International Journal of Research in Social Sciences
Vol. 7 Issue 9, September 2017,
ISSN: 2249-2496 Impact Factor: 7.081
Journal Homepage: http://www.ijmra.us, Email: editorijmie@gmail.com
Double-Blind Peer Reviewed Refereed Open Access International Journal - Included in the International Serial Directories Indexed & Listed at: Ulrich's Periodicals Directory ©, U.S.A., Open J-Gage as well as in Cabell's Directories of Publishing Opportunities, U.S.A

MIGRATION PATTERNS IN THE CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN FEDERATION (1991-2013)

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Abstract

The world's largest country, Russian Federation has been undergoing a unique demographic transition since the 1990s when the Soviet Union was disintegrated. In order to overcome this depopulation problem, Russia needs an annual inflow of about one million migrants. Apart from economic reasons, migration is important for Russia for political and geostrategic reasons. There are millions of Russian diaspora living in Former Soviet Union (FSU) countries and has the large potential for ethnic Russians. The prevailing political instability, ethnic conflicts, economic inequities, etc. in FSU countries have led to rising in ethnic migration to Russia. At the same time, the government authorities started considering migrants as a significant resource for its demographic stability, economic growth, and development. Russia signed with the 10 FSU countries agreements on visa free entrance which facilitates the procedures for registering and acquiring work permits. Due to these agreements, the labor migrants came legally to Russia, and they stay for a long time beyond the period and work illegally in the shadow economy. The Russians see illegal migration as a national security challenge, going to the extent of using police force to prevent illegal migration. In this context, this paper examines the patterns and trends of the migration in a detailed manner. It is very important to analyze the trends and patterns of the out-migration, in-migration and net migration. It is also examine the migrants' sex and age variation.

Keywords: Immigration, Ethnic Russians, Former Soviet Union, Illegal Migrants, Labour Market

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Introduction

Migration has existed since ancient times in various forms; it is not a new phenomenon. In the 19th century, globalization reinforced migration[1] in various forms. In this modern time, human nature and lifestyle have changed, and more preference is given to employment and to earn. People started going to other places for higher education, better employment, doing trade and business. In this context, they need to change residence either for temporary or for permanent settlement which is called migration. In this age of globalization, migration is interlinked with every activity of human life. Migrants not only help in economic development and boost the country's growth but also compensate the worker shortage in labor markets. Therefore, many ageing or depopulated countries choose migrants as a tool of maintaining the country's population stability. The migrants compensate aging population with young generation and fill the labor shortage. Migration balance working-age population in the labor market every time and it has the same positive productive impact on the economy.

Migration is of two types: internal and external migration. Internal migration means movement within a particular country or migration between the regions within the country. External migration refers the movement from one country to another, crossing the boundary of a political or administrative unit. Why do people migrate to other places? To answer this question, various reasons that effect migration are to be analyzed. These reasons can be classified into social, economical, environmental and political. Particularly, social migration means moving somewhere for a better quality of life or to be closer to family or friends. Economic migration means moving to find work or a career path, whereas political migration takes place to escape political persecution or war. Environmental migration is that in which people migrate due to natural disasters such as flooding or famine. People have moved from their home countries for centuries, for various reasons including the economic, political, socio-cultural and demographic factors, which shape the mobility of people between regions in a country or among nations. Most

[1] According to UNESCO, migration is the crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time. It includes the movement of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people as well as economic migrants. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defined migration as the movement of people from one area to another. It is a process of moving, either across an international border, which results in a temporary or permanent change of residence.

of the developed countries are experiencing this situation, including the US, European Union countries, Japan and Russia too.

Russia had seen migration even during the Soviet Union in the 20th century when it was mainly between republics and regions within the country. This internal migration used to be from underdeveloped regions to developed regions, for instance, from the Central Asian republics, Russia's Far-East and Siberian republics to Moscow and St. Petersburg and other urban cities. However, when the Soviet Union disintegrated into fifteen independent countries, Russia left with less populated regions and large geographical area. This disintegration resulted in a severe shortage of work force in the Russian labor market. It became difficult to run the economy without labor, and it required an inflow of working-age population every year. Therefore, Russia allowed migrants into the country from the Former Soviet Union[2] (FSU) republics for the smooth functioning of the Russian economy. Also, most of the ethnic Russians who earlier resided in other parts of the Soviet republics were willing to migrate to their motherland Russia because of political, economic, and socio-cultural reasons. In this context, to understand the importance of Russian migration, this paper examines the nature and changing patterns of immigration and emigration Russia, as well as the main factors behind this migration from other FSU countries.

Historical Trends of Migration in the Soviet Union

Migration trends in contemporary Russia have deep historical roots. The movement of population during the Tsarist[3] period (1547-1917) and the Soviet period (1917-1991) provided the precondition for the post-soviet migration. It included not only internal but also international migration (Nozhenko, 2010). The Tsar Emperors started further expanding their territory by exploring Siberia and Far East regions in the 17th century. The Russian territory expanded by the acquisition of the Baltic region, Belarus, parts of the Ottoman Empire and parts of Poland in the 18th century. Finally, it ended with the inclusion of Armenia, Georgia, Central Asia and North Caucasus in the 19th century (Heleniak, 2004). This territorial expansion led to the penetration of

[2] Former Soviet Union (FSU) countries include all 15 former Soviet Republics: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Republic of Belarus, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

[3] Tsars (1547-1917) were hereditary autocrat rulers who governed pre-revolutionary Russia. Peter the Great was Tsar Emperor and the Nicholas II was the last emperor of Russia. They ruled Russia for nearly two centuries and replaced Tsar Rule with Bolshevik government in 1917.

Russians across new geographic areas. Government authorities had encouraged displacement of peasants from European to the Asian part of the country. Moreover, Russia was the first country in the world to have a specialized State Migration Management Department in 1763. Promotion of migration from Europe to Russia was the main objective of the institution. Due to this policy, thousands of skilled and professional people such as professors, scientists, engineers, military men and businessmen moved to Tsarist Russia. By the end of 19th century, there were about 1.8 million ethnic Germans settled in Russia (Ivakhnyuk, 2009).

As there was rapid economic growth due to the industrialization and urbanization in the Soviet Union, there was an urgent need for skilled and unskilled labor to cope with the increasing growth but the situation was uneven. By the 1960s, the central and northwest regions of Russia experienced labor deficit and became more attractive for migrants (Zaionchkovskaya, 1995). The Central Asian and Siberian regions were underdeveloped. To develop these regions, the administration and government required professionals to work in industrial and service sector. As the Soviet state was attempting to create a more egalitarian society, the government attempted to equalize the standard of living across all parts of the country. This tended to minimize regional differences in wages and living standards, thus dampening a major factor driving migration in other countries. Without explicitly realizing it, Soviet central planners used elements of neo-classical economic theories of migration by offering wage in the underdeveloped region of the USSR (Heleniak, 2011).

In the early 1980s, migration took place from rural to urban areas, and Russian labor market attracted not only Slavs but also non-Slavic people. For instance, about a half million people migrated from Kazakhstan, 100,000 people from Kyrgyzstan and 200,000 people from other three Republics Tajikistan Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan between 1976 and 1980s. The Moldovan migrants increased in Russia by 10.5 percent. Similarly, Georgian and Armenian migrants increased by 10.3 and 13.2 percent, respectively; Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks and Turkmen by24 and 34 percent, respectively; Kyrgyz, Kazakhs, and Tajiks by 33, 23.5 and 46 percent, respectively. Similar patterns can be seen in Ukraine as well. Belarusians and Ukrainians preferred to migrate to Baltic regions rather than the Russia region. Moldovan migrants were replaced by Russians in Trans-Caucasus and Central Asian (Heleniak, 2002). Till the 1980s, the

migration movement was towards Russia's northern regions, but in the mid-1980s the direction of migration had changed towards the Western side (Nozhenko, 2010).

The leaders of the Soviet Union used migration as a key instrument to keep the country integrated. This was one of the important reasons apart from political, socio-economic and cultural reasons. Internal migration played a major role in Russian economic stability as it helped in removing inter-regional imbalances, improving the efficiency of the spatial allocation of resources, increasing per capita income and decreasing unemployment. For instance, in the 1970s, labor migrated from Central Asia to the Far East and Siberian regions of the Soviet Union and engaged in agricultural activities and got better employment opportunities (Bandey and Farooq, 2013). However, there was a criticism that the Soviet Union's migration policy was full of the demands of the state, but not the people's wish. At the same time, the migration policy had serious negative implications on people. For example, the ethnicity-based displacement resulted in increasing mortality and negative repercussions on public health. The Soviet migration policy ignored human needs and instead aimed at economic growth (Ivakhnyuk, 2009).

Migration Trends in Contemporary Russia

The Russian Federation is the world's largest country in terms of the physical area even after the Soviet Union disintegration. It has the longest external border in the world. It shares a land border with sixteen countries (Heleniak, 2002). The breakup of the USSR and the achievement of independence by its republics created an unprecedented situation. It was the first time in the Russians demographic history to have its own "Diaspora[4]" with about 25 million ethnic Russians. The Russian diaspora resides in other FSU states, making up one of the largest diasporas "without moving an inch or leaving their home land" in the world (Peyrouse, 2008; Heleniak, 2011). It is important to note that internal migration became international migration overnight. These states have neither any system nor any mechanism in place to deal with population movements. They are mainly ethnic Russians living in former Soviet republics, particularly Central Asian states. According to the official data, between 1992 and 2013, 18.4 million migrants arrived in the country in which one-third of ethnic Russian. Russia started

[4] A diaspora is a large group of people with a similar social-economic, political and cultural heritage or homeland who have resided other places across the world.

accepting migrants and became a net receiver of migrants not only from the Commonwealth of Independent States[5] (CIS) but also from other countries (Heleniak, 2002; Peyrouse, 2008; Rozanova, 2012).

Following the Soviet Union's breakup, Russia is confronted with negative demographic circumstances, including a decrease in population and aging population. In this situation, Russia needs labor force, and it is attracting immigrants to improve the economic functioning of the country (Ivakhnyuk, 2009). According to the recent United Nations (UN) estimates, Russia receives the highest number of immigrants. Also, it has the second largest stock of migrants in the world after the United States, with 18.3 million, approximately ten percent of its total population (Heleniak, 2011). According to Russia's Federal Migration Service[6] (FMS), in 2009 immigration compensated almost 90 percent of the natural decline in the population of the country. It is said that Russia has a demand for more people, and these migrants have integrated its society and contributed to Russia's economy. There were eleven million migrants in Russia in 2013 (Ryazantsev, 2010). There was increased migration from Central Asia and the Transcaucasia lesser from the Baltic and other Slavic states. Migration compensated the slowing natural increase of the population to a certain extent and not completely (Heleniak, 2002).

Major Causes and Factors of Migration

A number of factors can be identified that influenced migration patterns in post-Soviet Russia. The greatest influence of international migration was the disintegration of the Soviet Union into fifteen states. All of a sudden, internal borders became external borders, and internal migration within one state became international migration. Other reasons are the lack of earning potential and political instability in other newly independent countries, Russians' life style and economic development as well as the liberalization of labor migration rules (National Human Development Report, 2008). Russia has been attracting trained, qualified labor from other FSU countries. The

[5] Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was founded following collapse of the Soviet Union on 8 December 1991 by the Belarus, Russia and Ukraine. Two weeks later, the eight other former Soviet republics, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan joined the CIS. Two years later Georgia joined and left in 1993 and the three Baltic States never joined the CIS.

[6] The Federal Migration Service (FMS) is a federal executive body responsible for drafting and implementing national migration policy and for legal regulation of migration. It is also authorized to enforce laws, perform state oversight and provide government services with regard to migration.

reasons for this migration are economic reforms, a strong currency and better business conditions in Russia and the adverse developments across the FSU countries, ethnic tensions in 1993-94, high inflation, growing unemployment, panic, confusion, fear, threats and social discomfort contributed to stress-induced migration. Consequently, stress factors were the most powerful determinants of migration. As a result of liberalization, Russia followed the "Open Door" policy that allows its citizen to enter and exit the country without restrictions (Andrienko and Guriev, 2006; Zaionchkovskaya, 1996). Russia realized that its population was declining and aging, therefore, it needed more working-age people. The Russian government started to consider migrants as a significant resource for its economic development and demographic stability. Therefore, the Russian government further liberalized its migration policy by signing on visa-free entrance agreement with the 10 FSU countries (Nozhenko, 2010).

Table 2: Total Migration Patterns in Russian Federation (1991-2013)

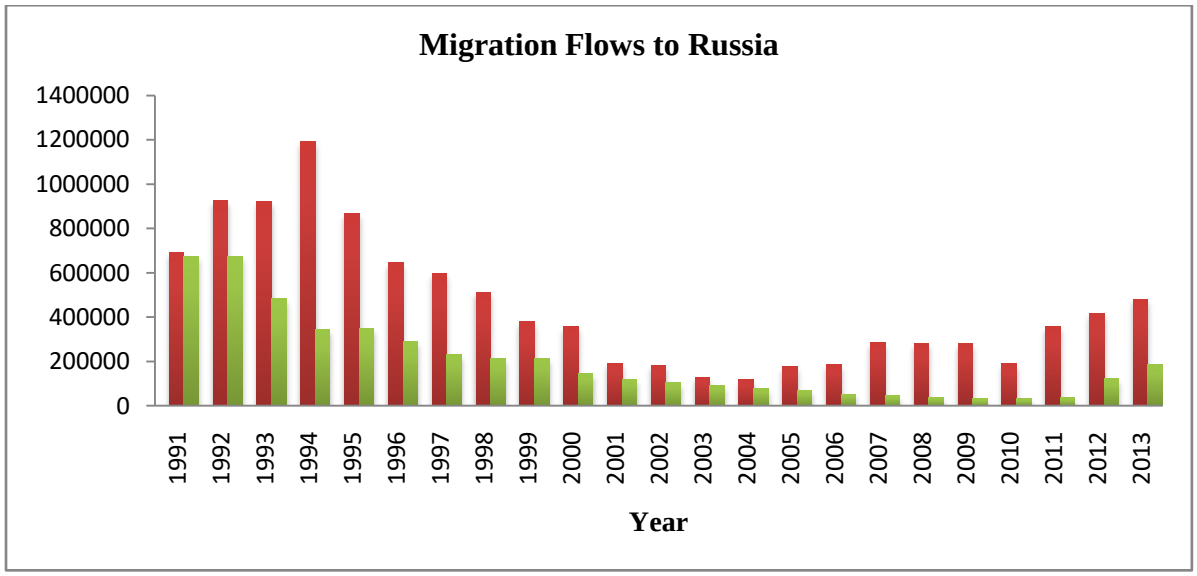
Years	Arrivals (Persons)			Departures (Persons)			Net Migration
	Total Arrivals	Within Russia	From Foreign Countries	Total Departures	Within Russia	To Foreign Countries	
1991	4383020	3690782	692238	4155649	3480152	675497	16741
1992	4192798	3266778	926020	3806409	3133266	673143	252877
1993	3826115	2902835	923280	3450277	2967249	483028	440252
1994	4208308	3016953	1191355	3330776	2985153	345623	845732
1995	3997139	3130282	866857	3393941	3046603	347338	519519
1996	3533890	2886864	647026	3090594	2798952	291642	355384
1997	3322593	2724942	597651	2931466	2698479	232987	364664
1998	3095508	2581957	513551	2774310	2560933	213377	300174
1999	2856731	2477005	379726	2672709	2457746	214963	164763
2000	2662329	2302999	359330	2420574	2274854	145720	213610
2001	2334034	2140584	193450	2252253	2131087	121166	72284
2002	2201914	2017302	184612	2114765	2008080	106685	77927
2003	2168168	2039024	129144	2124284	2030266	94018	35126

2004	2117434	1998277	119157	2076159	1996364	79795	39362
2005	2088639	1911409	177230	1981207	1911409	69798	107432
2006	2122071	1935691	186380	1989752	1935691	54061	132319
2007	2284936	1997980	286956	2044993	1997980	47013	239943
2008	2215945	1934331	281614	1973839	1934331	39508	242106
2009	1987598	1707691	279907	1740149	1707691	32458	247449
2010	2102304	1910648	191656	1944226	1910648	33578	158078
2011	3415055	3058520	356535	3095294	3058520	36774	319761
2012	4196143	3778462	417681	3901213	3778462	122751	294930
2013	4496861	4014620	482241	4201002	4014620	186382	295859

Source: The Demographic Yearbook of Russia published by Federal Statistical Service, the Government of Russian Federation (http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/B14_16/Main.htm).

The above table (3.2) shows the migration patterns in the Russian Federation, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. In the early 1990s, the migration flow was very high, and most of the flow was from former Soviet republics. Till 1991, it was internal migration across internal borders then all of suddenly it became immigration and international borders for which restrictions came up later. With liberal migration policies, Russia became a more open country, and citizens moved abroad. The socio-economic and political crisis in other FSU countries resulted in people moving to Russia. It was a common problem, primarily related to the economy and the need to attract cheap labor force. Moreover, immigrants have chosen Russia as their destination because they have shared Russian culture and customs during the Soviet period. Most of the migrants are from the FSU countries that share a common mentality, a common historic memory. Some of them, or perhaps their relatives, might have lived in the Russia. These factors make it much easier for these people to immigrate into ethnic groups wherein they resettle for permanent residence (Putin's Interview, 2013). Since 1991, immigrant flows from other countries into Russia was larger than the emigration flow from Russia to other countries. The number of immigrants increased from 692238 in 1991to 1191355 in 1994; then onwards the increase continued for ten years till 2004, when it reached 119157 migrants. From 2005 onwards, the immigrant flow started increasing again, and in 2013, the number of immigrants reached 482241, which was inward migration.

Figure 1: Migration Flows into the Russian Federation (1991-2013)



Source: This figure illustrated from the above table, the Demographic Yearbook of Russia published by Federal Statistical Service,

Figure (1) shows the total migration patterns of Russian Federation, in which Red series indicate the immigration flows to Russia and Green colour series indicate the emigration from Russia between 1991 and 2013. It is evident from the figure that the immigration flows are always higher than the emigration flows, as ethnic Russians are large in numbers. The immigration flows to Russia were highest in 1994 and lowest in 2004. During two decades, emigration flows from Russia were highest in 1992 i.e. just after the breakup of the USSR and lowest in 2011. Russia has succeeded in adjusting the dynamics of its demographic decline with the high level of immigration from the last two decades. About 15 and 18 million people migrated to Russia, which is approximately 10.5 -12.7 percent of its total population. Following data from 2012, 91 percent of the migration gain is from CIS countries, and 63.5 percent of these are from Central Asian states (Mukhametov, 2013). But why is such a huge percent of the population migrating to Russia and what is the thrust behind it? To answer this question, we should understand the demographic conditions and society.

International Migration by Selected Countries

Table 3: Permanent Inward Migration Flows to the Russian Federation

Countries/ Years	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2013**
CIS Countries	326561	163101	171940	422738
Azerbaijan	14906	4600	14500	23453
Armenia	15951	7581	19890	42361
Belarus	10274	6797	4894	15748
Kazakhstan	124903	51945	27862	51958
Kyrgyzstan	15536	15592	20901	30388
Moldova	11652	6569	11814	28666
Tajikistan	11043	4717	18188	51011
Turkmenistan	6738	4104	2283	5986
Uzbekistan	40810	30436	24100	118130
Ukraine	74748	30760	27508	55037
Other than CIS Countries	**32769**	**14129**	**19716**	**59503**
Australia	27	30	49	113
Afghanistan	288	60	236	799
Bulgaria	245	118	214	419
Germany	1753	3025	2621	4166
Greece	182	200	298	995
Georgia	20213	5497	5245	7665
Israel	1508	1004	814	1132
Canada	50	99	110	226
China	1121	432	1380	8149
Latvia	1785	726	811	1484
Lithuania	945	360	433	892
Poland	61	55	105	217
USA	439	396	653	954

Finland	83	129	178	429
France	56	40	150	352
Czech Republic	65	24	112	192
Sweden	14	23	44	88
Estonia	786	432	637	1475
Others	3148	1479	5626	29756
Total Persons	**359330**	**177230**	**191656**	**482241**
*Data for 2000, 2005 - excluding Georgia, which left CIS August 18, 2009.				

Source: The Demographic Yearbook of Russia published by Federal Statistical Service, the Government of Russian Federation (http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/B14_16/Main.htm).

Immigration to the Russian Federation

Russia has experienced two major waves of immigration in the last two decades. The first influx of immigrants, which arrived in Russia in the 1990s, consisted of ethnic Russians who sought repatriation after being temporarily displaced by the Soviet Union disintegration. The second wave of immigrants arrived after the 1998, financial crisis that caused crippling economic damage to the newly independent FSU countries (Liedy, 2011). Between 1991 and 2011, more than 13 million individuals arrived in Russia for permanent residence, mainly as a result of ethnic repatriation waves occurring in the 1990s. The citizens of the former Soviet Union were willing to migrate Russia to escape from the ethnic conflicts, wars, poor administration and also liberal migration policies of the newly independent states. They flooded the country with millions (Ivakhnyuk, 2009). For instance, the net immigration to Russia was 105,000 people in 1991, escalating to one million legal migrants in 1994. The main reason was the sudden breakup of the Soviet socio-economic system that set the stage for mass repatriation. It consisted of the high flows of refugees and forced migrants into Russian Federation from other CIS countries (Zaionchkovskaya, 1995).

During 1993 and 1998, there was a positive net migration of 3.3 million into Russia from other FSU states, except Belarus (Heleniak, 2002; Wedding, 2009). From this point of view, net immigration was perceived as the best means of reducing population loss. It had received much official attention from 2000 onwards (National Human Development Report, 2008). However, the migrant flow began to decline between 1996 and 1997, with 124,000 migrant people in 2001

when the migration moment seems to have nearly exhausted itself (Heleniak, 2002; Laruelle, 2007). Russia received seven million migrants from CIS countries till 2009, nearly 60 percent of who were ethnic Russians (Ryazantsev, 2010). According to the UN population division statistics (2013), the immigrant flow in Russia reached 11 million, becoming the second highest after the US with 45.8 million migrants in 2013. The geopolitical situation and immigration policies of FSU countries have changed migration patterns in Russia. Apart from FSU countries, people have been migrating mainly from Asian and African countries. There are different kinds of immigrants: economic migrants who look for economic opportunities and employment, refugees and asylum-seekers from war affected regions like Afghanistan, residents of some African countries, and transit migrants who try to use Russia as a conduit to western countries (Ivakhnyuk, 2009).

Table 4: Permanent Outward Migration Flows from the Russian Federation

Countries/Years	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2013**
CIS countries*	**80510**	**35418**	**21206**	**147853**
Azerbaijan	3187	1274	1111	6207
Armenia	1519	620	698	10182
Belarus	13276	6034	2899	12031
Kazakhstan	17913	12437	7329	11802
Kyrgyzstan	1857	473	641	10576
Tajikistan	1158	434	694	17362
Turkmenistan	676	125	105	2165
Moldova	2237	786	617	8038
Uzbekistan	3086	595	834	50864
Ukraine	35601	12640	6278	18626
Other than CIS Countries	**65210**	**34380**	**12372**	**38529**
Australia	176	209	184	255
Afghanistan	25	11	14	181
Bulgaria	180	124	110	268

Germany	40443	21458	3725	3979
Greece	314	155	92	226
Georgia	1802	691	459	1553
Israel	9407	1745	947	1090
Canada	841	628	497	536
China	658	456	248	7527
Latvia	365	211	139	556
Lithuania	376	213	153	339
Poland	135	76	81	133
USA	4793	4040	1461	1485
Finland	1142	737	517	715
France	139	204	268	326
Czech Republic	234	215	309	281
Sweden	195	110	128	122
Estonia	385	225	206	726
Others	3600	2872	2834	18231
Total Persons	**145720**	**69798**	**33578**	**186382**
*Data for 2000, 2005 - excluding Georgia, which left CIS August 18, 2009.				

Source:The Demographic Yearbook of Russia published by Federal Statistical Service, the Government of Russian Federation (http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/B14_16/Main.htm).

Emigration/Out Migration from Russia

Between 1991 and 2011 roughly 4 million persons permanently emigrated from Russia, with a majority of moves occurring in the early 1990s.The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the visa-free agreements in 1991 facilitated emigration[7] from Russia to the FSU countries. It increased annual emigration from 10,000 in 1987 to 104,000 in 1991 (Goskomstat, 1999). It is almost ten times higher than that of 1987. At first, only selective ethnic emigration (Jews, Germans, and

[7] According to International Organization for Migration (IOM), Emigration means the act of departing or exiting from one State with a view to settling in another. In other wards emigration is process of moving across the international border, which results in permanent change of residence.

Greeks) was permitted. The total emigration to FSU countries was less than what was expected once restrictions were lifted. The abolition of exit visa obligation[8] in the 1990s made emigration easy from Russia. Russian emigration to the FSU countries decreased due to two major reasons. First was the politico economic change and exhaustion of the ethnic repatriation potential in the FSU countries. The second was that a great number of high-skilled Russian citizens emigrated to the Far Abroad[9] (Heleniak, 2002). Table 3.4 shows that the number of emigrants from Russia was growing; they were willing to change their permanent or temporary residence for employment, business or education as investors and entrepreneurs. Due to the liberalized migration policies, most of the Russian emigrants, the so-called "Intellectual Workers" (such as scientists, professors, engineers, and researchers) left Russia. A vetted report says that around 30,000 intellectuals left Russia in the 1990s. It was termed as internal brain drain (Iontsev and Ivakhnyuk, 2002).

Russia witnessed significant population outflows in 1991, around 676,000 persons left Russia to Germany (57 percent), Israel (26 percent), and the United States (11 percent). Most of them were educated people; every fifth emigrant was educated. In the early 1990s, the major destinations were Germany, Israel, and the US for Russian emigrants, whereas from 2000 onwards. The destination patterns diversified to other countries while outflows significantly diminished. Norway, Greece, the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Switzerland, and Cyprus are considered to be preferred destinations for high-skilled Russians. However, Russian labor migrants are spread all over the world. There has been a substantial shift in the major destinations in a short period. For instance, from 2000 to 2008, the percentage of migrants leaving for Asia and Europe fell from 86.2 percent to 52.8 percent. Then North America became a major destination, migrant numbers going up from 10.4 percent in 2000 to 35.9 percent in 2008 (MPC, 2013; Nozhenko, 2010). Germany received about 550,000 emigrants from Russia between 1992 and 2000; Israel

[8] As to emigration patterns, since 1991, when citizens of the Russian Federation became relatively free to travel abroad following from the fall of the 'iron curtain', the country has witnessed significant population outflows i.e. in 1991 over 676,000 persons left Russia.

[9] The Far Aboard means Russia has been broadening the number of countries which it keeps respective contacts with. These countries now include West Europe, Israel, Latin America states, European countries, Canada and Australia became the major directions of emigration.

received about 180,000 emigrants, and the USA followed them. In total, these three countries received around 92 percent of the Russian emigration in 2000. In the 2000s, emigration was gradually replaced by contracted employment, dual citizenship and other flexible types of migration of global community (Ivakhnyuk, 2009).

In particular, professors, scientist, researchers and engineers emigrated to developed countries. This brain drain is the most painful type of migration. In 2005, an estimated 30,000 Russian scientists were working abroad (Ivakhnyuk, 2009). The Russian scholar Heleniak (2002) argued that the number of Russian women trafficked increased, and forced them into prostitution field since they had no job and money. He extended argument by saying that up to 500,000 Russian women were lured into sexual slavery since 1991. This is due to high female unemployment, an idealized view of life in the West and lack of enforcement and legislation on trafficking (Heleniak, 2002). According to consular statistics estimation, there are total of 1,868,404 Russian citizens residing outside the country in 2011, out of which 1,706,103 are permanently settled, and 162,301 are living on the temporary basis. However, the destination countries' statistics say that, in 2012, the total number of Russian migrants living abroad was around 2,149,607. From 1991 to 2013, approximately 4 million persons permanently emigrated from Russia, and the annual numbers of labor migrants leaving Russia for employment around the globe range from 120,000 to 160,000 persons (MPC, 2013).

Table 3.5: Net Migration of the Russian Federation

Countries/ Years	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2013**
CIS Countries*	**246051**	**127683**	**150734**	**274885**
Azerbaijan	11719	3326	13389	17246
Armenia	14432	6961	19192	32179
Belarus	-3002	763	1995	3717
Kazakhstan	106990	39508	20533	40156
Kyrgyzstan	13679	15119	20260	19812
Moldova	9415	5783	11197	20628
Tajikistan	9885	4283	17494	33649
Turkmenistan	6062	3979	2178	3821
Uzbekistan	37724	29841	23266	67266

Ukraine	39147	18120	21230	36411
Other than CIS Countries	**-32441**	**-20251**	**7344**	**20974**
Australia	-149	-179	-135	-142
Afghanistan	263	49	222	618
Bulgaria	65	-6	104	151
Germany	-38690	-18433	-1104	187
Greece	-132	45	206	769
Georgia	18411	4806	4786	6112
Israel	-7899	-741	-133	42
Canada	-791	-529	-387	-310
China	463	-24	1132	622
Latvia	1420	515	672	928
Lithuania	569	147	280	553
Poland	-74	-21	24	84
USA	-4354	-3644	-808	-531
Finland	-1059	-608	-339	-286
France	-83	-164	-118	26
Czech Republic	-169	-191	-197	-89
Sweden	-181	-87	-84	-34
Estonia	401	207	431	749
Others	-452	-1393	2792	11525
Total Persons	**213,610**	**107,432**	**158,078**	**295,859**
*Data for 2000, 2005 - excluding Georgia, which left CIS August 18, 2009.				

Source: The Demographic Yearbook of Russia published by ROSTAT, the Federal Statistical Service, the Government of Russian Federation (http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/B14_16/Main.htm).

Net Migration of the Russian Federation

Net migration is the difference between the number of immigrants and the number of emigrants. The above table shows that the number of the persons emigrating from Russia in 2000 to 2005 decreased from 213610 to 107432 since the net migration was negative. The main reason was

that in this period the number of immigrants decreased from the CIS countries, particularly Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine due to the restrictions and difficulties in entering Russia. The other reason was that there was high emigration from Russia to the non-CIS countries, due to easy exit policy and attractive economic benefits and returns in destination countries. From 2005 to 2013, the Russian net migration had become positive with a good number of immigration to Russia. The number of immigrants had increased since 2005 to about 5 million people. In fact, the increase was rapid from 2010. This upward increase was due to the sudden increase of immigrants from the CIS countries as well as positive immigration from the non-CIS countries; the other reason was a change in Russian migration policy in2012. CIS and non-CIS countries, which include Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, China, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, are the major migrant donor countries to Russia.

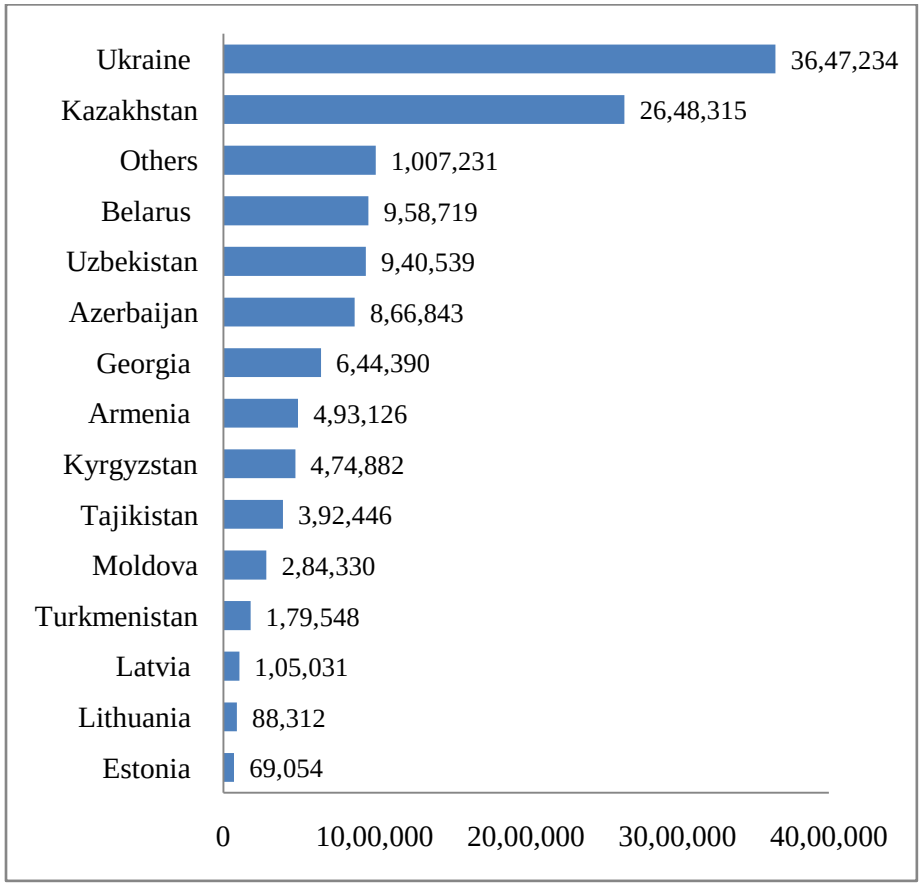
Table 3.6: Immigrants stocks in Russia by country of birth, 2010

Country	**Migration Inflows**	**Share of the FSU Countries**
Ukraine	3,647,234	28.5
Kazakhstan	2,648,315	20.7
Belarus	958,719	7.5
Uzbekistan	940,539	7.3
Azerbaijan	866,843	6.8
Georgia	644,390	5.0
Armenia	493,126	3.9
Kyrgyzstan	474,882	3.7
Tajikistan	392,446	3.1
Moldova	284,330	2.2
Turkmenistan	179,548	1.4
Latvia	105,031	0.8
Lithuania	88,312	0.7
Estonia	69,054	0.5
Others	1,007,231	7.9
Total migrants	12,800,000	100.0

Source: International Organization for Migration (2010)

The FSU countries are a potential migrant region for Russia, to replace its declining of the working-age population. Immigrants from these countries could improve the demographic situation in Russia in the coming years since the population in the Central Asia and Trans-Caucasus region is increasing rapidly. Immigration helps to mitigate the age gap and inter-regional employment imbalances, and put Russia's scarce labor resources to more efficient use (Laruelle, 2007).

Figure 2: Numbers of Migrant Workers from FSU Countries in Russia



Source: This figure illustrated from the above table, the Demographic Yearbook of Russia published by Federal Statistical Service,

In figure (2) explains Russia became a net receiver country of migrants since 1991, particularly from the FSU countries. The portion of Russian diaspora living in the FSU countries varies considerably about 28 percent of the population of Ukraine to just 0.5 percent of Estonia. According to IOM statistics (2010), 93% of migrant workers from other ex-USSR countries resided in Russia. 11.4 million Ethnic Russians or 45 percent resided in Ukraine, whose inhabitants were ethnically close to Russians. Another 6.5 million lived in the more ethnically

distant Kazakhstan, in Central Asia. Uzbekistan, Latvia, Belarus, and Kyrgyzstan all had sizeable Russian population ranging from 1.6 million and 900,000, while the remaining states had less than a half million Russians (Heleniak, 2002). The demographic situation in Russia can be stable in the next 20 years by an influx of immigrants, especially from the CIS and the Baltic states. There emerged three distinct patterns after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The first was the high intensity of migration to Russia from other CIS states; the second was the rapid emigration from Russia's northern and eastern regions to its western, southern, and central regions. The last one was the net regional migration increasing regional labor market conditions (Gerber, 2000). Figure 3.2 shows that immigrants from the FSU countries were higher in numbers than other countries. For example, if we observe the figure, then we can come to know that Ukraine and Kazakhstan are the top two countries and the three Baltic countries are at the bottom.

The number of migrants varies among the FSU countries. For example, Ukraine and Kazakhstan have a big share, representing 28 and 20 percent, respectively, while the share of the whole Baltic States (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia) is only just 2 percent (MPC Team, 2013). Most of the migrants from FSU countries settled in the urban cities of the European side of Russia; migrants from Central Asian preferred to settle in the countryside and Siberian region due to their low skill level. The Kyrgyz community in Russia settled in Yekaterinburg and engaged in the trade of Chinese products (Laruelle, 2007).

Issue of Illegal Migrants

The labor migrants came legally to Russia from CIS countries under the visa-free regime, and they stay for a long time beyond the period and work illegally. Illegal migration is mainly of two types: illegal entry and illegal stay, both of which are punishable according to the Russian criminal code. When immigrants come to Russia, they have to register in regional branches of the FMS, however, the complications in registration procedure and corruption in bureaucracy make migrants violate the registration rules. As a result, they start working in the shadow economy and lack the opportunity to go for the legal job (Nozhenko, 2010). In Russia, migrants stayed longer than the permitted time, working illegally and avoiding taxes. According to the GISMU database, 21 percent of migrants have stayed longer than the permitted period. Over stay

of illegal migrants led to the violation of migration law and the established procedure, governing migrants' labor activity. This illegal migration is linked to organized crime such as terrorism, illegal arm and drug trafficking, slavery, and human trafficking (Egorova, 2013). The labor market for illegal migrants was different from that which was reserved for legal migrants. Employers exploited illegal labor migrants: low wages and pathetic working conditions. Many companies got cheap labor by recruiting illegal migrants, creating tension between migrants and the locals who have the negative opinion that migrants were taking away all their employment opportunities (Laruelle, 2007). This kind of illegal migration can be seen in two metropolitan cities Moscow and St. Petersburg as well as in the Far East region, most of these migrants coming from Central Asia, China and North Korea (Noland, 2000).

According to the World Bank report, there were 1.3 to 1.5 million illegal migrants in Russia in 2000, and some experts estimated that the number increased to about 3.7 million in 2008 (Nozhenko, 2010). But, according to the Federal Migration Service estimations, the number of illegal labor migrants working illegally in the Russian territory is about 7-8 million. However, it is argued that the number of illegal migrants is increasing with the arrival of seasonal labor migrants during spring and summer time. Many of the seasonal labor migrants rely on recruitment companies for jobs in Russia, and they charge high wages. In order to pay these charges, migrants were forced to work illegally to accumulate this money in less time (Ivakhnyuk, 2009). Many politicians, including President Putin, pointed out that approximately 1-5 million illegal migrants were working in Russia in 2013. This number excludes the seasonal workers. Many unregistered illegal labor migrants came to Russia from the FSU countries particularly from Central Asian states, since there were internal disturbances caused by the civil wars (Andrienko and Guriev, 2005; MPC Team, 2013). These illegal migrants can be seen in the regions of Moscow with almost one million workers and the Central region with a third of all migrants. Moreover, it is estimated that the shadow sector accounted more than 25 percent in Russian GDP and employed 15-30 percent of the total labor force. Scholar Irina Ivakhnyuk (2015) states,

"From the economic point of view migration which is experienced in Russia is very profitable to the businessmen and the country in general, because the product produced is comparatively

cheaper than the one produced by Russians. The presence of Illegal migrants is profitable; they work hard and are paid less. That is the reason why most of the companies hire them. Hence many countries including Russia fail to control the illegal migration (Ivakhnyuk, 2015)."

Migrants are ready to do every kind of work for low wages, whereas the natives are not ready to do so. Apart from lowering wages, the incumbent population is afraid of the risk to the country's social destabilization cultural identity and burden on the welfare state (Andrienko and Guriev, 2006; Zubarevich, 2013). The Russian government considers illegal migration as a national security challenge, going to the extent of using police force to prevent illegal migration. The police were given the right to stop migrants and check their documents without giving them any reason. This was seen by the police as an opportunity to earn money easily; these conditions increased corruption along with immigration (Ivakhnyuk, 2009). Illegal migrants in Russia live in extremely pathetic conditions without getting any legal benefits. Most of them are working in the construction, agriculture and unorganized sectors as laborers. According to the sociological survey, most female migrants working as low-skilled laborers in Russia as shop assistants, cleaning, and household aids are from Central Asia. They are often blamed for spreading prostitution and human trafficking. The particular economic system in Russia with its shadow economy and the informal labor market has led to an increase in irregular migration and illegal employment of migrants (Laruelle, 2007).

Conclusion

Having known migration contributes socio-economic development in origin and destination countries also has negative implications in terms of culture and identity. The unexpected sudden fall of the Soviet Union led to an increasing gap in working age-population. To fill this gap, Russia requires one million people every year, because it needs to maintain population stability, economic growth, and development. The FSU countries which have 25 million ethnic Russians spread across, is a potential source of migrants to Russia. Russian diaspora in the near abroad has been playing a prominent role in compensating the country's diminishing population and filling the labor market without which economic growth would be impossible.

The disintegration of the USSR in 1991 led to the disruption of family structure, employment opportunities, and people's aspirations. People from the FSU countries had chosen Russia as

their destination for many reasons includes job opportunities, living standard, political stability, and economic development. From 1991 onwards, immigrants were larger in numbers than the emigrants from Russia. The number of immigrants increased from 692238 in 1991 to 1191355 persons in 1994. Then onwards, it continued for ten years till 2004 when it reached 119157 migrants. Again from 2005 onwards the immigrant flow started increasing, and in 2013, the number of immigrants reached 482241 persons; this was inward migration.

However, allowing migrants through visa-free entry from CIS countries pose a threat to the stabilization of Russia and its socio-cultural homogeneity. Illegal immigrants enter the country without any proper work permits and resident documents. These migrants pose a threat to social security leading to the disruption of cultural diversity in the country. Many Russians have a negative opinion on illegal migrants associating them with common problems such as unemployment, housing shortages, and high crime rates that pave the way to cultural and ethnic conflicts.

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