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## **EMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA AND “RUSSIAN-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES” ABROAD: TRENDS AND CONSEQUENCES**

**Keywords:** emigration, trends, consequences, Russia, factors, waves, effects, economic evaluation, demographic losses.

**Summary:** The article describes three new waves of emigration from Russia after the collapse of the USSR, including characteristics of the prevailing factors and socio-demographic structure of emigration flows. Six main sources of information on emigration flows from Russia and number of Russian emigrants abroad are considered in the article. The characteristic of the full information data and rough estimate number of Russian-speaking immigrants outside Russia is given. The article deals with estimates of the effects of emigration on the basis of three methods: method of direct demographic losses estimating, the method of immigration's contribution to the demographic development and the method of economic losses. The article shows the calculation of each of these types of consequences for Russia. The evolution of immigration policy in Russia during the 1990-2015 period is shown. Insufficient attention to the Russian state to regulate immigration process at the moment is revealed.

**The Modern Emigration Waves from Russia: 1991-2015.** The historical waves, channels and forms of the Russian emigration are widely developed and described in detail in the Russian and foreign scientific literature [**Demographic Prospects of Russia, 2008; The Post-Soviet Transformation..., 2009; Rybakovsky L.L., 2005; Ryazantsev S.V., Grebenyuk A.A., 2014; Iontsev V.A., Ryazantsev S.V., Iontseva S.V., 2016**]. As a rule, there are five waves of emigration from the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union and Russia. Emigration after collapse of the Soviet Union is considered as a final, fifth wave of emigration. However, our research shows that the factors and motives of emigration of Russian citizens were significantly different during 1991-2015. We can distinguish at least three waves of modern emigration from Russia. As dividing lines of emigration waves can be the collapse of the USSR and the economic crises in the recent history of post-Soviet Russia.

*The first new wave of emigration from Russia (1991-1998).* During this period stressful emigration and ethnic motives are dominated. Factors contributing to this motivation for Russian migrants include the collapse of the Soviet Union (which was probably the most powerful stress factor, which Russian President Vladimir Putin has called “One of the greatest disasters in Russia in the XX century”), a complex social and economic situation, the lack of prospects in the minds of people. Many surveys conducted in post-Soviet Russia, have shown that the overwhelming majority of Russians want to go abroad. Forced emigration was increased; many Russians received refugee status in developed countries (especially the United States, Canada, and Europe). However, soon, many countries deleted Russia from the list of countries with unsafe conditions necessary for granting the status of “refugee”. The status was assigned only for representatives of some social and ethnic groups of Russians. Marriage emigration appeared - Russian women travelled abroad in search of husbands. And besides, the mass adoption of children by foreigners in Russia began. Finally, an important channel of emigration was the ethnic migration of the Germans to Germany, the Jews to Israel, the Greeks to Greece, which was stimulated by policies of receiving countries. At this stage there appeared businessmen, who mastered the method of shuttle migration to Poland, Turkey, the United Arab

Emirates. Some Russians settled in these countries, created business companies and firms and became successful entrepreneurs, and then the citizens of these countries [Ryazantsev S.V., 2013b].

*The second new wave of emigration from Russia (1998-2008).* Factors causing emigration have changed. First of all, work motivation and, as a consequence, labor emigration increased. Russians mastered foreign labor markets quite successfully, began to find a job there. The financial and economic crisis of 1998 caused a new population outflow abroad. There were Russian investors who could invest money in overseas economies. A good example of the Russian steel “nouveaux riches” (“oligarchs”), who began to buy property, create business abroad, transport children and families overseas. The first destination was London, which opened doors for Russian money. Often, this emigration was motivated by the desire to take out the money earned illegally, as well as by disagreement between the holders of capital and the Russian authorities. As a result of Russian oligarchs’ emigration, their investments are today found almost all over the world (USA, Canada, Asian countries). Emigration of Russian women and children continued. Forced emigration acquires a special form, because channels of receiving the “refugee” status for Russian citizens were significantly reduced. At this time people impersonating “Chechen” or “residents of Chechnya” have been actively applying for asylum abroad, even though it was not true for many of them. However, the outcome of the war zone in Chechnya remained one of the few factors that Western countries recognized as a condition for granting refugee status to immigrants from Russia.

*The third new wave of emigration from Russia (2008-2016)* is presented by economic motivation. Middle class people, businessmen, investors, educational workers, and highly skilled professionals, pensioners were included in the streams of immigrants. In fact, there was a transition from the stress factors to the normal socio-economic factors. The most significant factors for emigration became a high wage level, the possibility of realizing professional opportunities, interesting jobs, opportunity to travel, low cost of living, more comfort, favorable climatic conditions. At this stage, the social base of emigration substantially broadened - the Russians from the provinces actively joined, and also people with an average level of education, women and youth. The forms of emigration from Russia were not only cases of emigration for permanent residence, but also various forms of temporary migration (labor, educational, religious, tourist, seasonal, etc.). Many Russian citizens live in two countries, spending part of the time in Russia and part time in another country, with property and business there. Often, different forms of migration are closely interweaved [Ryazantsev S.V., 2010].

***The scope and channels of emigration from Russia.*** Sources of information on emigration from Russia can be divided into two categories. The first category - *the data on migration flows from Russia*, and the second category - *the data of number (contingents) of the Russian-speaking population in the host countries*. The first category characterizes the emigration process, and the second - the result of emigration. The main difficulties of scale and channel estimates of emigration from Russia are linked to the inefficient system of static accounting of temporary forms of migration in Russia in general and in particular the emigration.

Specific difficulties of accounting of temporal forms of emigration from Russia are: 1) the traditional “binding” of emigration accounting to the registration system (“propiska”), namely the fact of removal from the register only when leaving for permanent residence abroad; 2) lack of coordination between the statistics of the *Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA of Russia)* (registration at the place of permanent residence or temporary residence) and *Border Protection Office of the Federal Security Service (FSS of Russia)* (border crossing facts); 3) the lack of full information and an effective accounting system of the Russian citizens living in Russia and outside Russia; 4) lack of coordination between the *Federal Service of State Statistics (Rosstat)* and the national statistical offices of other countries relatively the number of Russian citizens.

A statistical record of emigration to Russia has also been traditionally focused on fixing the flows of immigrants for permanent residence. At the same time, temporary forms of emigration are usually underestimated. Meanwhile, many Russian citizens emigrated, saving accommodation and residence registration in Russia and remained absolutely invisible to the state in terms of emigration. The government continued to fix and count only those immigrants who withdrew from the register at the place of residence in Russia. There are several forms of temporary migration that are not fixed by the Russian system of emigration accounting. At first, it is buying property abroad with the subsequent moving. Secondly, many Russian citizens work abroad, with contracts of various lengths, and some people travel on tourist visas and then look for a job abroad. The first category usually includes highly qualified specialists and scientists that employ through official contracts; the second category includes less qualified Russian citizens that looked for jobs through informal channels. In addition, common emigration channels are marriage of Russian women and foreigners, adoptions by foreigners, departures of students on temporary work and study with the following staying in the country, as well as departures of pensioners to live in another country. Modern Russian emigration statistics doesn't notice and doesn't fix all these forms of emigration. So emigration is only partially tangible for the Russian state despite the fact this phenomenon is much more significant in terms of socio-demographic consequences for society.

Let us see brief characteristics of emigration flows source from Russia. The first source is *the data of the Rosstat*. They show the number of immigrants from Russia, who left for permanent residence abroad on the basis of data on removal from the register at the place of residence. The data are published in the book "The size and migration of the population of the Russian Federation" and "Demographic Yearbook of Russia" [**The Size and Migration of the Population..., 2016**]. These figures have not covered temporary labor and educational migrants for a long time. In 2011 there were changed conditions of foreign citizens' registration in Russia who in their term violated the statistics on emigration of Russian citizens. Since 2011, the statistics on emigration began automatically get information about the expiry of the registration of foreign citizens who had been in the country for more than nine months. As a result, statistics on emigrants from Russia was "supplemented" and accordingly severely distorted by foreign citizens being in Russia. At the end of 2011 this data corruption was still insignificant, but in 2012 statistics on emigration was totally distorted. For example, in 2010 (according to the old system) only 834 people emigrated from Russia to Uzbekistan, but in 2011 (according to the new system) there were 2207 people and 94173 people in 2014. It is obvious that Uzbekistan could not become such a popular destination for Russian emigration in just two or three years. In this case we are talking about Uzbek citizens, who came back because of expired registration in the place of stay in Russia. Moreover we can't say for sure if they leave Russia or not.

This confusion with the emigration statistics completely mixed the countries in the list of main emigration directions. In 2010 the leaders in the list were Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Germany, Belarus, and the United States; in 2014 the new directions of emigration of Russian citizens suddenly became Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Armenia, and China [**The Data of the Federal State Statistics Service, 2016**]. New list of leading countries for emigration became remarkably resemble the list of countries that were the main suppliers of temporary labor migrants in Russia.

In this statistical "confusion" for the assessment of the real trends of emigration from Russia it is reasonable to take countries situated outside the former Soviet Union, because, as it was shown by opinion polls, the majority of Russian emigrants are directed not to the CIS countries. This fact is confirmed by public opinion polls. In particular, the "Romir" poll (in the survey there were involved 1 thousand respondents aged 18 to 50 years of age and older, living in cities with a population of 100 thousand and more, and from 8 federal districts) says that the Russian citizens preferred to emigrate in the "far abroad" countries. The same methodology was taken both in 2005 and in 2012. However, in 2005 only about 19% of the Russian urban population wanted to emigrate, and in 2012 there were 31%. At the same time the geographical

priorities of the Russian emigration have become more diverse. For example, in 2005 more than half of Russians (51%) wanted to emigrate to European countries, 23% wanted to emigrate to the United States and Canada and 18% - in Australia and New Zealand. In 2012 the European countries (37%) preserve the leading position, the role of Australia and New Zealand (23%), Japan and South-East Asia and Latin America became more significant. Immigration installation in the United States and Canada among Russians declined slightly to 19% [Ryazantsev S.V., 2016].

Based on these data, you can see the list of the most popular countries among emigrants from Russia in 2014, according to Rosstat. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that the data of China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Turkey are substantially “spoiled” by migrant workers with expired registration and data of India – by educational workers. It is not possible, unfortunately, to clear up the modern statistics. The result was a paradoxical situation in Russia: by improving statistics on immigration (temporary migrants staying in the country for more than 9 months were counted in a right way) emigration statistics was significantly worsened. [Ryazantsev S.V., 2016].

The second source is *the data of the Federal Migration Service of Russia (FMS of Russia)*. It should be noted that the FMS was transferred to the Ministry of the Interior structure in June 2016. Their data show temporary labor migrants that include Russian citizens who has left to work abroad through the companies having the right (the lisenze) to work abroad. The information is published in the book “Work and employment in Russia” (published once every two years). A significant negative is the underestimation of labor emigrants. The reports include only those labor migrants who found jobs through official channels (namely through the company having the FMS license for employment abroad). The results of research, including opinion polls show that many Russians find work abroad independently through social networks and the Internet. As a result, the scale of temporary labor migration from Russia probably several times higher than it is shown by FMS data.

According to FMS, the annual scale of temporary labor migration from Russia through official channels was shown at the level of 60-70 thousand people. Russian citizens went to work abroad through official channels; most of them went to very “exotic” countries (Liberia, Cyprus, Marshall Islands, Malta, Antigua and Barbuda, Panama, the Bahamas, Barbados, etc.). This was due to the emigration of sailors, engineers, technicians, mechanics and maintenance personnel of vessels (28% of all Russian labor migrants account for these professions). According to the FMS in 2015 more than 94% of all labor Russian emigrants were workers at a foreign-flagged ships. For example, Liberia, as a major country of emigration of Russians even in the 1970s, became one of the first countries in the world that opened an international shipping register. As a result, it is now the first country in terms of tonnage Navy. Many Russian shipowners “attributed” their ships to Liberia. And now they recruit staff from among Russian citizens. Similarly, Cyprus, that has been the country with the offshore tax regime for a long time. Significant Russian capital was taken there, banks, shops, trading companies were opened on the territory of Cyprus. It required Russian-speaking staff. More traditional countries for Russians in 2015 were the following countries: the Netherlands (4th place), Germany (8th place), USA (9th place), Norway (10th place). Trends of labor migration in the countries of Asia, Latin America and Australia have become also very popular in recent years [Ryazantsev S.V., 2012]. Comparative analysis of the temporary labor migration of the FMS of Russia and foreign countries shows that the Russian labor emigration scale may be higher by 3-4 times. In this context, the real estimation of the annual number of Russian citizens working abroad can be at the level of 150-200 thousand [Ryazantsev S.V., 2014].

According to the Russian Federal Migration Service data in 2015 more than 95% of labor immigrants from Russia were represented by men. The distribution of labor migrants from Russia by age was as follows: a quarter (25%) occured people aged 40-49 years, a quarter (25%) - people aged 18-29 years, about 24% - 30-39 age, about 14% - 50-54. The international labor

market demand young and middle aged Russians, with an average special (38%) and higher education (49%). About 81% of labor emigrants from Russia left in 2015 for short-term contracts of up to six months, and 18% - on the mid-term contracts of six months to one year. The flow of Russian students during the holidays is significant; they direct primarily to work in the United States and some European countries. In 2015 2.3 thousand people were employed by the firm, which had a corresponding license. Information on types of economic activities of the Russian citizens before departure and after departure abroad is very interesting. For example, in 2015, according to FMS data, about 91% of labor migrants worked in the transport sector in Russia, and after moving abroad, their were 92% of them. And only about 5% of immigrants has not previously worked in Russia, but were employed abroad [Ryazantsev S.V., 2015].

These data indicate that labor emigration involves more actively residents of border and coastal regions of the country, where there are ports and traditionally employment in the transport sector is high (for example, Primorsky region, Khabarovsk region, Krasnodar region, Kaliningrad region, Leningrad region). We can distinguish quite stable geographic directions of labor migration: the population of the Russian Federation in the Far East go to work at Asia-Pacific Region (Japan, Republic of Korea, China, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Cambodia and others); residents of the North-West region of Russia go to the European countries, especially Germany, Norway, Sweden, Finland, etc.; emigrants from European regions of Russia mostly go to Europe, USA, Canada; residents of European regions and the North Caucasus are oriented mostly to the Middle East countries (Cyprus, Israel, Turkey, United Arab Emirates) [Ryazantsev S.V., 2013b]. Interviews with experts and migrants show that temporary labor migration is very often transformed into permanent migration. Many Russian labor migrants, who arrived on temporary work, remain for permanent residence in the host countries.

The third source is *the data of the Russian Ministry of Education and Science (Minobrnauku of Russia)*. It is the number of Russian children adopted by foreigners. By itself, this phenomenon is massive, but strange for the Russian population policy and the demographic situation. On the one hand, much is said and much is done to increase the birth rate and to strengthen family relationships in the country. But on the other hand, the shameful phenomenon is a large-scale social orphanhood and the large number of children abandoned by parents in Russia. As a result, a large number of Russian children are adopted by the citizens of foreign countries. Of course, many of these children get parents and gain happiness, but outside of Russia. The Russian government does not take adoption fees from foreigners but intermediary firms take 50-60 thousand USD for selection a child in Russia. In fact, Russia is involved in the legal form of trafficking in people. However, the simple prohibition (for example, "The Law of Dima Yakovlev" was passed in 2005, prohibiting adoptions of Russian children by USA citizens) do not solve the fundamental problem. And although, according to official data of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation the number of children without parental care is reduced in the past few years, their number remains high - more than 87 thousand people in 2015. But the important thing is that there are material and moral problems behind these figures in Russian society (poverty, the loss of life goals, the degradation of family values, social deviation, alcoholism, etc.).

At first glance it may seem that the Russian laws in matters of foreign adoptions are reasonable. In particular, they set the priority to the adoption of its own citizens to the foreigners: "Adoption of children - citizens of Russian Federation by foreigners... shall be allowed only in cases where it is not possible to transfer these children to grow up in a family of Russian citizens ... or to adopt children by relatives, regardless nationality and place of residence of the family". The law also established the need for a significant period of the child's stay in the federal data bank - 12 months. But in practice all these wonderful provisions of the law crumble before the flow of money, which rotates in this area. Local officials often conspire with companies that are interested to make money on international adoption. The most obvious case of "Nadejda Fratti" as an Italian citizen (a native of Volgograd region), put on stream the adoption of children from

Russia to Italy. Bribes stimulated Russian officials artificially deny Russian citizens in the adoption of children, and after expiry of the child's stay in the data bank, he passed up for adoption abroad. Harsh law was easily evaded. According to the Russian Ministry of Education data as a result of international adoptions about 48 thousand children emigrated from Russia abroad in 2004-2014. The main country of adoption was the USA. According to the US visa statistics (before the ban on adoptions) Russian children were on the second place after the Chinese children, speaking of adoptions by the US citizens. A significant number of Russian children were adopted by the citizens of Spain, Italy and other countries. Of course, from the point of view of the personal situation of the child, receiving the adoptive parents is a great human happiness. Foreigners also adopt sick children; they could be scarcely cured by someone in Russia. Problems with some Russian children, who came to the negligent and abusive parents abroad, were still the exception to the rule. However, from the point of view of the national interests of Russia, everything looks not good. First of all, the large number of homeless and abandoned children, as well as trafficking is absolutely contrary to the interests of the state and is the direct demographic loss of the country. It should also be mentioned that the situation in Russia in the list of those countries, in which there are mass adoptions, simply spoil the country's image in the international arena.

The fourth source is *the data of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA of Russia)*. The data are determined on the basis of temporarily or permanently living abroad Russian citizens' registration in the Russian consular offices. The advantage of these statistics can be regarded as the relative ease of fixing and clear criteria for registration of Russian citizens. Many Russian citizens living abroad apply to the consular offices to obtain new passports, obtain birth certificates of children, certificate documents, request official certificates, power of attorney, participate in Russian elections. But many other Russian citizens living abroad have no motivation for treatment and registration in local consulates. Russian diplomats also recognize this fact. Therefore, the main drawback of the statistics is the coverage of those Russian citizens, who have the motivation to register at the consulate, and as a consequence, there is the substantial underestimation. The official website of the Russian Foreign Ministry reported that in 2015 more than 2 mln Russian citizens have been registered in the consular offices **abroad [The Consular Department..., 2016]**. Over the past ten years the number of registered Russian citizens increased by half a million - in 2006 1.5 mln Russian citizens had consular registration. However, this figure is greatly underestimated. According to the diplomats only 10-30% of the Russian citizens actually being abroad are registered in the consular structures. Our interviews indicate that many immigrants from Russia are weakly focused on communication with the official representative of the Russian state abroad.

The fifth source is *the Pension Fund of Russia (PFR)*, which has data on the number of Russian pensioners receiving a pension abroad. However, the flaw of this statistics is the fact that not all Russian pensioners living abroad receive a pension abroad. As the interview shows, some of them go to Russia to get pension from time to time (one to three times a year), the others draw up a power of attorney to relatives to get pension and actually live in Bulgaria, Turkey, Portugal, Spain, Thailand, China and other countries. On the other hand, some Russian pensioners who live abroad do not receive a pension, for whatever reasons. Recently, some State Duma deputies have initiated a draft law "On peculiarities of payment of pensions to pensioners residing permanently abroad". This document raises the question of termination of pension payments for those Russian citizens who spent more than 183 days abroad during the last 12 months. However, if a person returns to Russia and stays here more than six months, the pension payments will be restored to him. Retirees who have changed their nationality or received a second nationality also shouldn't receive pension. According to the PFR in 2014 about 265.2 thousand Russian pensioners receive a pension and live abroad, including Germany (96.9 thousand), Israel (40.5 thousand), Latvia (21.5 thousand), the USA (20.3 thousand) and Belarus

(18.2 thousand). In 2014, pension payments were carried out by the RPF in the 121 countries of the world, with the sum of about 31.4 billion rubles. About half of Russian pensioners abroad (115 thousand) received a Russian pension on their foreign accounts (they get 11.3 billion rubles last year), and the rest received the pension to Russian banks accounts (20.1 billion rubles).

The sixth source is *data statistics of those countries that take the major flows of migrants from Russia*. These data are collected and published by the national statistical services. At the international level the information is summarized by the *UN and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)*. The report "Outlook of Migration" is the most systematized source of information. Three kinds of data on Russian citizens are available: 1) the number of migrants from Russia in the annual dynamics; 2) the number of Russian citizens who have acquired the citizenship of the host countries in the annual dynamics; 3) the number of people born in Russia but living on the territory of the host country in the annual dynamics; 4) the number of Russian citizens living abroad in the annual dynamics. However, the full information depends on the concrete country. It is interesting that some of the countries used the category "Citizens of the former Soviet Union" for several years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, without dividing into citizens of fifteen countries.

It is the paradox, that foreign statistics record a large number of Russians abroad and reflect the scale of the Russian emigration phenomenon more adequately [**Ryazantsev S.V., 2007**]. The report of the OECD, which summarizes the information in most developed countries and some developing countries, can be considered the most systematic source of information. The most significant migration inflow of Russian citizens in 2013, according to national data, is to Germany, Spain, Israel, France, Austria and some other European countries. The comparison of foreign and Russian data shows that foreign data are several times higher. For example, speaking about Spain foreign data are 22 times higher, France - 14 times, Germany - 8 times. Data on Russian citizens' entry in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the UK are not reflected in the OECD report, most likely because of their insignificance in comparison with migration flows from other countries [**OECD, 2013**]. But the scales of emigration to these countries are significant for Russia. For example, the USA data in 2014 about 9 thousand persons who were born in Russia, received the legal status of a permanent resident of the country. This amounted to only 1% of all immigrants in the USA (the country adopted 1017 thousand immigrants in 2014). A similar comparison of American and Russian data shows the excess of the first over the latter by 5-7 times [**Population: Statistical Abstract..., 2012; US: State Immigration..., 2014; Years 2004 to 2013, 2014; Yearbook of Immigration Statistics..., 2015**].

In the context of global migration, diaspora factor becomes an element of ensuring sustainable development of any country. According to the First Deputy of the UN Secretary General J.Eliasson: "At present, most countries are both countries of origin, destination and transit of migrants. For example, in Russia live 12 mln immigrants, about 11 mln Russians are emigrants in other countries of the world" [**Press Conference ..., 2016**]. Russians living abroad are now the second largest diaspora after the Chinese diaspora, representing a significant socio-demographic resource that can be used with the right approach in the interests of Russia's development.

**Consequences of emigration for Russia.** Russia's losses as a result of large-scale emigration are socio-demographic and economic dimension. In the country there is no single methodology for the loss of data evaluation. Usually the loss is discussed in the context of the problem of "brain drain". For example, the Russian Ministry of Education and Science has estimated the direct losses of the Russian budget as a result of emigration of scientists and highly qualified specialists are at least 60 billion USD, and the departure overseas by one scholar costs 300 thousand USD [**Kireev M., 2010**]. According to the the Russian New University rector

V.Zernov estimates, Western countries “saved” more than 1 trillion USD on the preparation of the scholars who came from Russia in 1970-2000-ies [Brain drain, 2013a]. However, losses of data evaluation methods are not described in the literature. In our research a comprehensive assessment of the method and calculated socio-demographic and economic consequences of emigration from Russia was developed in 1991-2015. The methodology includes three approaches to the consequences of emigration.

The first approach is the *assessment of direct demographic losses of the countries due to emigration* on the basis of overall assessment of the number of emigrants for permanent residence and temporary labor emigrants correlated on the basis of host country statistics. Both components are taken into account, as research has shown that labor emigration although technically is temporary, but often turns into permanent emigration. In addition, hidden forms of emigration that is not taken into account by national statistics can be compensated by temporary labor emigration. Calculations show that according to Russian statistics about 5.3 million people left Russia during the period from 1991 to 2015 (Table 1). However, if we see the statistics data in host states, this figure must be increased at least twice, i.e. emigration from Russia could be at least 10-11 mln people during this period. Every fourth emigrant from Russia had a higher education. Thus the direct demographic losses of Russian highly qualified specialists were above 2.5-2.75 mln people in 1991-2015.

The second approach is the *assessment of the role of emigration in the demographic development of the country* based on the index of emigration to immigration (“emigration rate”), as well as on the basis of contribution of emigration to the total increase of the population on the basis of “emigration rate”. We proposed and calculated the ratio of emigration level to the level of immigration (“emigration rate”), which in Russian conditions is expressed by less than 1, as throughout the period of 1991-2015 emigration rate was always lower than immigration rate (Table 2). The maximum value of this ratio was in 1991 at the level of 0.976, and the minimum - in 2011 - 0,103. Its dynamics characterizes the heterogeneity of emigration's contribution to the index of migration growth, and helps to identify the wave of emigration in slightly different time intervals. The first stage is characterized by emigration period of 1991-2004, when emigration rate related to immigration (“emigration rate”) ranges from 0.976 to 0.670. The second stage was marked in the period of 2005-2011, when the “emigration rate” ranges from 0.394 to 0.103. The third stage, 2012-2015, is characterized by increasing rates of emigration towards immigration from 0.294 to 0.590.

For more detailed estimate of the contribution of immigration to the overall growth of the Russian population the comparison of “emigration rate” with key indicators of demographic dynamics (total growth, natural growth, migration of population growth) was done. Rosstat data show that Russian population began to decrease since 1993 (200 thousand people). This year “emigration rate” was 0.523, which essentially meant that emigration reduced by half the migratory population growth, which in turn compensated the demographic losses of the country as a result of depopulation. In 1994, migration growth compensated the natural decrease of the Russian population, and even positive population growth at the level of 100 thousand people was noticed (Table 2). However, exactly in 1994 “emigration rate” has reached the “bottom” - 0.290, which meant lower emigration role in the demographic development of the country. Then it rose and sometimes quite significantly, ie the role of emigration was more significant and was the reason of the Russian population loss. Since 1995, there has been “black stripe” in Russian demographic situation, population decreased, due to the emigration outflow. “Emigration rate” peaked in 2003 (0.728) and the decline in Russian population was 795.4 thousand people (a kind of Russian “anti-record”) in 2003. Migration growth could not compensate the sharp increases of natural population loss. In the period 2004-2008, natural population decline was observed in Russia, but the scale of it gradually reduced. And the negative contribution of emigration on this background also became less important. “Emigration rate” declined to 0,140 by 2008. In the



period 2009-2014, there was the demographic stabilization, when the total population growth was noticed, “emigration rate” decreased significantly in the period of 2009-2011 (0,116 to 0,103). However, with changes in migration accounting system in Russia, new increase of “emigration rate” began. At the end of 2015 it reached a maximum rate of 0.590. Thus, the emigration decreased the contribution of migration increase in the overall growth of the country's population by half.

The third approach is the *evaluation of direct economic losses of emigration to the country* through the calculation of loss in gross domestic product (GDP). In this case, emigration losses were transferred through the GDP per capita in monetary equivalent. According to calculations based on the available statistics on per capita GDP over the period 1998-2014 and the number of emigrants of 2.8 million people during this period, economic losses of Russia made up 510.8 billion rubles (Table 3). It is possible that in the background of nominal GDP of Russia, which was 403 trln rubles in 2014, it is not such a big figure. However, we must bear in mind that it is quite rough estimates based on the average figures. Actually, the losses from the emigration of scientists and highly qualified professionals are much higher, because emigration is accompanied by a loss of scientific schools, research, development, know-how and other intellectual products.

**Evolution of the Russian emigration policy.** Lack of reliable information on the extent and characteristics of immigrants, as well as a clear strategy to emigration and Russian-speaking communities, gave rise to the corresponding ratio of the Russian state to the emigration and emigrants. In Soviet times, the government considered the emigration as “No person - no problem”. In the best case, there was no mentioning of emigrants that left the country, and in the worst case, they were considered “traitors”. After the opening of the "iron curtain" and the beginning of the mass emigration scornful attitude to emigrants replaced by indifference. They were considered lost demographic and economic resource. Even Russian citizens who found themselves in a difficult situation abroad, not always were able to get help and support from the state.

Since the mid-2000s, the Russian government moved to establish a dialogue with the “Diaspora”. Since 2007 a special program of returning of compatriots in Russia have been launched, funds to support them were allocated, organizations were created. But basically the state has no idea of the real extent and structure of emigration flows from Russia [Osipov G.V., Ryazantsev S.V., 2014]. Practically nothing is known about the forms and channels of emigration, emigrants and strategies to conduct orientations on their return to Russia. The term “nationals” without differentiation into categories was used in all state documents. This term didn't consider historical, cultural, social and geographic specificity of the Russian-speaking communities. Meanwhile, the “compatriots” is a very diverse phenomenon that involves different waves of emigrants; the generations were born in the host countries with different orientations to Russia and with different Russian language skills.

The Programme for Support of Compatriots Return to Russia has no well-defined strategy, is not focused on the needs of the Russian-speaking communities and is implemented in isolation from the situation in their countries of residence [State Program to Assist the Voluntary Resettlement..., 2007]. For the most part they represent a set of standard measures at embassies, to which significant funds from the federal budget are allocated. Even such structures as the Foundation of “Russian World” and “Rossotrudnichestvo”, which seemingly should be more flexible in supporting cultural, scientific and educational activities of the Russian-speaking communities, often use outdated approaches and sometimes even incorrect methods of work. During field studies in various countries the experts faced the lack of support for practitioners conducting really good Russian language courses, important cultural, scientific and educational events, while significant federal budget funds were allocated for this purpose, but they just had not reached compatriots. It is no wonder that people from Russia and their descendants in this situation simply do not want to communicate with Russian state institutions [Ryazantsev S.V., 2011; Riazantsev S.V., 2013a].

We can mark several key issues in this regard. Firstly, a good idea to attract compatriots from abroad, to Russia, in practice, turned into a problem for many of them in obtaining Russian citizenship. There are many examples when, having arrived in Russia, over the years people can not become citizens or receive land plots (for example, the Old Believers in Primorsiy region) [The Program of Work with Compatriots, 2014]. Secondly, a good idea to return the outstanding Russian scientists emigrants completely discredited itself in the background of the plight and miserable wages of Russian scientists, who miraculously saved the scientific schools and had not emigrated earlier. Third, a ban on adoptions by US citizens (“The Law of Dima Yakovlev”) looks very strange against the background of the huge number of abandoned children in Russia, nobody needs them, they will never be adopted by Russian citizens. The main reason for the inconsistent actions of the state in respect of emigration and diaspora is that all of these steps (except compatriots return program) are conceptually not written in the state demographic and migration policies. Fourthly, the necessity for Russian citizens in a declaration of having a second citizenship and bank accounts in foreign banks can push certain part of the population of Russia to emigrate. Finally, fifthly, many government actions in the field of work with the diaspora and re-emigrants are multidirectional, speaking about their steps in the field of socio-economic development. Involvement and use of resources of the Russian-speaking communities should not be self-esteem, but complementary tools of socio-economic development of the country. It is impossible to attract scientists, immigrants from abroad, without improving working conditions and research in science. Even the concept of Russia's migration policy up to 2025 cannot say anything worth regarding emigration. Emigration is mentioned in the document only in one sentence: “The emigration of the country continues”, but no prescription of its reduction is offered [Ryazantsev S.V., 2013a]. The project expects the next stages in the development of measures to reduce the “ejection” of Russian emigration factors and mechanisms for effective interaction with the Russian-speaking communities abroad.

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Table 1.

**The dynamics of emigration from the Russian Federation abroad in 1991-2015,**

Year	person		Total emigration
	Emigration for permanent residence	Emigration for temporary work	
1991	88 281	No data	88 281
1992	102 910	No data	102 910
1993	493 119	No data	493 119
1994	345 623	8 083	353 706
1995	347 338	11 176	358 514
1996	291 642	12 290	303 932
1997	232 987	21 121	254 108
1998	213 377	32 507	245 884
1999	214 963	32 717	247 680
2000	145 720	45 760	191 480
2001	121 166	45 759	166 925
2002	106 685	49 265	155 950
2003	94 018	47 637	141 655
2004	79 795	56 290	136 085
2005	69 798	60 926	130 724
2006	54 061	65 747	119 808
2007	47 013	69 866	116 879
2008	39 508	73 130	112 638
2009	32 458	66 285	98 743
2010	33 578	70 236	103 814
2011	36 774	67 549	104 323
2012	122 751	64 370	187 121
2013	186 382	58 093	244 475
2014	308 475	58 093	308 475
2015	353 233	57 138	410 371
<b>Total</b>	<b>4 161 655</b>	<b>1 074 038</b>	<b>5 235 693</b>

Source: The Data of the Federal State Statistics Service (2016). – Mode of access:

[http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat\\_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/demography/#](http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/demography/#) (in English).

Table 2.

**The dynamics of emigration, immigration and net migration in Russia in 1991-2015,  
person**

Year	Immigration	Emigration	Net migration	The ratio of emigration to immigration
1991	692238	675497	227371	0,976
1992	926020	673143	386389	0,730
1993	923280	483028	375838	0,523
1994	1191355	345623	877532	0,290
1995	866857	347338	603198	0,401
1996	647026	291642	443296	0,451
1997	597651	232987	391127	0,390
1998	513551	213377	321198	0,416
1999	379726	214963	184022	0,566
2000	359330	145720	241755	0,406
2001	193450	121166	81781	0,626
2002	184612	106685	87149	0,578
2003	129144	94018	43884	0,728
2004	119157	79795	41275	0,670
2005	177230	69798	107432	0,394
2006	186380	54061	132319	0,290
2007	286956	47013	239943	0,164
2008	281614	39508	242106	0,140
2009	279907	32458	247449	0,116
2010	191656	33578	158078	0,175
2011	356535	36774	319761	0,103
2012	417681	122751	294930	0,294
2013	482241	186382	295859	0,387
2014	578511	308475	270036	0,533
2015	598617	353233	245384	0,590

**Source:** The Data of the Federal State Statistics Service (2016). – Mode of access:

[http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat\\_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/demography/#](http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/demography/#) (in English).

Table 3.

**Estimations of economic losses of Russian Federation as a result of emigration in 1998-2014**

Year	Total emigration, people	GDP at current prices, bln. rubles	GDP per capita, rubles	Economic losses due to emigration, rubles
1998	245 884	2 629,6	15 371,1	3 779 507 552
1999	247 680	4 823,2	26 200,5	6 489 339 840
2000	191 480	7 305,8	39 532,3	7 569 644 804
2001	166 925	8 943,6	49 474,8	8 258 580 990
2002	155 950	10 830,5	60 611,4	9 452 347 830
2003	141 655	13 208,2	74 840,5	12 601 531 028
2004	136 085	17 027,2	97 691,9	13 294 402 212
2005	130 724	21 609,8	125 658,7	16 426 607 899
2006	119 808	26 917,2	157 233,0	18 837 771 264
2007	116 879	33 247,5	195 819,0	22 887 128 901
2008	112 638	41 276,8	237 552,2	26 757 404 704
2009	98 743	38 807,2	224 163,3	22 134 556 732
2010	103 814	46 308,5	263 828,6	27 389 102 280
2011	104 323	55 967,2	317 515,3	33 124 148 642
2012	187 121	62 218,4	348 641,5	65 238 146 122
2013	244 475	66 755,3	377 006,0	92 168 541 850
2014	308 475	70 975,0	403 178,9	124 370 611 178
<b>Total</b>	<b>2 812 659</b>			<b>510 779 373 828</b>

Source: The Data of the Federal State Statistics Service (2016). – Mode of access:

[http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat\\_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/demography/#](http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/demography/#) (in English).