

National Research University Higher School of Economics

As an manuscript

Salavat Irgalievich Abylkalikov

**Role of Migration in the Formation of the Population in the Regions of Russia
at the end of 19th – beginning of 21st centuries**

Thesis Summary

for the purpose of obtaining PhD in Sociology HSE

Academic supervisor:

Candidate of the Geographic Sciences

Liliya Borisovna Karachurina

Moscow, 2018

Relevance of the research

The distribution of the population across the territory of Russia observed today is predominantly determined by migration processes which took place in the Russian Empire, in the Soviet Union, and in the post-Soviet period. Starting the end of 19th century, until present day, the country has undergone significant social, economic and political transformations, it was devastated by several large wars and catastrophes, and more than once changed its development trajectory. During the past 150 years, the country has been living through the period of demographic and social modernization of the Russian society, turning from agricultural, peasant country into an industrial and urbanized state. These socio-economic changes have produced impact on the population migration. People started moving from rural areas to cities in search of jobs; they resettled in the Asian part of the country in the period of agricultural and later industrial and urban development of this territory, and some of them moved back to the European part of the country; Russian-speaking professionals, workers and their family members moved to the Central Asia and Transcaucasia, and some of them later returned to Russia as compatriots from the former USSR republics and are treated now as international immigrants. Migration was a complicated and debatable phenomenon. In some cases, it was a completely spontaneous movement, in others — encouraged by the state authorities (both voluntary and forced migration), sometimes people returned, sometimes settled in isolated northern territories, became founders of villages and cities in Siberia and the Far East, moved to live in the capital cities of Russia after overcoming administrative hurdles. Migration strategies and trajectories chosen by individuals have had specific impact on the population dynamics both in the regions of destination and regions of departure.

The administrative migration data covering the period under study cannot provide the full picture of the migration processes in Russia. Due to methodological inaccuracies, administrative negligence, shifts of the administrative borders of the regions, as well as incompleteness of the collected data, migration processes remain largely obscure both at the country level and regional level.

Therefore, the population census data emerges as an essential source of information which makes it possible to conduct a reliable quantitative analysis of migration processes in Russia for a long period of time. Population census data can be used for the analysis of interdistrict and interregional migration of the population at a fixed date (the critical moment of the census), and thus, allows for defining a socio-demographic profile of the regions at a date of the census, while revealing the shifts in the migration trends in the regions which happened in the inter-census period.

One of the key questions used to study migration is the question about the place of birth. This question was included into the census questionnaires of 1897, 1926, 1989, 2002 and 2010. Based on the answers to this question, the population can be divided into two categories: natives (autochthonous population) and non-natives (allochthonous population). Return migrants - people born in a given territory, who then moved out and later moved back, - fall under a separate category.

Between 1897 and 2010, Russia's population structure showing how the population was divided between natives and non-natives has changed a lot. In 1897, the population in the Russian Empire was primarily composed of non-migrants¹, while by 2010, these people composed the minor part of the population (fig.1).

In some regions the difference between the shares of migrants and non-migrants is quite significant. This is true both for the end of 19th century and for the beginning of the 21st century.

Although examples of research on various aspects of migration and demographic processes in Russia are rather numerous, previous works paid little attention to the process of the population formation in the regions, and to the role of intraregional migration (which is especially relevant for migration from rural to urban areas, i.e. in the context of urbanization).

¹ Non-migrants include individuals born on a given territory who never moved out.

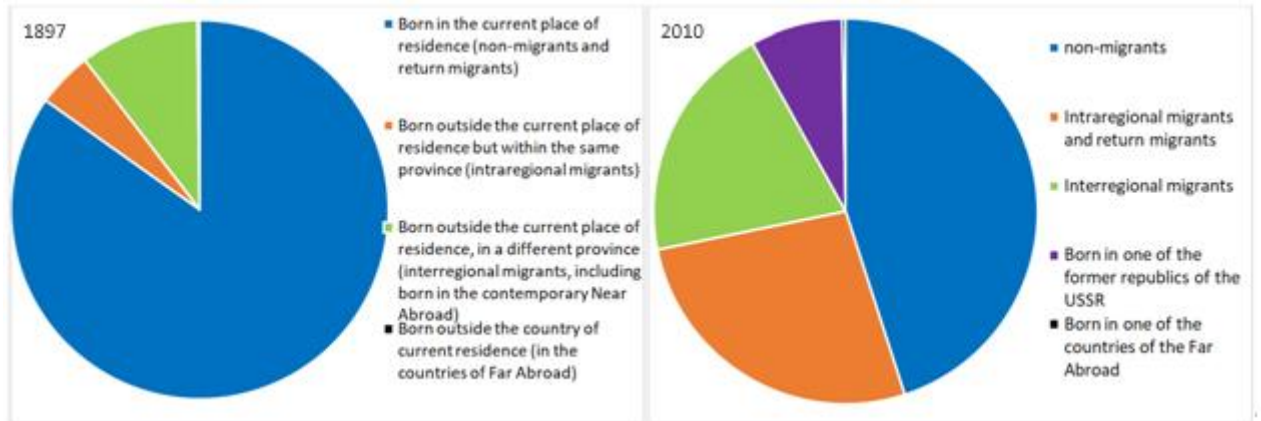


Fig.1 Population structure based on the criteria of the place of birth, 1897 and 2010.²

Created by the author, based on the population census data of 1897 and 2010.

Additionally, understudied is also the question about directions of out-migration: where people who moved out of the regions they were born, settled? Whether they had any preferences in terms of destinations or the choice of destination was spontaneous? Importantly, the contribution of migration into the formation of the population is determined not by migration inflows, but rather by net migration which depends on how successful the adaptation of the newcomers was.

Thus, several research questions can be formulated. How migration flows between regions have been changing from decade to decade? Are there significant differences between regions in terms of migration profile? Is it feasible to find answers to these questions or the possibilities of studying migration dynamics are quite limited? What is the actual contribution of international immigration to the population size of Russia and Russian regions?

Considering depopulation and so-called ‘compression’ of (social and economic) space, emergence of the new types of migration, increased role of migration in the population size dynamics of the country and its regions, the research focused on the population formation processes and the role of migration

² Due to the methodological differences of the population censuses of 1897 and 2010, figure 1 shows most compatible categories of the population based on the criteria of the place of birth.

in these processes starting the end of 19th century, seems highly relevant both academically and practically.

Subject of the research is population of the regions of Russia.

Object of the research is migration processes in the regions of Russia and their impact on the population structure by place of birth.

Objective of the research is to find out the patterns of population formation on the regions of Russia from the end of 19th century up to the present day.

Goals of the research are:

- to describe relationship between demographic changes and migration processes;
- to analyse evolution of preferences in terms of migration destinations and evaluate the contribution of migration in the population formation in the regions of Russia using the population census data of 1897, 1926, 1989, 2002 and 2010;
- to describe key socio-demographic characteristics of migrants and non-migrants;
- to define the role of immigration from former Soviet republics in the population formation of regions of Russia in the post-Soviet period.

Chronologically, the research covers the period starting with the first population census of 1897 conducted in the Russian Empire and ending with Russia's population census of 2010, which is the most recent one.

State-of-the-art of the research problem

The major contribution to the research focused on peasant overpopulation and colonization before 1917, was made by A.A. Kaufman, I.L. Yamzin, A.I. Gurvich, A.A. Manuilov, M.K. Lubavsky, B.N. Mironov. Rural overpopulation in the soviet period was studied by L.I. Lubna-Gertsyk, V.P. Voschinin, V.Y. Nagnibeda, V.V. Obolensky (Osinsky) and V.B. Zhiromskaya. These works are generally focused wither only on the place of destination or place of departure of

the resettlers. Temporary, seasonal labour migration (so-called *otkhodnichestvo*³) of peasants was studied by D.N. Zhbakov, N.V. Shkhovskoy, L.Y. Mints, N.N. Vladimirsky. Rural-to-urban resettlement was covered in works of Y.E. Yanson, N.A. Kablukov, and A.S. Akhiyezer. Migration in the Russian Empire and in the USSR was studied by scholars outside Russia, such as F. Lorimer, B. Anderson, J.W. Leasure, R.A. Lewis, R.H. Rowland, C. Buckley, A. Maryański. Academic works in history are usually focused on migration process at the country level, without going into regional specifics.

Population census data of 1897 was utilized by B.V. Tikhonov and V.V. Pokshishevsky, to investigate migration between provinces in the Russian Empire, based on the information about the place of birth. Migration exchange between districts were studied by L.I. Borodkin using the population census data of 1926. E.E. Skaterschikova explored Russia's population structure using the data on the place of birth from the population census of 1989. V.A. Efremova used population census data of 1989 and 2002 to study migration exchange between regions of Russia.

Migration flows between cities. Population formation in the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, cities of Donbass was studied by S.A. Kovalev, E.A. Lyamin, A.I. Pikel. Using the data of the population census rounds of 1901 and 1946 in France, A.Y. Sluka analysed migration links of Paris with other cities. Administrative data was used by Y.G. Saushkin and V.G. Glushkova to study migration flows in and out of Moscow; population formation of the city of Moscow and Moscow region was analysed by M.B. Denisenko, A.V. Stepanova and K.A. Doronina (Kitova) using the data of the recent population censuses.

Population formation of the regions: the impact of migration on the population size dynamics of the Tver Region was covered in the works of L.P. Bogdanova, A.A. Tkachenko, and A.S. Schukina; Y.L. Motrich studied migration

³ *Otkhodnichestvo* is a temporary, seasonal labour migration of rural population in the Russian Empire outside their usual place of living. Two types of *otkhodnichestvo* existed – agricultural and non-agricultural. People who temporarily worked outside their villages were called *otkhodniki*.

and population size dynamics of the Khabarovsk Region and the Far East; T.N. Uspenskaya devoted a monograph on the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug.

Inter-district migration flows. Using the data of population census of 1970. R.T. Tatevosov conducted analysis of the inter-district migration flows in Russia; N.V. Mkrtychyan and L.B. Karachurina studied center-peripheral migration flows in the inter-census period 1989-2002.

Adaptation of the newcomers in the cities of Siberia was analysed by Zh.A. Zaionchkovskaya, relationship between duration of stay and adaptation was covered in the works of V.M. Moiseenko, V.I. Perevedentsev, and L.L. Rybakovsky; K. Land, C. Dustmann and Y. Weiss studied theoretical aspects of adaptation and return migration and developed their own migration models; adaptation and integration of immigrants of different ethnicity into the Russian society was studied by V.I. Mukomel, Y.F. Florinskaya, G.S. Vitkovskaya, E.A. Pain, K.S. Grigorieva and others.

Forced migration in the USSR was covered in works of V.N. Zemskov, P.M. Polyan, S.A. Krasilnikov. Emigration from Russia was analysed by V.M. Kabuzan; emigration of ethnic minorities from Russia (germans and jews) were described by M.S. Savoskul and M.S. Tolts.

The works of T.I. Zaslavskaya, O.V. Gorbachev, D.N. Likhmanov, N.Y. Pokrovsky, M.A. Shabanova are focused on the issues of resettlement and impact of migration on the population formation in rural areas.

Sources of migration data were thoroughly studied by M. Bell, E. Charles-Edwards, S. Muhidin and by Russian researchers such as A.I. Gozulov, A.G. Volkov, B.S. Khorev, V.N. Chapek, O.S. Chudinovskikh.

Although numerous academic works have been devoted to various aspects of migration processes in Russia, there is still a lack of research on the impact of migration on the population formation of the regions of Russia during the last century based on the reliable data sources (such as population census). The present research tries to fill in this knowledge gap by making use of a number of data sources including the old data which became recently available, the latest available

data such as data of population microcensuses conducted in 2002 and 2010, and 1994 national microcensus of Russia.

Personal contribution of the author into the advancement of the research subject and academic novelty

- For the first time, the research focused on the formation of population in the regions of Russia relies on the use of population structure data based on the criterion of the place of birth starting the first Russia's population census of 1897 and ending the most recent census round of 2010.

- The research presents the analysis of lifetime migration of the population (when the place of residence and place of birth are different as of the moment of the census) in dynamics: for the period 1897-2010.

- The author attempts to link various characteristics of the regions and transformation of migration processes with demographic changes and, more broadly, with modernization and urbanization processes.

- The author has developed an alternative administrative division of Russia's territory into larger districts, making it possible to compare statistical data over time despite numerous shift of administrative borders of the regions. The dissertation includes an original set of cartographic materials.

- Using the demographic balance method, the author has calculated natural increase and net migration for the population of regions for the inter-census periods of 1959-2010 and 1951-1959.

- Using the population microcensus data of 2010, the author describes socio-demographic profile of migrants and non-migrants (sex, age, year of birth, marital status and ethnicity) to show the selectivity of migration at the micro-level.

- Based on the population microcensus data of 1994, the author investigates differentiation of interregional migration directions of different generations of migrants.

Methods of the research

- Descriptive statistics (analysis of the population census data of 1897, 1926, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989, 2002 and 2010, as well as the microcensus data of 1994);
- Cartographic methods and geographic information system (GIS) (to ensure comparability of the data considering the shifting administrative borders within the country during the period under study, and to reveal regional differentiation of migration patterns, as well as to visualize the research findings);
- Methods of demographic analysis:
 - Demographic balance (to compare the natural increase, net migration and total increase of the population in larger rural and urban regions areas);
 - Standardization of demographic coefficients (to eliminate the influence of the age structure of the population on migration patterns in different historical periods);
 - Life table method (to estimate internal migration during the intercensus period considering the impact of mortality);
 - Indices of selectivity (to determine the selectivity of migration based on socio-demographic characteristics of individuals).

Theoretical framework of the research

Theoretically, the research relies on the theory of demographic transition, the theory of mobility transition of V. Zelinsky (formulated as a part of the demographic transition) and migration theory of M.I. Kulischer based on the idea of relative economic overpopulation. These theories consider the evolution of the society as a progress from a sedentary, traditional, agricultural type society to modernized and urbanized one. In the context of these theories, the model of transformation of societies with more advanced level of development can be applied to less developed countries and regions. Based on these theoretical assumptions, the most important factors which determine migration patterns in the period of modernization are industrialization and transition from rural to urban lifestyle: pushed by the consequences of the relative overpopulation, people moved

out of rural areas to cities and to unsettled territories, but with completion of the demographic transition and amid progressing urbanization, the reverse migration flow of resettlers and their descendants originated from Siberia, Far East, Central Asia and Transcaucasia. Thus, with transition to low birth rates and low mortality rates, migration was no longer needed as a solution of the overpopulation problem. However, people continue to migrate, but migration patterns change and became more complicated.

Theoretical relevance of the research is based on the contribution of the author to understanding the role of migration in the population formation of the regions of Russia from the historical perspective of demographic modernization of the Russian society. Additionally, the research makes a methodological contribution to the analysis of the migration processes in the regions of Russia using the new available sources of data.

Practical relevance of the research is based on the applicability of the research findings for defining the priorities of regional and migration policy in Russia, aimed at wise territorial development of the country, rethinking the impact of current migration outflow from eastern periphery areas to central and southern parts of Russia, considering the geography of the migration flows in the post-Soviet space and the role of migration in population reproduction at different historical stages of the development of the territorial organization of society. The results of the dissertation research can be used in teaching practices, - for example, in teaching such disciplines as *Demography, Population and Development, Migration Studies, Sociology of Migration, Population Geography, Spatial Organization of the Society* taught in educational institutions, - and in academic purposes when writing analytical reports and academic papers for publication.

Theses for defense:

1. **Changes in the birth rates and mortality rates, as well as general increase of the population size in Russia in 19th-21st centuries, have resulted in the overpopulation of rural areas.** In order to overcome the negative consequences of the overpopulation, people from rural areas started working

temporarily outside their usual place of living (so called *otkhodnichestvo*), wandered across the country *in search of new unpopulated areas*, and, although far less frequently, emigrated from the country. In the course of time, rural migration was outnumbered by rural-urban migration (including intraregional migration), thus leading to the urbanization. Large scale movements of the population in Russia stopped when the negative consequences of the overpopulation were overcome, and the population increase was replaced with low growth and even negative population growth in most of the regions.

2. The increase of the population mobility in Russia in the end of 19th century and in the beginning of 20th century, resulted in the formation of the so-called “core donor regions” in the central part of the country. Overpopulated rural areas in the European part of Russia, as well as in the major part of the contemporary Ukraine and Belarus, emerged as “core donor regions” of migrants going to periphery territories such as Volga area, Urals, Novorossiia, Northern Kazakhstan, and later, when these areas became populated, to Siberia and the Far East, as well as to the Central Asia and the Transcaucasia, though less frequently. The ‘core donor regions’ preserved their function during the period of industrial and urban development of the Asian part of the country. At the same time, many regions in Siberia and the Far East could not retain the newcomers due to their poor adaptation: a large inflow of migrants to these areas was followed by a large outflow of people. In recent years, another trend is observed: the ‘core donor regions’ disappear while ‘core destination regions’ emerge.

3. In 1959-1989, net migration contributed substantially to the urban population increase, especially in the central, southern and north-western regions of Russia. For the cities of Siberia, the natural population increase outnumbered net migration, despite large migration flows from European to Asian part of the country. In the regions of the Far East, net migration was more significant until 1960s, while later it was equal to natural increase. Until 1980s, rural population dynamics in Russia was characterized by natural increase and

negative net migration. In 1989-2010, depopulation affected most of the regions of Russia, thus, migration becoming the key determinant of the population dynamics.

4. **Migration directions are characterized by generational differentiation.** For generations born before 1940, it is more characteristic to participate in interregional migration flows directed from the center to the periphery. Later generations of migrants chose the reverse direction. Starting with the generation of 1965, who are mostly represented by people born in urban areas, we observe urban-to-urban migration flows.

5. **Using the data of the Russia population census of 2010, the author calculates the number of international immigrants belonging to ethnic groups mostly residing outside of Russia.** Although Russia is placed among countries with highest numbers of foreign-born population, it is still emerging as an immigration destination for international migrants belonging to ethnic groups not found on its territory. Around 11 million people in Russia are foreign-born residents. About 2/3 of these are people who arrived in Russia from former Soviet republics before 1991 or returned to Russia as ‘repatriants’ (meaning they belong to one of the ethnic groups traditionally residing on the territory of Russia) – the inflow of repatriants has almost ceased by 2010. Thus, only 1/3 of foreign born residents in Russia are people belonging to ethnic groups mostly residing outside of the territory of Russia.

Reliability and approbation of the research findings

Reliability of the research findings is ensured by the usage of relatively reliable sources of statistical data (population census and microcensus, administrative data, representative surveys data), as well as by the application of the modern methods of research (including demographic analysis methods), and by the presentation of the main findings of the research at the international and Russian conferences, and by publication of the selected parts of the research in peer-reviewed academic journals.

The key arguments of the research have been presented and discussed at the following conferences and workshops: IV Russian Sociological Congress

“Sociology and Society: Global Challenges and Regional Development” (Ufa, 2012); «International Conference on Public Policy and Governance 2012» (India, Bangalore, Indian Institute of Science, 2012); 3rd and 4th International Scientific and Practical Conference of Students and Young Scientists “Statistical Methods of Analysis of Economics and Society” (Moscow, National Research Institute Higher School of Economics, 2012, 2013) VII Conference in Memory of Yuriy Levada “Modern Russian Society and Sociology” (Moscow, National Research Institute Higher School of Economics, 2013); conference “Problems of Regional Development and Nature Management: Perspective of Young Scientists” (St Petersburg, St. Petersburg State University, 2013); conference “Vectors of Development in Contemporary Russia - 2013” (Moscow, the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences and Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, 2013); workshop “A Post-Soviet City” (Moscow, Moscow State University jointly with Russian Geographic Society, 2016); meetings of the Student society “Demographer” (Moscow, the National Research Institute National School of Economics, 2012-2016).

Empirical basis of the research

1. Data of the first population census conducted in the Russian Empire in 1897
- 2-7. Data of the population census rounds of 1926, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989 conducted in the USSR
8. Data of the population census rounds of 2002 and 2010 conducted in the Russian Federation.
9. Data of the population microcensus conducted in the Russian Federation in 1994
10. Administrative data on the population dynamics for the period of 1951-2010.
11. Data of the sample household survey “Parents and children, men and women in the family and in the society” (Russian version of the survey *Generations and Gender Survey (GGS)*, first wave, of 2004.
12. Data of the Human Mortality Database (HMD).

Structure and contents of the dissertation. The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters, conclusion, list of references and an appendix. In

accordance with the logic of the research, the dissertation is structured in the following way:

Introduction

1. Theory and methodology of investigating migration as a component of the population size dynamics

1.1 Theoretical approaches to studying migration processes

1.2 Overview of the previous research on migration using the census data

1.3 Studying migration in Russia using census data

1.4 Methodological peculiarities of studying migration processes in Russia and main determinants of migration

2. Transformation of directions of migration flows and the impact of migration on the population size and structure in the regions of Russia in XIX-XXI centuries.

2.1 Demographic transformations and main directions of population resettlement on the end of XIX century and early XX century.

2.2 Distinguishing between regions based on the characteristics of migration patterns in 1897-2010.

2.3 Dynamics of interregional migration based on the population census data

3. Basic socio-demographic characteristics of migrants and their adaptation in the regions of Russia

3.1 Migration activity of the population in regions and adaptation of migrants in the destination regions

3.2. Selectivity of migration and relationship between socio-demographic characteristics of population and migration experience

3.3. Socio-demographic characteristics of population of Russia born in the former Soviet republics

Conclusion

References

Appendix

The total number of pages of the dissertation is 233. The dissertation also includes 33 figures, 22 tables and 11 appendices.

Chapter 1 outlines basic theoretical approaches used in the research to study migration processes. It also systematizes Russian sources of data used for studying migration impact on the population size and structure. Additionally, Chapter 1 contains evaluation of the previous research on migration based on the population census data, and outlines the main determinants of the migration processes transformation. Finally, chapter 1 defines basic indicators describing impact of migration on the size and structure of population in the regions of Russia.

Chapter 2 analyses transformation of migration processes in 19th-21th centuries, compares net migration with natural population increase, and describes the relationship between demographic changes and migration patterns taking into account their regional differences.

Chapter 3 studies regional migration and adaptation of immigrants in various regions of Russia. Additionally, it explores how socio-demographic characteristics of the population (sex, age, marital status, generation, ethnicity, occupation) are related to migration experience of the population and selectivity of migration.

Conclusion summarizes main results of the research.

Appendix includes additional materials and illustrations.

Publications

The author has published 12 academic articles on the subject of the dissertation research, 8.1 author sheets in total (personal contribution of the author is 7.6 author sheets), including 2 articles in academic journals indexed in Scopus (one of the articles is published in the journal indexed in Web of Science), 2 articles published in the journals included into the list of academic journals recommended by the National Research Institute Higher School of Economics.

Papers published by the author in peer-reviewed academic journals included into the international scientific databases Web of Science and Scopus:

1. Абылкаликов С.И. Уроженцы стран бывшего СССР в структуре населения современной России // Социологические исследования. 2016. № 4. С. 42-49. – 0,6 п.л. (Web of Science, Scopus).
2. Abylkalikov S. Migration Activity and Adaptation of Russian Regional Populations // Regional Research of Russia. 2016. Vol. 6. No. 4. P. 365-378. – 0,8 п.л. (Scopus).

Publications in the journals recommended by the National Research Institute Higher School of Economics:

3. Абылкаликов С.И., Сушко П.Е. Роль миграции в формировании населения Крыма // Региональные исследования. 2017. № 2. С. 55-62. – 0,7 п.л. (personal contribution 0,5 author sheets)
4. Абылкаликов С.И. Миграционная активность и приживаемость населения регионов России // Региональные исследования. 2015. № 3. С. 65-73. – 0,8 author sheets

Other publications of the author:

5. Абылкаликов С.И. Переселенческие процессы в России на рубеже XIX – XX вв. // Власть. 2015. № 4. С. 189-194. – 0,5 author sheets
6. Абылкаликов С.И. Типологический анализ регионов России по миграционным характеристикам // Региональная экономика: теория и практика. 2015. Т. 22. № 397. С. 21-30. – 0,9 author sheets
7. Абылкаликов С.И. Миграционное развитие регионов России на примере Рязанской и Енисейской губерний (1897-2010 гг.) // Гуманитарные исследования в Восточной Сибири и на Дальнем Востоке. 2013. № 6. С. 5-17. – 1 author sheets
8. Абылкаликов С.И. Как люди переезжают в разных странах: мировой опыт изучения пожизненной миграции // Псковский регионологический журнал. 2016. Т. 25. № 1. С. 45-58. – 0,9 author sheets
9. Abylkalikov S. Migration in the Russian Far East: great colonization and depopulation, in: SGEM conference proceedings on anthropology,

- archaeology, history and philosophy. Sofia, 2014. Ch. 67. P. 519-526. – 0,5 author sheets
10. Абылкаликов С.И. Основные направления жизненных миграций в регионах Сибири // В кн.: Калейдоскоп урбанизации и добровольческие инициативы. Барнаул, 2013. Гл. 5. С. 38-43. – 0,5 author sheets
11. Абылкаликов С.И. Сравнительный анализ основных источников данных о миграции населения России // В кн.: Социология и общество: глобальные вызовы и региональное развитие: Материалы IV Очередного Всероссийского социологического конгресса. М.: РОС, 2012. С. 5415-5420. – 0,2 author sheets
12. Винник М.В., Абылкаликов С.И. Экономические теории миграции: рабочая сила и рынок труда // Бизнес. Общество. Власть. 2012. № 12. С. 1-19. – 0,7 п.л. (personal contribution 0,4 author sheets)