the same time continued to reduce, though, presumably, in smaller absolute volumes. Let us produce two proofs. The first - the reduction tendency of the migration balance was shown not from 2002 – the time of the breakage of the system of the foreign migrants account in Russia, but much earlier - from 1995. The second - the migration growth depends on two constituents - emigration and immigration which had a certain tendency to reduction not only because of the subjective statistical factors, but also because of the objective social and economic reasons considered below. Moreover, it is possible to assume as well, that the statistics “has ceased to see” the emigration which brings its mite in the distortion of the migration growth but in the opposite direction.

The "Underwater" part of the “migration iceberg”, only partially visible for the modern statistics and researchers, is **temporary migration which is connected basically with the labour activity, education, purchase of accommodations and some other reasons**. This part finds only indirect recording in the statistics – these are the data of the Federal Migration Service of the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs on the number of the recruited foreign workers and the Russians who went abroad to work, and also the data of the passport registration offices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation on residence registration of migrants. If the first kind of data with all its disadvantages is liable for analysis, the second type of information is not published; it is only periodically given by the representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It is surely possible to speak that there is no development of data on temporary migrants (registered in residence). Meanwhile, this information in case of its correct organization and availability could "shed light" on a number of interesting and important points: including a real number of temporary migrants (labour, educational etc.), their demographic and a social composition, the purposes and the terms of staying, social and economic conditions of living in the country. Because of the complexities with obtaining registration by migrants in their true residence in the country there is a criminal market of counterfeit registration. No less than 80-90% of temporary labour migrants apply for its services. At the same time this migration flow is not recorded by the statistics. According to approximate estimations, there are 9 illegal migrants per 1 legal labour migrant in the country. Despite the controversial data on absolute scales, each of the international migration flows has its

own specificity not only from the point of view of the statistical account, but also from the point of the role which it plays in the demographic, social and economic development of Russia.

## B. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE TO AND FROM RUSSIA

### *1. The Scales of the International Migration for Permanent Residence*

On the whole, the data on the international migration connected with moving for permanent residence to Russia and abroad during the 1990s had a tendency to reduce. The similar dynamics was characteristic of nearly all migration parameters - immigration, emigration, migration growth, and migration circulation at times reduced.

The migration growth in Russia in the first half of the 1990s had a steady tendency to growth, not taking into consideration the failure in 1991 which was caused by the reduction of the net migration due to the decrease of the number of immigrants as a result of the USSR disintegration. The migration growth in Russia reached its peak in 1994. It became possible due to the immigration growth, and the reduction of emigration. Thus, in 1994 in comparison with 1989 the number of immigrants in Russia increased by more than 300 thousand (approximately 50%), and the number of emigrants, on the contrary, reduced approximately by 400 thousand (almost twice) (Figure II).

Then the migration growth began to reduce sharply, with some small splashes which were marked in 1997, 2000 and 2002. By the results of 2004 in comparison with 1994 (the year of the maximal migration growth) the reduction of the parameter was 20 times! Such dynamics show that the role of migration growth in the demographic development of the country comes to naught. In 2004 the parameter was only 39 thousand people, which compensated the depopulation in the country approximately by 5%. If we assume that the growth was nevertheless higher, the compensation could be more significant. But in any case it could not even compensate its greater part, to say nothing of exceeding the natural decrease in population.

This reduction is caused by the sharp recession of the number of the immigrants arriving in the country - there was a reduction by more than 9 times for the same period. In 2004 only 119 thousand immigrants arrived in Russia which is an unusually low index for the country. At the same time emigration from Russia reduced approximately by 4 times in comparison with 1994. Only 80 thousand people left the country in 2004 that can also be considered the minimal parameter for the last years.

The data on migration circulation prove that the scales of the international migration for permanent residence into Russia are reducing. By the calculations based on the state statistics data, in the period from 1989 till 2003 they reduced by more than 7 times. However, it is necessary to speak delicately about the decrease in the migration mobility of the population, because these data can be essentially corrected due to the above mentioned statistical distortions.

### *2. The Migration Exchange of Russia with the CIS Countries and the Baltic States*

The role of the CIS countries and the Baltic states in the migration exchange is very significant for Russia. Throughout the newest history these countries completely form Russia migration growth.

In its absolute value the migration growth of Russia due to the CIS countries and the Baltic States reached its maximum in 1994, when it accounted for more than 900 thousand people. During the same time, the maximal parameter of immigration to Russia from these countries was marked at the level of 1.1 million people. A powerful wave of repatriation of Russians and other nationalities from the recently-formed countries became the reason for the growth of these parameters after the disintegration of the

Soviet Union. For example, some states of “the new abroad” passed the laws on citizenship, excluding a dual citizenship. Therefore, international conflicts arose and developed, and the oppressions of the Russian-speaking population began. These were the ethno-political reasons which defined the formation of a powerful flow of immigrants into Russia in the beginning of the 1990s.

Gradually a flow of immigrants and as a consequence, the migration growth in Russia in the exchange with the CIS countries and the Baltic States decreased in its absolute value considerably -in 9 and 12 times correspondingly (Figure III). The decrease is caused not by the exhaustion of the migration potential in these countries, but by the political and socio-economic factors.

On the one hand, a gradual improvement of the situation in other post-Soviet countries - social and economic development of some states and the stabilization of ethno-political situation- restrained the inflow of the population to Russia. At the same time a number of unfavorable events (the default of 1998) took place in our country. The main consequence of these events was that the order of migrants reception from the CIS countries and the mode of obtaining of the Russian citizenship became tougher. According to the new laws on citizenship and stay of foreigners, the migrants from the CIS (except for those born on the territory of Russia) were deprived of any privilege in obtaining the green cards and Russian citizenship. Strangely enough, but the people having received the citizenship through the Russian embassies in the CIS countries were forced to confirm it in Russia. Thus, Russia frightened off many of its potential migrants itself.

The emigration from Russia to the CIS countries and the Baltic States also tended to decrease recently- from 690 thousand people in 1989 to approximately 40 thousand in 2004. There are two reasons of the decrease in the migration outflow from Russia to the states of “the new abroad”. The first reason is that the potential of the ethnic migration of the title ethnic groups of the CIS countries and the Baltic States in Russia was nearly exhausted. The second reason is that the controversial social and economic development and the political changes in the CIS countries also partly constrain the migration flow from Russia to these states.

The analysis of the territorial and ethnic structure of the migration exchange of Russia with the countries of the “new abroad” allows not only to reveal the tendencies, but enables us to establish the laws and the reasons of migration.

Russia has mainly a positive net migration with all CIS countries and the Baltic States, except Belarus. Only in 1990 and 1994-1996, Russia had a positive net migration with **Belarus**.

Other CIS countries serve as migration donors for Russia and provide migrants in various numbers. The largest migration partner of Russia is **Kazakhstan**. The net migration with this country is positive and reached 1.7 million people for the period of 1989-2003.

A large region of the inflow of migrants to Russia from “the new abroad” is **the Central Asia** where many states were involved into international conflicts, civil wars, and had an unstable social and economic situation. Russia received in total 1.6 million people from this region during 1989-2003, including 779.2 thousand from **Uzbekistan**, 376.9 thousand from **Tajikistan**, 138.5 thousand from **Turkmenistan**, and 376.9 thousand from **Kyrgyzstan**.

**The European CIS countries** – the Ukraine and Moldova play different roles in the migration exchange with Russia. **The Ukraine** is the country with a significant parameter of the migration growth which is actively involved in the migration exchange with Russia. During 1989-2003 Russia, got 371.6 thousand people as a pure migration growth from this neighbor. **Moldova** looks more modest compared to the Ukraine, but, nevertheless, it provided Russia with 98.6 thousand people of a pure migration growth.

In the migration exchange with the **Baltic States** during 1989-2003, Russia has a positive net migration in the volume of 243.2 thousand people. The largest migration comes from **Latvia** which is distinguished by a rigid mode of granting the citizenship to the Russian-speaking population. In total the net migration of Russia in the exchange with Latvia was 118.5 thousand people. **Estonia** provided Russia the migration growth in the volume of 70.7 thousand. Russia received 54.0 thousand people of a pure migration growth from **Lithuania**.

**The Transcaucasian countries** actively give their population to Russia. In total during 1989-2003, Russia received more than 1.0 million people of a pure migration growth due to the given states. The main "Transcaucasian donors" – **Azerbaijan** and **Georgia** - gave us approximately 400 thousand people, and Armenia – about 225 thousand. Thus, Transcaucasia is the second CIS region after the Central Asia in the aspect of contribution to the migration growth in Russia.

The age structure of the migration growth from the CIS countries and the Baltic States has a beneficial influence on the population structure of Russia. It means that there is an inflow of people able to work to Russia. According to our calculations, Russia got more than 1 million migrants of the able-bodied age received due to the CIS countries and the Baltic States during the period of 1997 - 2003. Let us mention the fact that the migration growth of the migrants of the able-bodied age is gradually reducing alongside the scales of the general migration from the countries of "the new abroad" (Figure IV).

The able-bodied population prevails in the migration balance of Russia during the recent years, ranging from 61% to 65%. To some extent it exceeds the share of the population of the able-bodied age in the general structure of the population of Russia, according to the population census of 2002. Compared to the forthcoming reduction of manpower in the country, the given age structure of the migration increase in population in the exchange with the CIS countries and the Baltic States is favorable enough for Russia. Besides, the share of pensioners in the migration balance is also lower in comparison with the population of the country (about 19% in the migration growth and approximately 21% in the population in 2003).

It shows the "rejuvenating" influence of migration from the countries of "the new abroad" on the age structure of the population of Russia. The age structure of the net migration with the nearest neighbors shows that this flow is important and favorable for Russia in terms of the population age structure and manpower formation for a medium-term prospect.

The data on educational structure of the migration growth of Russia with the CIS countries show a similar positive influence. According to our calculations, Russia received more than 31.3 thousand migrants with a higher education from "the new abroad" just during 2002-2003, including 47 doctors and 273 candidates of sciences. The countries of the Central Asia formed the migration balance of the highly-qualified specialists approximately by one third, including one half presented by Uzbekistan. Approximately the fifth part of the migration balance of the highly-qualified specialists is a "contribution" of two nearest neighbors- the Ukraine and Kazakhstan. It shows that the CIS countries and the Baltic States became the regions providing Russia with the highly skilled staff due to migration for permanent residence.

The educational structure of migrants deserves a separate analysis. People with a higher education migrating for permanent residence make up 20% of the net migration in the exchange with the CIS countries and the Baltic States. This parameter is a little bit higher than in the resident population of the country – 16%. Similarly, the share of people with a secondary education (30 %) in the migration balance is higher than it is in the population of the country (27%) The same excess is also registered in the group with a secondary education. All these facts allow us to draw a conclusion that the migration exchange with

the CIS countries and the Baltic States is also favorable for Russia and in terms of the educational structure.

### *3. Migration Potential for Russia in the CIS Countries and the Baltic States*

Russia can and must take new migrants primarily from the CIS countries from the number of the representatives of Russian people who live there. The transformation of the migration potential into a real migration flow strongly depends on the situation in these countries on the one hand. On the other hand, it depends on the openness of the migration policy of Russia itself, first of all in the questions of obtaining the citizenship. Let us provide an approximate estimation of the possible inflow of the Russians and the representatives of the title ethnic groups of Russia from the CIS countries and the Baltic states.

Today the **number of the Russians in the CIS countries is 20 million at the lowest rate**. The part of this number forms a migration potential which Russia may get in the medium-term prospect up to 2010. Rather a large Russian diaspora lives in the neighboring Kazakhstan. The research carried out there shows that 1 million people or 20% of the Russians can get over to Russia from that country.

The migration potential of the Russians from the **Central Asia** can account for approximately 500 thousand people, the majority - due to Uzbekistan. Though, an instable situation in a number of countries (for example, in Kyrgyzstan) can increase the outflow of the Russians in the nearest future. No research on the migration arrangement of the Russians was held in the countries of Transcaucasia. At the same time it is necessary to admit, that the overwhelming majority of the mobile Russians had left those countries. The remaining potential obviously does not exceed 100 thousand.

Our closest neighbour, the Ukraine, where a significant amount of Russians live - about 8.3 million (according to the Ukrainian census of 2001) represents the greatest interest for Russia. According to the data of the research held in 2004, over 15% inhabitants of the Ukraine stated the intention to leave the country for permanent residence. It is clear that arranging is not migration, but in the certain situation intention can be transformed into a real migration behavior. By approximate estimations, the migration potential in the Ukraine reach 1.2 million people (Rybakovsky and Karpova, 2004, p. 104). Migrants can leave the Ukraine not only for Russia, but also for the countries of the Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean, Germany and Israel. This direction can attract about 500 thousand migrants. Thus, Russia can have only 600-700 thousand migrants from the Ukraine at the best, both the Russians and the Ukrainians. However, the realization of the given potential will depend not only on the situation in Russia, but also on the development of the Ukrainian economy.

Rather an ambiguous situation with the migration potential of the Russians exists in **Moldova**. Every fourth Russian wanted to leave the Right-bank part of the country in 1993. But when the acuteness of the conflict decreased in 1996, only every tenth Russian from the whole Republic tended to migrate. Practically nobody wished to leave the Dnestr region. The migration potential of Moldova can account for no more than 100 thousand people.

About 1.3 million of Russians live in Belarus. However, judging by the dynamics of economic development and the migration flows it is possible to state that the large-scale outflow of Russians from Belarus is not expected.

Despite the active protest behaviour in the Baltic States, the Russians did not tend to leave the Baltic States even in the beginning of the 1990th. Basically the military men, who suffered from the actions of the authorities of the new states to a greater degree, and had no prospects of obtaining the citizenship in these countries, left them. Lately the departure of the Russians from the Baltic republics has practically



stopped, mainly for the social and economic reasons - a standard of living in the region is higher than in Russia. A large migration inflow of the Russians from the Baltic States is not expected.

The migration potential of the Russians has practically exhausted itself in the **countries of Transcaucasia**. For example, the number of the Russians in **Georgia** in 2002 was about 70 thousand that is rather a small figure in the scale of the total migration potential. (Rybakovsky and Karpova, 2004, p. 103). Approximately 150 thousand Russians live in the other country - **Azerbaijan**, however 700 thousand representatives of the Dagestan people live there too (Russian Language in the World, 2003, p. 10).

The general **migration potential of the Russians and title ethnic groups from the territory of the CIS countries in medium-term prospect can make up no more than 3-4 million people**. The annual amount will be approximately 350-400 thousand. Whether these migrants will be focused on Russia and prefer to stay here or to leave for other countries for residing, in many respects will depend on the social and economic situation in Russia and on the liberal views of the Russian migration policy. The given migration potential can not satisfy all the needs of Russia in migrants. Moreover, now the real actions on the simplification of the procedure of obtaining the Russian citizenship are necessary to attract the Russians living in the CIS countries.

#### *4. Migration Exchange of Russia with Other Countries*

The results of the migration exchange with the countries of “the old abroad” do not develop in favour of Russia. Traditionally our country mainly gave migrants to these states rather than accepted migrants from them. Migration decline in population as a result of this direction of migration exchange in the beginning of 1990th tended to grow and reached the peak in 1993 with more than 111 thousand people.

At the same time, it is difficult enough to interpret the data on the migration exchange with the countries of “the old abroad”, because the immigration to Russia during 1989-1993 differs greatly even according to one source - Rosstat. Besides the data on emigration until very recently were collected by two departments – the data of Rosstat, which included the people stricken off the registration account on residence in the passport registration offices when they left abroad, and also the data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which included the citizens who received the exit visa. At the same both data are insufficiently correct, as they do not reflect the actual departure from the country - it is possible to leave not being stricken off the register; in the same way, it is possible to stay in Russia having received the exit visa.

We relied on the first source – the data of Rosstat, as recently the collection of the data concerning the exit permissions was stopped. The data on immigrants were also distorted because of the confusion in the rules of registration of foreigners in Russia (or different interpretations of them by the employees of the passport registration offices in different regions of the country).

Emigration from Russia to the countries of “the old abroad” exceeds the immigration from them greatly, that evidently shows a direct comparison of these parameters (Figure V). The figures show the excess of the departure from the country (emigration) over the entrance (immigration) in 5-8 times. Since 1989 about 1.2 million people have left the country, while only 170 thousand from the countries of “the old abroad” have arrived to Russia. There are three basic countries for the departure of the Russians for permanent residence - Germany, Israel and the USA. Also Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the countries of the Mediterranean and Scandinavia became important emigration directions.

Migration flows to these states are caused by the immigration policy which is based on geographical, ethnic and educational-qualifying criteria for the selection of immigrants. In particular, Germany, Greece

and Israel first of all attract compatriots - ethnic Germans, Greeks and Jews. Such countries as the USA, Germany, and Norway attract the representatives of particular professions (scientists, programmers, medical workers, etc.). Besides, the new channels of emigration from Russia for the limited groups of the population have been recently opened. For example, the USA has opened the program of reception in the country the Meskhet Turks from the Krasnodar Region who cannot obtain Russian citizenship or the registration in the region for more than ten years. Germany and the USA accept Jews as people who suffered during the Second World War.

The major direction of the emigration of the Russians is Germany. The scales of the emigration to Germany were the greatest (Figure VI). The share of Germany in the general structure of the departure of the Russian citizens for permanent residence, according to the data of 2004, makes up three quarters from all emigrations to the countries of "the old abroad". The departure of the fellow citizens to Germany reached its peak - 80 thousand - in 1995; now this parameter stabilized at the level of 30-40 thousand. According to the data of 2003, 37 thousand Russians left for Germany, including 40% ethnic Germans and about 37% Russians. The net migration of Russia in the exchange with Germany despite some return migration is negative. For example, according to the results of 2004, the migration decline of Russian population in the exchange with Germany was just 28.7 thousand people. Similarly, the emigration to Greece is "painted in the ethnic shades" - 0.2 thousand people left for this country in 2004 including 42% ethnic Greeks.

During the 1990s, the second traditional direction of emigration of Russians was Israel which took the third position in this list in 2002 (letting the USA ahead). The emigration to Israel reacts sensitively enough not only to the social-economic, but also to the political factors. After the financial crisis of 1998, the volumes of emigration to Israel were doubled, but after the strengthening of the opposition of Israel and Palestine they reduced in 3 times. In 2003, a little more than 2 thousand people (including half Russians and only the fifth part Jews) left to Israel, which is much less than the peak of 1992 - nearly 22 thousand. A powerful return flow to Russia can be considered a distinctive feature of the migration exchange with Israel - according to the data of 2004, immigration from Israel was intensive enough and exceeded 1.8 thousand (thus, the migration loss was only 0.2 thousand people). It shows that Israel is not capable of effective taking of all emigrants from Russia. As the research shows, not all former Russians can adapt in the countries of emigration (Israel in this case is the most vivid example) first of all, because of the limited opportunities on the labour market. It is noticeable, that the emigration of Jews from Russia is directed approximately at three countries in equal proportions - Israel, the USA and Germany.

The emigration to the **USA** tends to reduce gradually because of the constant toughening of the immigration policy in the country, especially after the events on September, 11th, 2001. Nevertheless, now it is the second country in the world in taking of our compatriots for permanent residence. According to the results of 2004, more than 2.9 thousand Russians emigrated to the USA, three quarters are Russians. The Jews are also presented in this flow (about 6%).

The "newly opened" by the Russians **European countries, Canada and Australia** became the major directions of emigration (Figure VII) Judging by a vigorous activity of the firms rendering intermediary services to people leaving Russia for permanent residence, purchasing the real estate and business abroad, obtaining green cards or citizenship in foreign countries, the geography of emigration of the Russians really extends, though reduces in absolute volumes.

Compared to the emigration from Russia the immigration from "the old abroad" to the country is characterized by small, hardly appreciable values. According to the results of 2004, Russia had a positive balance of migration exchange only with several developing countries including Afghanistan, China, Vietnam, Nigeria and other countries. It is obvious, that though we speak of small values of migration to these countries, they do not reflect the whole number of immigrants as many of them prove not to be taken

into account by the Russian statistics on the migration for permanent residence because they stay as temporary labour or educational migrants.

The main problems in the migration exchange with the countries of “the old abroad” lie in the qualitative structure of the flow of migrants and the migration growth. The results of the analysis of the age structure of emigrants reveal the increased share of able-bodied emigrants, children and teenagers.

The share of pensioners in these migration flows is naturally lower as the Western countries taking the Russian emigrants carry out a definite immigration policy in their interests – they accept the migrants necessary for their demographic development. That is why the able-bodied population and the youth are among their top priorities.

The share of children and teenagers is extremely high in the emigration flow to the economically developed countries. We can rely on the data issued by the state statistics which show that 40% of the emigration flow from Russia to the USA were children and teenagers. It reveals two tendencies. The first is that the departure for permanent residence has a family character – parents leave with children, and the second - Russia became an "export" country of children for adoption. There exists a special term concerning this phenomenon – "baby-business". The data about the export of the adopted children abroad are not issued widely; they have a scrappy character because of the controversial reactions in the Russian society. Every year approximately 4 - 5 thousand Russian children are legally adopted by foreigners and are taken out from Russia (Ryazantsev, 2002, p.321). In 2004, this figure was 6.5 thousand children. In total during the last ten years, 60 thousand children were adopted and taken out of Russia by foreigners, including 40 thousand taken out by the USA citizens (the Information of television Channel "Russia", 2005). The data of the USA population census of 2000 show that the basic suppliers of white children from Europe for adoption by American citizens are Russia and Romania. In 2000 about 82% of adopted children at the age 6 -11 years were pupils of the Russian and Romanian children's homes (Nekipelova, 2004, p.33).

Marriage emigration from Russia became a separate mass flow. A huge market of intermediary marriage agencies assisting women in choosing a foreign husband formed in Russia. According to the latest data, there are about 1 thousand marriage agencies which offer the intermediary services for Russian brides. The fact that the marriage emigration tendency in Russia has become widely spread is confirmed by an increased share of women in the emigration flow to the countries of “the old abroad” – 54.6% (the data of 2003). According to approximate estimations, 10 - 15 thousand Russian women annually go abroad on fiancée visas (Makhovskaya, 2004, p. 10). According to the Ministry of Justice of the USA, during the last ten years about 80 thousand Russian women came to this country on fiancée visas (Ryklina, 2004, p. 58).

Russia, the Ukraine and Moldova now became the countries providing the delivery of women to the marriage market of the Western Europe and the USA. The facts of involving Russian women in prostitution and infringement of their rights abroad surely cause anxiety. It is possible to assume that no less than 1 million girls from the CIS countries work in the sector of sex-services and entertainments in the countries of Europe, including 300-400 thousand Russians. The majority surely gets to these countries as tourists, but part of them comes through the marriage channel of migration.

As a result of the emigration to the countries of “the old abroad” from the point of view of sex-age structure of migrants, Russia has negative consequences, namely the losses of able-bodied population, children and teenagers. It is important that the selection of women by the intermediaries working "on the edge of foul" (first of all, providing deliveries of girls abroad under cover of marriage in the sector of sex-services and entertainments) is in some cases performed on the basis of their anthropometrical and

aesthetic parameters. As a rule, not only young, but also beautiful girls are selected. Not only the demographic, but also the genetic potential of the country is under the danger of loss.

The emigration from Russia to the countries of “the old abroad” is characterized by the "brain drain". In 1993 every fifth emigrant had a higher education that almost by one and a half times outnumbered the share of people with the same educational level in Russia. Now the "brain drain" proceeds (about 19% of people leaving Russia in 2003 had a higher education, including 7 doctors and 31 candidates of sciences). The emigration to the USA was characterized by a high educational level of the emigrants (35% - migrants with a higher education) and Israel (32%). From the beginning of the 1990s more than 32 thousand Russians having a higher education have left for the USA.

The highly-qualified specialists in the spheres of space technologies, applied and theoretical physics, computer and high chemical technologies, biochemistry and microbiology, genetics and mathematics have been actively emigrating abroad during the recent years. The Russian programmers have also been actively involved in the emigration flow lately. By many western countries Russia is considered as a source of updating their highly-qualified personnel. For example, Germany in 2004 started the realization of a large-scale program aimed at the recruitment of about 100 thousand of computer experts from Russia. The ideas of increasing the quotas for foreign experts are also being discussed in the USA.

Emigration had such consequences as the losses of Russian scientific potential alongside the outflow of scientists to other sectors of economy. One scientist gone abroad, as a rule, “beckons” his students and colleagues. The results of the research show that many emigrants first keep up contacts with their colleagues in Russia, but in a year or two the ties are weakening or completely destroy. The emigrant scientists see the basic reason not in the supporting of the scientific contacts with their colleagues in Russia, but in helping them to move to the West. Thus, the emigration of scientists is characterized by an avalanche-like migration flow. There is a real danger of loosing many scientific schools and directions of research in Russia.

According to the Russian sources, the number of Russian scientists working abroad is estimated at 30 thousand, including 14-18 thousand in fundamental sciences. This figure seems to be underestimated. For example, in Israel which once was the leader in the reception of emigrants from Russia, the Russians make 40% of the scientific potential of the country. The total number of our experts in the field of high technologies and the programming working in the USA is estimated at 130 thousand. The Russian technological community in Silicon Valley in the USA comes to 30-50 thousand experts with a higher education (Amossov, 2003, p.47). It is obvious, that now Russia has lost its scientific potential, and it will take a lot of time to restore it.

Since the wages in the sphere of science remain scanty, the emigration moods among the scientists and highly-skilled experts are growing. The results of sociological research show that about 10% of scientists are actively looking for a job abroad, about 40% collaborate with various foreign funds (there is a great probability of their emigration by these channels in the future), and 20% are focused on the temporary labour migration abroad for additional income (Perminova, 2004, p.69).

## C. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION INTO AND FROM RUSSIA

### *1. Temporary Labour Migration into Russia*

There are some sources of data on the international labour migration in Russia which is characterized by a temporary stay of migrants. Each of the data sources has its advantages and disadvantages.

The basic data source are the **data on the number of labour migrants presented by the Federal Migration Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation** (the data have been collected from 1994) which record the number of foreign workers in the country and the number of Russians going abroad for work on the basis of contracts signed with the employers. It is necessary to mention the fact that the data of FMS register only a part of external labour migrants both entering the territory of Russia and departing abroad.

In case of registration of the labour migrants arriving to Russia (according to FMS), it is a question of the working papers given out to foreign citizens to perform their labour activity that could be reduplicated to the same worker and could have seasonal fluctuations. Moreover, the official state statistics publications do not register all the available data of the primary sources of information. For example, the table "The Number of Foreign Citizens Recruited for Work in Russia" registers the figures showing the number of foreigners in the country at the beginning of the year (i.e. those labour migrants whose contracts for this time did not expire). At the same time the primary materials of FMS contain the columns in which the number of gusarbeieters arriving, leaving and staying in the country during the year period is recorded. To give the full representation of the information it is necessary to take these data into consideration. To get the real data on the number of labour migrants from abroad it is necessary to allocate primary and re-issued working papers, and specify the validity of the contract (Birlsbrrou and others, 1999, p. 156).

Another source of the information is the **data on the use of foreign manpower within the limits of the labour resources balance** (the state statistics issues them from 1998) in which the new column under the title "Working Citizens of other Countries" was introduced. These data partially register the average annual number of illegal and legal labour migrants in the country. As labour migration has a seasonal nature, it is possible to assume, that even these data can be increased in 2-3 times.

**The data on the residence registration in the passport registration offices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs** can be considered at a proper level of statistics as an indirect source of data about temporary (including labour) migrants in Russia. This procedure has been performed since the end of 1995. However, the availability of these data to the public is extremely limited. At the same time, the validity of the temporary registration is not limited and varies from 3 months to 5 years in different regions and situations. This fact does not allow recording the number of temporary migrants properly, to say nothing of their structure (including the purposes of stay).

**The data of the frontier service of the Federal Security Service (FSS) of Russia** can also be regarded as an indirect source of data on labour migration. In this case the facts of crossing the border by foreign citizens are registered. But the technique of frontier statistics data collection is not clear enough, which does not give an opportunity to consider them as an adequate source of the information about migration. It is quite evident, that there is a strong necessity of the developing of the data on the basis of the migration cards which were recently introduced in Russia but are not used as a source of information on migration. Nowadays only criminal structures which arranged the sales of the migration cards to migrants benefit from them. Thus, the researchers now have to work with sufficiently distorted data on labour migration.

According to the data of the official statistics (FMS and MIA data), a number of legal labour migrants working in Russia has a tendency to growth. It was about 380 thousand in 2003, more than 460 thousand in 2004. The share of gusarbeieters in the employed population of Russia was insignificant – about 1% (the data of 2004). The proportions of manpower attracted from CIS countries and "the old abroad" remained nearly equal. But we must admit that role and the contribution of labour migration of "the new" and "the old abroad" changed alternately in favour of the countries of "the new and the old abroad". However, with the growth and stabilization national economy, it became clear that the main deliverers of foreign manpower to Russia are the CIS countries and the Baltic States.

According to the data of FMS of Russia, the majority of *gustarbeiters* (67%) in 2003 worked under the contracts between Russian juridical persons and the individuals (i.e. had quite stable contracts), and the rest were employed by foreign juridical persons for short-term jobs with a definite volume of works in the framework of the realization of contractor's agreements. The number of people employed by Russian individuals is also gradually rising. If in 2000 it was 1.8%, the figure was 4.6% (or 17.1 thousand) of *gustarbeiters* in 2003.

Among the foreign workers people with low and average qualification prevail. The structure of foreign workers employment shows that the main spheres, attractive for *gustarbeiters* are building, industry and agriculture. Moreover, there is a kind of a "specialization" of *gustarbeiters* from different countries in definite spheres of employment. As some studies show, builders and repair men, industrial workers and transport workers come mostly from the Ukraine. Labour migrants from Azerbaijan, China and Vietnam are mainly attracted into trade sphere. Immigrants from China work in agriculture. Among the *gustarbeiters* from Moldova drivers and builders are predominant now. Workers from Turkey are involved in building and are employed in agriculture. Labour migrants engaged in crediting, financing, insurance, audit, commerce and top-management come mostly from the countries of "the old abroad" (the USA, European countries). The segments of the market where the immigrants from abroad are employed according to ethnic-territorial principle are developing in Russia.

Foreign manpower is attracted into Russia from almost 120 countries. According to the official data, the main supplier of manpower into Russia is the Ukraine, which provides one-third, lately one-fourth of *gustarbeiters*. China takes the second place with a fifth part of incoming labour migrants (94.1 thousand). There is a tendency of a substantial growth of manpower from Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, China, and Vietnam. The number of Vietnamese labour migrants in Russia has recently grown (according to the data of 2003 their number came up to 41.8 thousand). It is interesting to note that Vietnam in this parameter got close to Turkey - one of the main partners of Russia in international labour migration from "the old abroad" (48 thousand people).

The sex and age structure of foreign workers is quite stable – most of them are men (for a long period it remains about 90%). Among labour migrants a little more than 80% of men and 90% women range in age from 18 to 39 years old. The most numerous group of foreign workers is the one at the age of 30-39 (about 40%).

There is a large gap between the data from the official sources, which register labour migrants and the real scales of labour migration. At the same time, the estimations of illegal labour migration vary and sometimes greatly. The representatives of the state structures as a rule give higher indices of the number of illegal labour migrants in Russia, using exclusively frontier statistics. For example, the representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation assess the illegal immigration in Russia at the rate of 10 million people (The Foreigner, 2001, p.4). Our research enables us to state that about 5 million migrants who can be considered illegal stay in Russia. Mainly these are the citizens of the CIS countries who arrived in the country under the visa-free mode conditions, but have no working papers and no residence registration.

There is a large-scale labour migration to many countries of Europe, including Russia, from the CIS countries. The most significant flows of labour migrants are registered from the Ukraine. The real figures which are given by the trustworthy researchers are 2- 3 million Ukrainians, working abroad (Pribytkova, 2003, p.27). Illegal Ukrainian migrants basically look for a job in Russia, the countries of the Eastern Europe, Turkey and Germany ( The Focus on Labour Migration in Central and Eastern Europe, 1998, p.27), and their number considerably exceeds the number of Russian *gustarbeiters*.

Another CIS country with massive labour migration is Moldova. According to IOM, about 600 thousand citizens of Moldova work abroad and only 30 thousand of them work legally (The Foreigner, 2003, p. 16).

Labour migration from the countries of Transcaucasia is also quite massive. Approximately 800 thousand - 1.5 million Armenian citizens work outside the country which makes up no less than a quarter of the population of the country (Pannossian, 2003, p. 142). About 1.5 - 2.0 million citizens of Azerbaijan work abroad. As for Georgia the figures vary greatly – at the lowest rate there are 100 thousand labour migrants abroad; to the maximum – up to 1 million (Topilin, 2002, p. 127; the Information of the First Channel of the Russian television, 2003). We estimate a total number of labour migrants from the countries of Transcaucasia in Russia at the level of 1.2-1.5 million.

Labour migration from the countries of the Central Asia also is great. Tajikistan, though being the country with the lowest social and economic indices in the CIS, can be considered a migration leader. The number of citizens of this country working abroad can reach at least 200 thousand (The Population of Russia in 2002. The Tenth Annual Demographic Report, 2004, p. 128). The latest studies show that the number of labour migrants is much higher and can come up to 600 thousand including 85% leaving for work to Russia in particular (Olimova and Bosk, 2003, p.21). There are approximately 600-700 thousand labour migrants in Uzbekistan now. As for Kyrgyzstan, the estimation varies within the limits of 350-700 thousand with half of the number going to Russia (The Population of Russia, 2004, p. 170).

Labour migration has a number of positive social and economic aspects for Russia. Owing to migrants the whole sectors of economy in the country such as trade, construction, transport services, agriculture develop. The example of Moscow is rather significant. No less than half the workers employed there on the building sites are the migrants from various countries, mainly the CIS. Migrants are actively involved in retail trade on the open markets, exit stalls, they work at restaurants and cafe as cooks and waiters, a lot of migrants clean the streets. According to Moscow Town Council, there are more than 170 large markets in the megapolis where about 180 thousand people, having foreign citizenship work legally. Migrants from the Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia and other CIS countries work as the drivers of Moscow trolley buses, buses, fixed-route long-distance taxis.

Gustarbeiters fill many “niches of no prestige” with heavy conditions of work on the labour market which local residents do not accept. According to the results of the Independent Research Council on migration of the CIS countries and the Baltic states, 9-12% of households are involved in labour migration in Russia, approximately the same number in the former capital of Kazakhstan - Alma-Ata, every third household in Armenia and every fourth in Azerbaijan and Moldova (The Population of Russia, 2004, p. 128). However, in this case the researchers calculated the number of labour migrants together with the commercial ones, i.e. this is the economic migration (a wider concept than the labour migration). Applied to the Russian Federation it can also be internal labour migration. We must admit, that now labour migration became not only a means of survival for a large part of the population, but also a real mechanism of spontaneous economic integration (“the integration from below”) between some countries of an amorphous grouping of the CIS.

In the CIS the labour migration generated a powerful flow of remittances- the money transferred to the countries of the labour migrants to their relatives and families. These sums of money can be transferred both through the official channels (bank system, system of remittances) and in the unregistered ways through personal and family channels. The term “private transfers” is used to name the second type of transfers.

There are no complexities in the estimations of the official “remittances” - in this case it is possible to use the estimations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the national banks of the countries and

other sources of data as this money is quite "transparent" for the statistics. By virtue of the peculiarities of the information collection, there are no estimations of transfers of all CIS countries now. According to some data, *gustarbeiters* transfer and take out up to 15 billion dollars annually only from Russia (The Information of the First Channel of Russian Television, 2003). With absolute transparency for our country it could give 4.5 billion tax deductions (with a lowest individual income tax rate 30%) to say nothing of the social deductions. The task is to reveal these money resources.

At the same time illegal labour migration has a number of negative aspects - it stimulates the growth of shadow economy, generates the dumping of wage level, forms ethnic enclaves and raises interethnic tension. The formation of the isolated zones of compact settling of migrants according to an ethnic attribute ("ethnic enclaves") is considered to be a bad tendency in large cities of Russia. It complicates, and sometimes makes impossible the integration of migrants into society. The isolation of communities can strengthen the local population negative attitude and mistrust to migrants, and can lead to the aggravation of international relations. The examples of native Chinese and Vietnamese people are significant: they live and work separately enough in isolated corners like "dormitory - market".

## *2. Temporary Labour Migration from Russia*

The opening of the borders after the falling of the "Iron Curtain" and the distribution of information about the opportunities of migration abroad accompanied with the decrease of living standards and curtailing of some branches of economy in Russia have forced some part of Russians to look for new ways of earning. The formation of the strategy of adaptation to new economic conditions has led to rather a wide level of labour migration of Russians abroad - our fellow citizens have become active participants of the international labour exchange.

The former system of directions for work abroad was substantially transformed after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Russian people got full freedom in searching for work abroad. In 1993 the "Law of Egress from the Russian Federation and Ingress to the Russian Federation" which designated the possibility of free departure from the country was passed. Since that moment the number of labour migrants from Russia has started to increase - the majority was highly qualified specialists and scientists, sportsmen and actors, teachers and doctors, technicians required on the labour markets of the Western countries.

Russia has become the largest exporter of manpower on the labour markets of foreign countries – annually 45-50 thousand people leave for work under contracts. The major countries of employment for the Russians are the Great Britain, Germany, Greece, Malta, the Netherlands and Cyprus. These countries are located not far from Russia. Besides some of them are "off shores", which gives an opportunity to purchase the real estate in a privileged way or to invest the capital earned in Russia. These advantages attract some Russian citizens. Russian labour migrants have also "settled" in the Asian and African countries. Compared with the states of "the old abroad" the CIS countries enjoy much smaller popularity with the Russians though labour migration also takes place in those countries.

It is hard to give a precise estimation of the number of Russian employees staying in the countries of "the old abroad" simultaneously, as the international statistics frequently attaches them to the total sum of citizens of the former USSR. Besides, there is a flow of Russian labour migrants leaving the country under the cover of tourists. Such people leave the country with the help of intermediary firms on a tourist visa and stay illegally to work in the EU countries and the Eastern Europe. Illegal and half-legal Russian labour migrants manage to come even to the USA which have rather a strict visa policy. According to our estimations, about 1-1.5 million Russians work simultaneously in the countries of "the old abroad".



The most required specialists abroad are Russian specialists with specialized secondary professional education which makes up approximately 40-50% of all people who went to work abroad under contracts. Russian workers with a higher education make up about one third of the migration flow abroad.

From the point of view of the professional structure market the most required category of employees on the international labour are the Russians having working skills qualification (first of all connected with fishery and navigation) who make up half of the whole migration flow. About a quarter of all people employed under contracts abroad are experts in technical sphere or the spheres of art and culture. Managers constitute the sixth part of the labour migration flow.

For many inhabitants of Russia, especially from province, the international labour migration became a real means of survival under the new economic conditions. Men prevail in the migration flow of Russians abroad recently. The women content varied at different times from 6% to 17%. Though the share is low the tendency to growth is marked. The market of migrant employment abroad is monopolized by private intermediaries including the commercial firms specializing in foreign employment, travel agencies, and illegally operating individuals. Unlike the state structures, the commercial ones react faster and more flexibly to the offers of the foreign employers and to the demand from the Russian labour migrants.

However, sometimes the activity of the intermediaries has an informal character due to the imperfections of the Russian legislation. At times such business has no ethical standards - the citizens going for work abroad are often deceived. The business strategies of many intermediaries are aimed at the maximization of short-term profit; they do not bear any responsibility for the destinies of the Russians who have gone abroad.

All these facts diminish the image of Russia and our fellow citizens in the eyes of the world community. At the customs Russian citizens are often looked at with suspicion, many Russians are refused tourist and business visas in the embassies of developed countries, the visa mode and the frontier formalities in relation to the Russians constantly become tougher. Besides, the vigorous activity of shadow intermediaries promotes an increase of the number of Russians who, having left abroad and being in illegal position, cannot stand for the rights before the employers and get into complicated situations, and sometimes in slavery.

According to the data of the balance of payments of the country issued by the Bank of Russia, the sizes of the remittances of the Russian labour migrants working abroad, make up about 700-800 million dollars. In absolute amount it is much more than the CIS countries receive from the labour migrants, but in relative figures it accounts for about 0,2% of GNP. As our research shows, labour migrants and their families in Russia spend the remittances basically on current consumption, purchase or the equipment of accommodation.

Many Russians going abroad raise the level of their qualifications, get new knowledge and master the new technologies in the sphere of their professional work. In case of returning of such manpower after the expiry of the contract abroad, Russia gets much more not from the point of view of the private transfers, but from the point of view of the quality of manpower. However, many Russians who have once gone abroad, as a rule, continue to work there never coming back to Russia which causes the losses for the country.

The strategy of the state in the sphere of regulation of the external labour migration from Russia should comprise the creation of social and economic conditions for the departure reduction and the attraction of those Russians who worked abroad to use their skills and working potential in the national economy. It is also necessary to continue perfecting the legislative base and the mechanisms of the

civilized departure for work abroad on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements between Russia and the countries of labour migrants reception.

#### D. THE MIGRATION POLICY IN RUSSIA: PROBLEMS AND IMPROVEMENTS

##### *1. The Contradictions of the Migration Policy under the Conditions of Demographic Developments Prospects*

The economic aspects of the demographic development of Russia in the future are characterized by the need in the able-bodied population. The doubling of the Gross National Product by 2010 was declared a top priority in the development of the country for a midterm prospect by President of Russia V.V. Putin. It is obvious that the achievement of this purpose is possible in two ways or their combination. On the one hand, it is possible to increase the number of the employed population (including labour migrants). On the other hand, it is possible and it is necessary to raise the labour productivity, to update the equipment and to develop high technologies, stimulating the businessmen to invest their capitals in the modernization of the industry by a favorable tax policy.

Proceeding from a postulate on doubling of the Gross National Product in a decade, the rate of this parameter growth should be 1.416 during the next five years i.e. the average annual rate should not be less than 7%. The average rate of the labour productivity increase was 3.2 % in 2001-2002 annually. In 2003-2004 the rates of growth were 6.8% and 6.3% though nothing changed both in the structure of economy and in the technical equipment; only the prices for energy carriers grew. The average annual rates of the labour productivity increase did not exceed 5% in the countries with the similar to Russia characteristics during the boundary of the 20-21<sup>st</sup> centuries. It is a real level for Russia in the nearest future. If the labour productivity in Russian economy grows at such rates during the next 6-7 years, the annual increase of the population by 2% will be necessary to provide the declared 7.2% in Gross National Product growth.

The analysis of the forecast variants shows that with the further increase of the negative tendencies in birth rate and death rate the number of economically active population will have reduced by 3.6 million by 2010 in comparison with 2005, and by 7 million by 2015 - (10.6 million in 10 years). The next five years will be collapsing from the point of view of the formation of the labour potential of the country. With such dynamics of the number of economically active population the doubling of the Gross National Product in a decade seems to be quite problematic.

The volume of the Gross National Product can be increased only in 1.177-1.234 times (at the rates of the labour productivity growth by 4%-5%) in 2006-2010, in the next five years in 1.138-1.193 times under the conditions of the reduction of the number of economically active population. Moreover, even with such a mythical increase in labour productivity by 7%, the expected growth of the Gross National Product – 1.403 in the nearest five years - will not be sufficient enough to provide the achievement of the aim to double the Gross National Product. Thus, the lack of manpower in Russia in the nearest 8-10 years will be the main restricting reason of its plans to return to the community of the economically developed countries. Partially, the way out is in the increasing the scales of the international labour migration.

In the Russian Establishment nowadays there are several points of view concerning the role of the international labour migration and the approaches to its regulation in Russia.

The first approach is **conservative**. It is declared by a number of radical politicians who see only the negative consequences of the labour migration to Russia. Their idea as regards the migration policy in terms of the regulation of a direct flow of labour migrants is connected with the necessity of closing the borders of the country to labour migrants and strengthening of the control over the frontiers.

The second point of view is a **liberal migration project**. It is based on the idea that Russia is bound to use and attract foreign labour. The main reason is the lack of manpower inside the country in the conditions of the economic growth. The supporters of this approach believe that Russia can receive manpower exclusively due to the labour migrants from the countries of the nearest abroad (including China). At the same time, the needs of the country in migrants could not be defined as there is a set of macroeconomic factors because of which the idea of quotas is denied. The opportunities of market economy are practically boundless; it is capable to accept plenty of migrants. If people come to the country, it means that there are opportunities for earning and job placement and the main thing is to give freedom in manpower movement and the employment of *gustarbeiters*. The market economy can regulate everything.

The authors of the present work take a **reserved point of view regarding the** attraction of labour migrants from abroad to Russia. It formed not only on the basis of the interpretation of the current situation on the Russian labour market, but also on the basis of the analysis of the experience in labour migration regulation worldwide. The estimation of the precise needs in manpower based on pragmatical economic and geopolitical interests of Russia (not on slogans and declarations) should become a fundamental basis for the formation labour migration policy.

Therefore, before choosing the labour migrant attraction policy it is necessary to imagine the scales of these needs and coordinate them directly with the prospects of social and economic development of the country. The strategy in the sphere of economic development and the regulation of external labour migration should be considered in the context of the national purpose which can be understood as the security and well-being of the Russians and the construction of a powerful independent state (Kuznetsov, 2004 p.1). Moreover, the regulation of labour migration should be closely coordinated with the Conception of the Demographic Development of the country, including the necessity of granting socio-cultural and geopolitical safety of the country. In this connection, the labour migration should not be a social destabilizer of society.

Taking into consideration the Strategy of the Demographic Development of Russia, there is a necessity in the urgent increase in the inflow of immigrants from the countries of "the new abroad" for permanent residence to compensate the natural population decline and in attracting labour migrants in the numbers necessary to satisfy the needs of the labour market. The given idea was indicated in the Message to the Federal Assembly on April, 25th, 2005 by President V.V. Putin: "The population growth should be accompanied by the comprehension of the immigration policy. We are interested in the inflow of qualified legal manpower".

Under such obvious circumstances a paradoxical situation has developed - there is real contradiction between the Conception of the Demographic Development and the practice of migration process regulation. On the one hand, the President and the government of the country repeatedly declared the necessity of the attraction of migrants to Russia as well as the importance and inevitability of solving the problems of the country through migration.

Moreover, for the first time in the newest history of Russia the Conception of the Demographic Development of the country for the period up to 2015 was accepted in 2001. The aims of the demographic development were declared in the Conception as the "stabilization of size of population and the formation of conditions for the subsequent growth", "the regulation of migration flows with the purposes of...substitution of the natural population decline ". The "necessity of attraction of the immigrants to Russia primarily from the CIS countries and also Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia", "conducting a complex of legal, organizational and financial measures directed at the legalization and adaptation of immigrants", the "development of the measures aimed at the increase of territorial mobility of a manpower", etc. are proclaimed as the priorities in the demographic development in the sphere of migration.

The Conception of the Demographic Development of Russia proclaims the topical purpose: "Russia vitally needs migrants!" The given point of view is supported by many leading scientists and the experts in the issues of population migration. However, there are obvious contradictions with a conceptual idea of the demographic development of the country on the practical level of migration regulation in Russia. They are revealed at three levels.

**Macrolevel (the state level).** These are the contradictions of the legislative acts of a federal level and the actions of the federal authorities in the sphere of the migration policy in the framework of the Conception of the Demographic Development of Russia:

- the Conception of Migration Process Regulation in Russia accepted a little bit later (in 2003) is not in keeping with the Conception of the Demographic Development;

- the legislative acts setting the "game rules" in the sphere of the regulation of migration in Russia (for example, the Law on citizenship, etc.), is not in keeping with the Conception of the Demographic Development of Russia;

- the reorganization of the Migration Service of Russia and placing its functions on the Ministry of Internal Affairs is an inefficient action meaning regress or "a step back" in the sphere of the formation of the migration policy in Russia. This reorganization practically reduced the migration policy exclusively to the functions of the control over a migrant flow. Thus, the migration policy should be understood much more globally. The migration policy represents a system of ideologically adopted and conceptually united means with the help of which, first of all, the state and its public institutions keeping the norms of the historic conditions of the country plan the achievement of the purposes adequate to the present and subsequent stages of development of the society.

**Mesolevel.** These are the contradictions in the legislative space and socio-political consciousness which exist on the regional level of Russia. On the one hand, there is a contradiction of the actions in the field of legislative regulation of population migration performed by the regional authorities of the country with the actions of the federal authorities. Sometimes the regional authorities pass the laws contradicting the federal legislation, and then they are cancelled by the Constitutional Court. On the other hand, there is a marked tendency of the active use of "migration subjects" in political purposes by the regional authorities, political parties and governor candidates; the direct or latent support of radical political parties and public associations in the regions, opposing migrants and protecting the interests of the native population is also observed.

**Microlevel.** The contradictions at the level of the migration regulation practice. The informal ways of solving migration problems in the forms of bribery (extortions) from migrants in favour of the officials and policemen who work in close contact with migrants have become widely spread. The groundless obstacles and barriers are put by the officials to obtaining the citizenship, residence registration, work placement, access to social services (education, public health services, pre-school education and so forth) in different state offices in Russia. In this situation the firms which are ready to assist in residence registration, obtaining the working papers, etc. for rather small sums of money literally prosper. By our estimations the annual turnover of the shadow market on counterfeit registration for temporary migrants only in Moscow is no less than 140 million dollars. Besides, the problems of nationalism, migrantophobia and xenophobia haven't been solved in Russia yet.

## *2. The Directions of the Migration Policy Improvement*

A scientifically-proved conception of migration policy, considering geopolitical, economic, and demographic interests of the country is required for the consecutive and effective solving of the problems of migration regulation in Russia. It should be an obligatory component in the strategy of demographic development of Russia and should include the following directions:

- the attraction of immigrants into the country, first of all, the representatives of the title ethnic groups of Russia (compatriots) for permanent residence from the states of “the new abroad” to replace the natural population decline in the country, (the net migration should be, at least, no less than the scales of natural population decline);

- the attraction of the labour migrants from the countries of “the new and the old abroad” to the industries and regions according to economic and geopolitical interests of Russia (the volumes of labour migration should cover the deficit in manpower on the labour market);

- the settling of the inner Russian migrants and immigrants from the category of compatriots, and also forming the resident population in geopolitically important regions of the country (first of all, in frontier areas of Siberia and the Far East);

- the reduction of high-qualified staff emigration from the country for permanent residence abroad.

The system of measures of the migration policy should have a legal ground of the international certificates regulating the moving of the population between the states, protecting the migrants’ rights, providing the guarantees in various spheres of life and thus should be adequate to the national interests of Russia.

The measures of the migration policy should include two basic vectors which will organically complete each other and will allow reaching the set tasks in the demographic development of the country.

First, the attraction of the population from the countries of "the first circle" of Russian interests - the states of “the new abroad”, first of all the compatriots who have stayed there should become a target orientation of the migration policy. Taking into consideration the facts that a new wave of oppressions of the Russian-speaking population (the open discrimination, growth of nationalism and neo-Nazism in the Baltic region) is marked in the CIS countries, and the political shocks occurred in the CIS countries ("revolution" in the Ukraine, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan), the good situation for returning compatriots to their historical native land was created. Right now it is necessary for Russia to take the advantage of this chance and facilitate the access and procedures of reception of the Russian citizenship as much as possible. It is also necessary to expand a circle of potential addresses of citizenship, to give perfect state guarantees for the organization of moving and settling in the country to the compatriots from the CIS countries. The economy of Russia is attractive enough for migrants from these countries; therefore labour migrants will move to the country more actively and will fill up the deficient able-bodied population, and the resident population in future. The similar vector of measures, certainly, should concern those compatriots who live and work in Russia illegally and half-legally for a long time.

Accessible and transparent order and procedure of the attraction of migrants in the country should become important priorities in the realization of the migration policy, i.e. their real simplification, the reduction of time and expenses of the Russian employers for getting the necessary amount of temporary labour migrants as legal labour.

The second vector of measures - the constant control over the sphere of migration from the proper services. In particular, with the simplification of the mechanism of attraction of the labour migrants, the supervising state measures should be kept in the regard of the legality of frontier crossing, the use of labour by the employers, the working conditions of migrants, the observance of their rights and the terms of stay, tax and social deductions from the salaries of migrants. In parallel with the liberalization of the procedures aimed at the attraction of legal migrants, the punishments for assistance and the organization of illegal migration, illegal entrance, stay and employment, infringement of the rights of migrants and illegal use of their work by employers should be seriously toughened.

Also it is important to set up a precise system of the account of the population migration at least in two directions. The first - is necessary to set up the data processing on the registration in a place of stay. The second - is necessary to create a system of the account and processing of the migration cards which are filed on foreigners entering the country and handed over at departing Russia.

Such a combination of measures will allow deducing the use of the work of migrants from the spheres of criminal and shadow economy, and finally, will promote for the social, economic and demographic development of Russia.

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TABLE 1. THE SUMS OF TRANSFERS OF THE LABOUR MIGRANTS TO SOME  
CIS COUNTRIES FROM ABROAD IN 2000

Country	The World Bank estimation		Official transfers (remittance) and unofficial (private transfers) estimations according to other sources	
	Total, million Us Dollars	The share in the Gross National Product of the country, %	Total, million Us Dollars	The share in the Gross National Product of the country, %
Armenia	15.0	0.8	300*	8.0-9.0*
Azerbaijan	57.0	1.1	...	...
Georgia	95.0	3.1	...	...
Moldova	3.0	0.3	150-170**	4.3-4.8
Kazakhstan	64.0	0.3	...	...
Kyrgyzstan	2.0	0.2	...	...
Russia***	740.0	0.2	...	...

NOTES: \* - the data of The Central Bank of Armenia; \*\* - the data of The Strategic Research and Reform Center of the Republic of Moldova; \*\*\* - the data of The Bank of Russia (the results of 2002).



## Figures

Figure 1. Migration Growth of Russia in the International Migration in 1995-2002 According to the Current Record (Thousands)

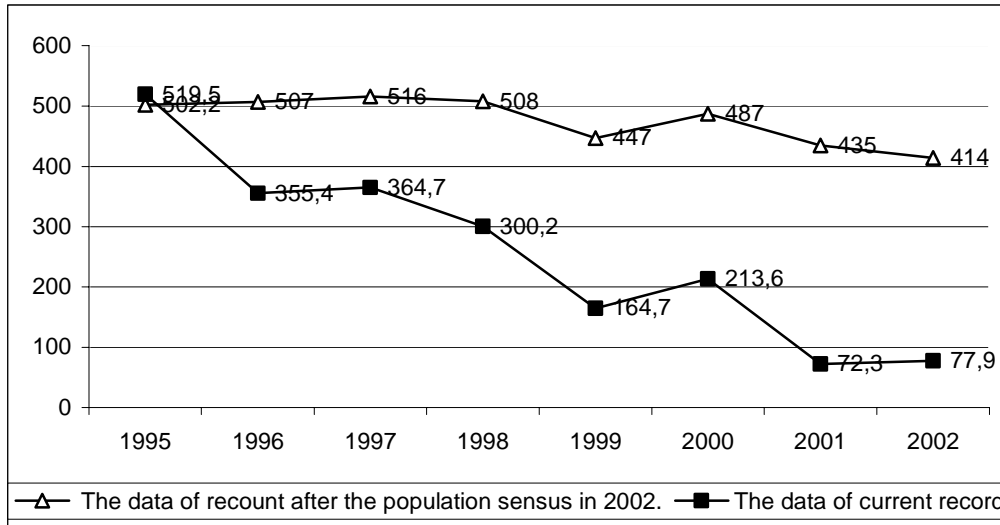
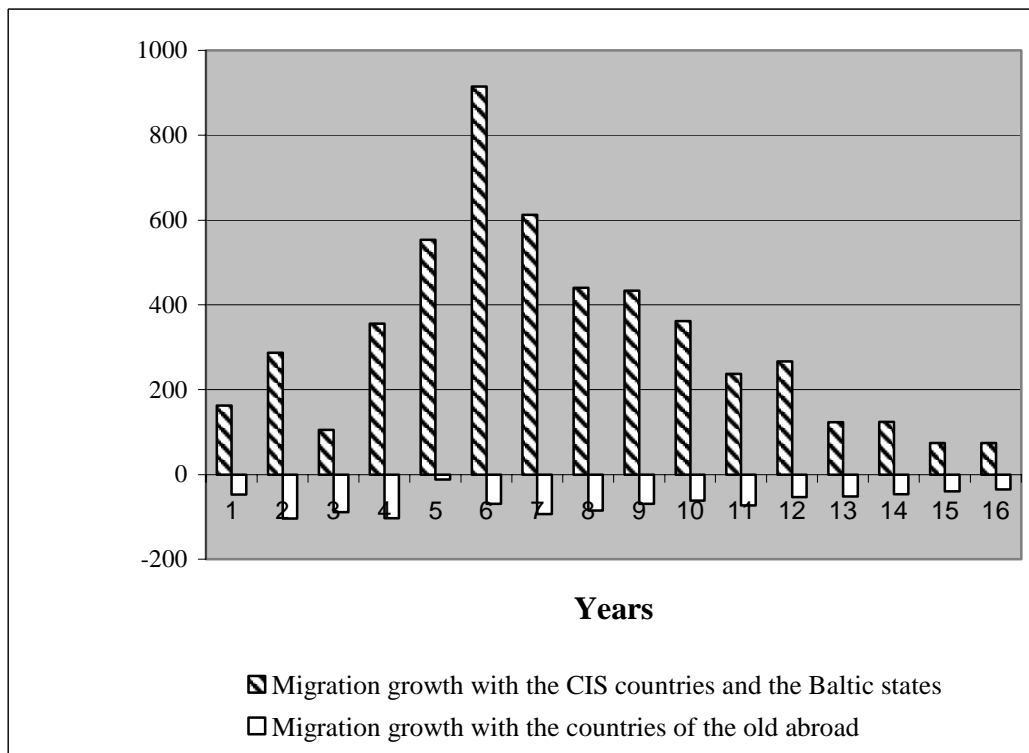
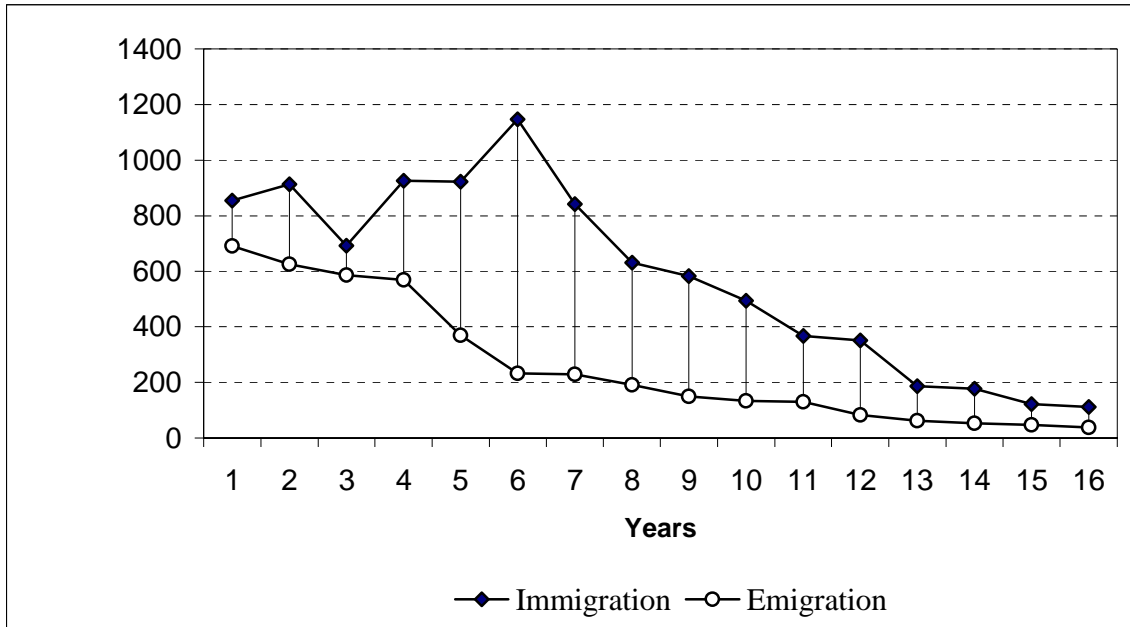


Figure 2. Migration Growth with the Countries of “the New” and “the Old Abroad” (Thousands)



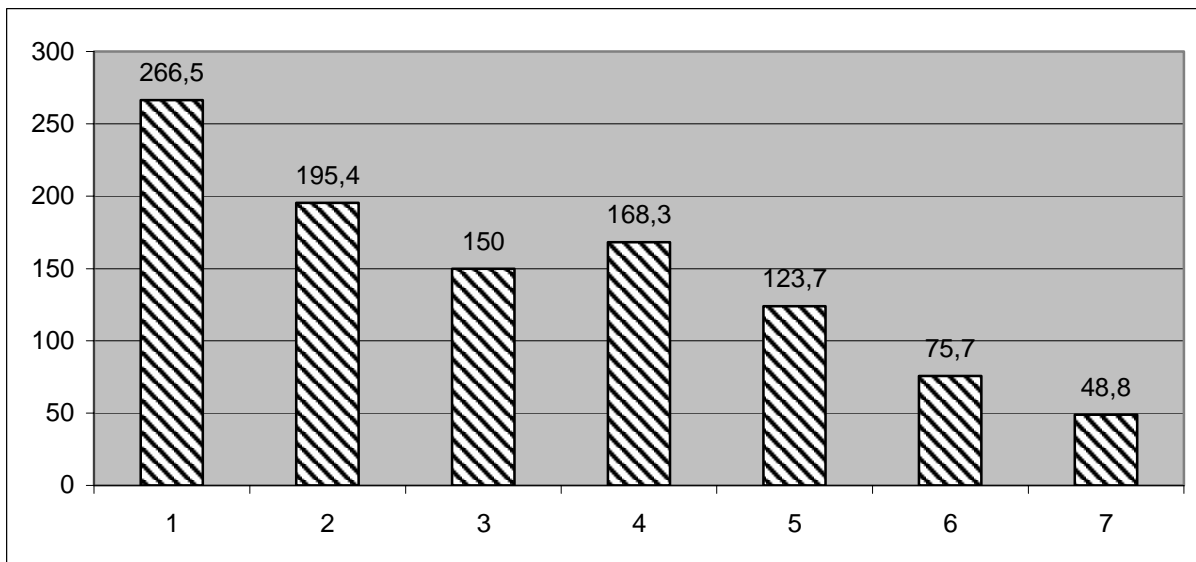
(Graphical Symbols: 1 – 1989, 2 – 1990, 3 – 1991, 4 – 1992, 5 – 1993, 6 – 1994, 7 – 1995, 8 – 1996, 9 – 1997, 10 – 1998, 11 – 1999, 12 – 2000, 13 – 2001, 14 – 2002, 15 – 2003, 16 – 2004).

Figure 3. The Basic Parameters of the Migration Exchange with the CIS Countries and the Baltic States (Thousands)



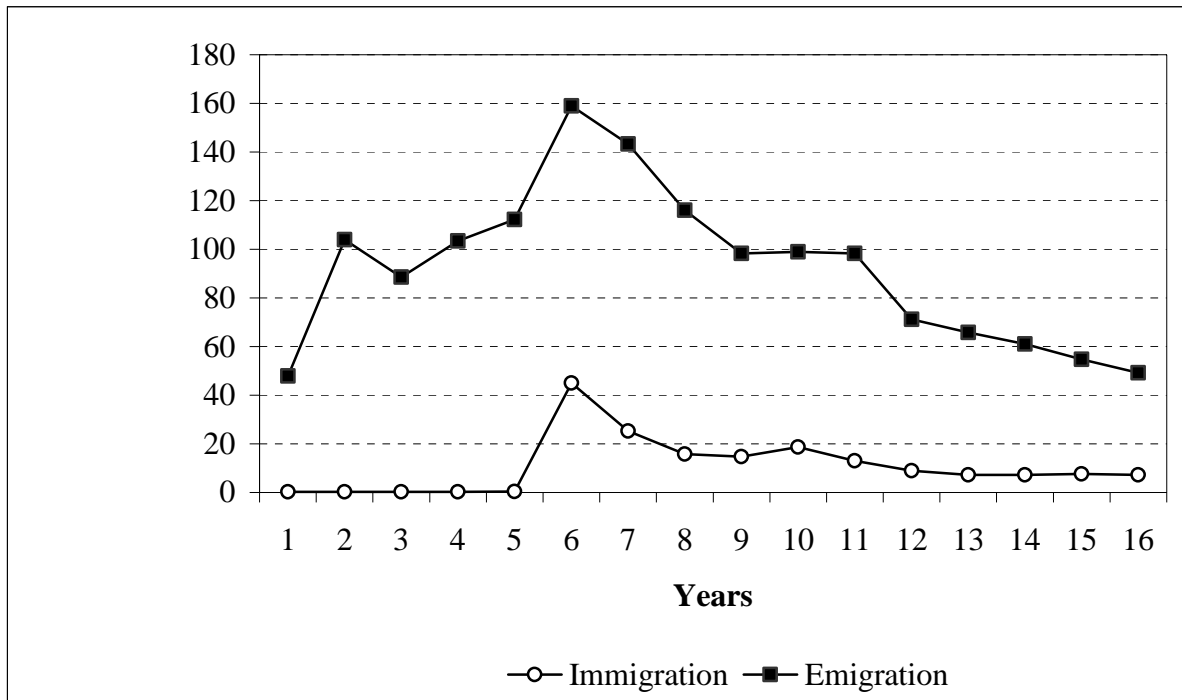
(Graphical Symbols: 1 – 1989, 2 – 1990, 3 – 1991, 4 – 1992, 5 – 1993, 6 -1994, 7 – 1995, 8 – 1996, 9 – 1997, 10 – 1998, 11 – 1999, 12 – 2000, 13 – 2001, 14 – 2002, 15 – 2003, 16 – 2004).

Figure 4. The Balance of Migration with the Countries of “the New Abroad” in the Category of Able-Bodied Migrants (Thousands)



(Graphical Symbols: 1 – 1997, 2 – 1998, 3 – 1999, 4 – 2000, 5 – 2001, 6 -2002, 7 – 2003).

Figure 5. Migration Growth with the Countries of “the Old Abroad” in 1989-2004  
(Thousands)



(Graphical Symbols: 1 – 1989, 2 – 1990, 3 – 1991, 4 – 1992, 5 – 1993, 6 -1994, 7 – 1995, 8 – 1996, 9 – 1997, 10 – 1998, 11 – 1999, 12 – 2000, 13 – 2001, 14 – 2002, 15 – 2003, 16– 2004).

Figure 6. The Basic Countries of Emigration from Russia in 2004  
(People)

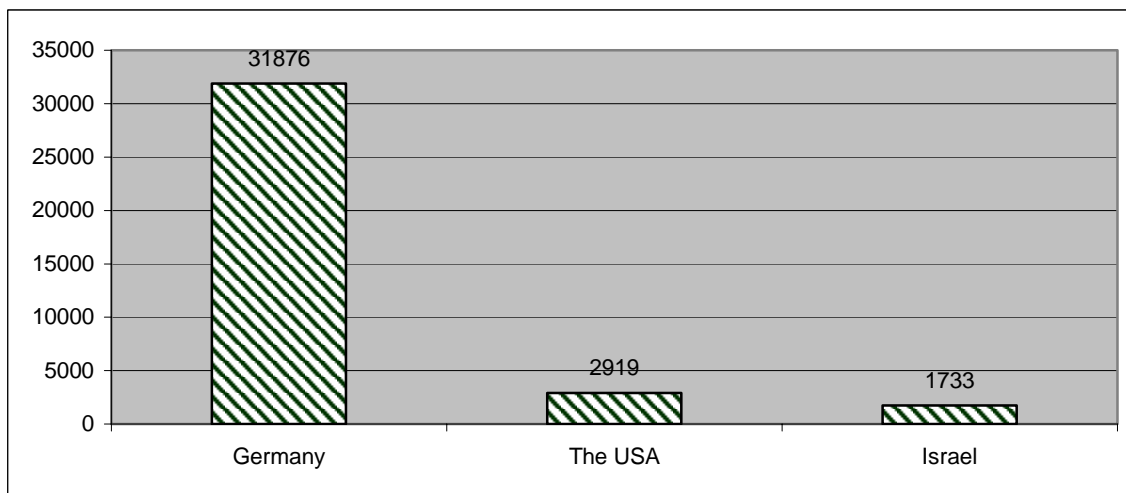


Figure 7. Other Countries of Emigration from Russia in 2004  
(People)

