

The role of attachment to place in migration decisions of the population of the Russian North

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The regions that make up the Russian North experienced considerable out-migration during the transition period. Many living and working in the Russian North had been lured to the region by a Soviet-era package of labor market incentives. This paper tests the role that attachment to place played in the migration decisions of the northern population. The paper draws upon both quantitative and qualitative data. The main source of quantitative data will be questions on place-of-birth and length of residency from the 1989 Soviet and 2002 Russian population censuses. Qualitative data from surveys will be used to determine factors behind migration decisions, as will the changing role of the Russian government in labor supply and migration to and from the North. The paper finds that place-specific social capital was quite significant as a factor in determining the number and destinations of persons migrating out of the Russian North. The rather sudden collapse of the Soviet Union's development and labor market policies toward its northern periphery and the migration decisions of the region's population constitute a 'natural experiment' that has applications to similar regions elsewhere.

1. Introduction

The factors influencing the migration decisions of people living in the Russian North changed dramatically in the 1990s, resulting in a rather large-scale out-migration. The Russian North, as well as other regions of Russia, underwent what is often referred to as the 'triple transition' (Bradshaw and Treyvish 2000). The first was the reconfiguration of political space when the Soviet Union split into 15 successor states. The second was the economic transition from a centrally planned to a market economy. The third was the liberalization of societies including freedom of movement and the right to emigrate. This paper measures the influence of place attachment of the northern population by comparing data from the last Soviet census conducted in 1989 with the first Russian census conducted in 2002. The development of the Soviet North was built on a system of labor rotation with a large contingent of temporary workers from elsewhere in Russia and other parts of the Soviet Union (Armstrong 1965; Bond 1985; Kauppala 1998; The World Bank 1998; Heleniak 1999). Sense of community and attachment to place were weak among many of these newcomers to the North. However, among others, they initially viewed their stay in the North as temporary but ended up staying permanently (Bolotova and Stammeler 2008). Using migration stock data from the censuses, this research examines the role that place-of-birth and length-of-residency played in

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migration decisions, based on the importance of place-specific social capital, as both a push and pull factor.

2. Migration theory and the Russian North

No one single theory or set of factors can explain all migration movements. This paper focuses on one narrow aspect – place-specific social capital – in a group of regions that have undergone considerable social and economic change over the past decade and a half. ‘Social capital’ is the ties to friends, neighbors, family members, business connections, and familiarity with a place that a person develops by virtue of having been born in or having lived in a region for a longer period of time. Social capital invested in a place can act as both a push and pull factor in migration to and from the Russian North, both before and after the transition period.

Explanations of migration often start with economic variables, usually income differentials between countries and regions (Weeks 2008). According to Gerber, neoclassical models were implicitly used by Soviet planners when wage incentives were created and manipulated in attracting labor to the northern and far eastern peripheries (Gerber 2005a, 2006). Economic theories of migration often reduce the decision to weighing the earnings in origins and destinations and subtracting the costs of movements. Any psychic costs of migration are often treated as a residual. Factors influencing the propensity of an individual or household to migrate include individual human-capital attributes and risk-taking traits, and community characteristics and migration networks. It is this latter aspect of community characteristics and networks and how they influence the decisions of migrants to stay or leave a place that is the focus.

Anthropological explanations of migration tend to focus on concepts of attachment to place, migrant networks, and the impact that migration has on communities at origin and destination (Brettel 2000). Recent anthropological research on migrants to the Murmansk region demonstrates that while most in the North were lured to the region by material incentives, over time many developed emotional attachment to the place (Bolotova and Stammler 2008). This was especially true of early migrants to the region who helped construct much of the region’s infrastructure and developed a collective bond through this shared struggle under harsh climatic conditions. Later cohorts of migrants went with romantic notions or to help build communism through conquering of the resources of the Soviet Arctic. The focus here is at a rather broad level of analysis. Rather than asking people about a sense of attachment to place, it examines data on migration movements to see what actual migration decisions people undertook across the Russian North. The paper uses aggregate-level data to make inferences about individual-level behavior. The intent is to compliment and inform research examining migration decisions of people at the level of individuals, households, or communities (Gray 2005; Bolotova and Stammler 2008; Thompson 2008).

In Russia, like any population, there was a group of people who never moved and another group who moved quite often. Many people living in the North belonged to this latter group of the more mobile segment of the population. Most of those in the North were not born in the region or had not lived there very long. For many in the North, it was a place to spend a tour or career with retirement to the *materik*

(mainland).¹ This labor rotation system was institutionalized by Soviet development practices toward the region, through labor market incentives for relocation to the North, employment-related benefits while working in the North, benefits for relocation from the North, and various other benefits targeted at northern workers such as early retirement, and a northern coefficient applied to pensions (The World Bank 1998). During the Soviet period, these benefits were centrally funded. With privatization and fiscal decentralization, the responsibility for payment of these benefits was passed onto newly private enterprises and local governments in 1993. However, many of these benefits went unpaid, one reason the North has lost much of its attraction as a place to migrate to and work in.

Thus, many people living in the North at the start of the transition had moved at least once in order to improve their situation. Migration has a cumulative inertia, in that the probability of migration decreases with length of residency as people build up social capital making moving more difficult because of the increased psychic costs (Plane and Rogerson 1994). The longer people stay in a place, the less likely they are to move, especially if they remain in the place they were born. The opposite is also true, the more recently a person arrived in a place, the more likely they would be to move because the lack of attachment to place. A secondary question is how many people leaving the North ‘returned home’ to their place-of-birth or place of previous residence.

2.1 *Defining the Russian North*

For planning, economic development, statistical, and other purposes, the Russian government classifies 16 regions (Figure 1) as belonging to the *Kraynyy Sever* (Far North) (Rosstat 2006). The Far North classification was based on harsh climatic conditions, high latitude, remoteness from more densely populated regions, and a greater expenditure of resources for the exploitation of natural resources (Bradshaw 1995). These 16 regions make up 53% of the territory of Russia but in 2006 contained only 5.6% of the country’s population, down from 6.4% in 1989.²

Eleven of these 16 regions are homelands of Siberian and northern ethnic groups. Of these, seven called ‘autonomous okrugs’ (AOs) are homelands of the *malochislenny naroda severa* (the Small-Numbered Peoples of the North, abbreviated AO in Figure 1). At the time of the 1989 census, these AOs were subordinated administratively to their parent region. Social, economic, and demographic data for these regions were often subsumed with their parent region, causing some problems with the analysis that will be discussed below.

3. **Place-of-birth and length-of-residency data**

The main sources of quantitative data used in this analysis are the results from the migration and mobility questions in the last Soviet census conducted in January 1989 and the first Russian census conducted in October 2002. In the 1989 census, there were three migration and mobility questions. The first question on the place-of-birth of the respondent, when combined with the question on current place of residence, provided a measure of lifetime migration. The term ‘place’ in this context refers to region, meaning one of the 89 regions of Russia (or at that time, one of the 169 regions of the Soviet Union). The second question asked how long people have lived in their current place of residence. The third question asked whether



Source: Rosstat (2006).

Figure 1. Regions of the Russian far north.

respondents had migrated to their current location from an urban or rural area. Among the published tabulations used in the analysis was a matrix of place-of-residence by place-of-birth and data on length of time in current place-of-residence.³

A similar set of questions were asked in the 2002 census with some variation. If respondents said that they had moved to their current residence between 1989 and 2002, they were asked an additional question on where they were living in January 1989, the date of the 1989 census. There was also a new question on citizenship. Though the conducting of the census was delayed several times (originally scheduled for 1999, 10 years after the previous census), complete results were issued in 14 volumes in both hard copy and electronic forms (Goskomstat Rossii 2005). The same matrix on place-of-birth and place-of-residence was published, which allows comparison.

One qualitative source of information that will be drawn upon is a survey of migrants from the Russian North done by the Netherlands Economic Institute (NEI) in 1997–1998 for the World Bank (Netherlands Economic Institute 1998).⁴ The survey was of 582 persons who had migrated from one of the 16 regions of the Far North to four regions elsewhere in Russia – Rostov, Pskov, Bashkortostan, and Novosibirsk. They must have arrived into the recipient region between January 1992 and January 1997 and must have lived in the North for at least three years. Of those interviewed, 16% had been born in the North and 84% had been born elsewhere.

4. Migration patterns of the population of the Russian North

4.1 *The migrant population in the Soviet Union*

The breakup of the Soviet Union increased the world migration stock by adding some 28 million ‘statistical migrants.’ As discussed below, suddenly finding oneself as an ethnic diaspora or living outside one’s country of birth was a situation that many in the Russian North confronted when the country broke apart. This would only compound the other uncertainties brought on by the transition and for them issues of citizenship suddenly became important. One study based on the migration histories of 7167 Russian adults spanning the period 1985–2002 divided the main reason for migration into six broad categories: economic, education, family, political (fleeing conflicts or nationalism), return (to place of origin), and other or no reason (Gerber 2005b). The study found political and return reasons for migration were the highest in the period 1989–1991, around the time that the Soviet Union was breaking up. For northerners was the issue of whether people could continue to receive the package of northern benefits, including northern retirement supplements, if they returned to a place-of-birth outside Russia, which had inherited payment of northern benefits from the Soviet Union.

In spite of the current period often being referred to as the ‘age of migration’ (Castles and Miller 2003), only 3.0% of the world’s population live outside their country of birth, which is the UN’s definition of a migrant. By the end of the Soviet Union’s existence, it had become an almost completely closed economic space with greatly restricted movement of goods, information, money, and people across its borders. At the time of the last Soviet census in 1989, only 0.8% of the population had been born outside the Soviet Union. The breakup of the Soviet Union turned what had been internal migrants who moved from one Soviet republic to another into international migrants (Mansoor and Quillin 2007; United Nations Population

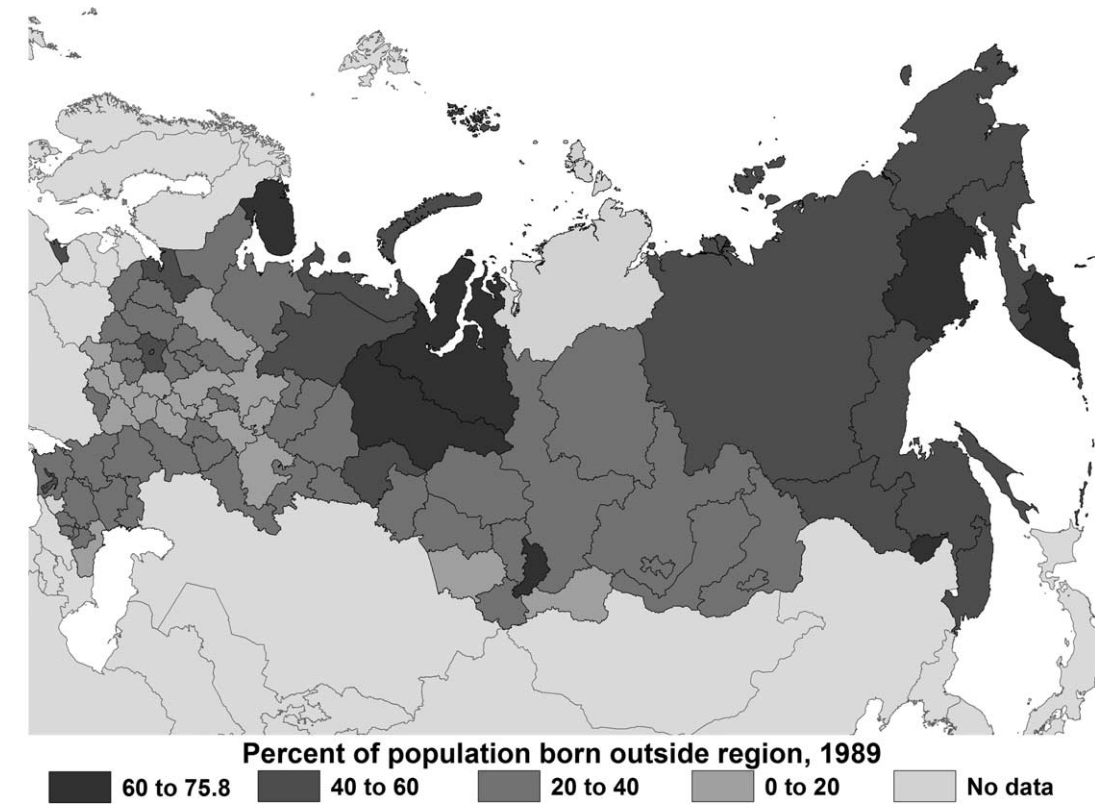
Division 2007). Russia became the country with the world's second largest migrant stock after the USA.

The 12 million foreign-born persons in Russia in 2005 represent 8.4% of the country's population and is actually an increase over 1989 (United Nations Population Division 2007). Of interest for several northern regions with large populations born outside of Russia was that between the 1989 and 2002 censuses, the population in Russia who were born in Ukraine and Belarus decreased considerably, as did the native-born population of Russia. The Ukrainian-born population in Russia declined from 4.6 to 3.6 million and the Belarussian-born population declined from 1.4 to 0.9 million (Interstate Statistical Committee of the CIS and EastView Publications 1996; Rosstat 2006). The breakup of the Soviet Union caused large numbers of people to suddenly find themselves outside of their country of birth, to become members of a place-of-birth diaspora. The dissolution along ethnic lines also turned some 43 million persons into ethnic diasporas living outside of their defined ethnic homeland.⁵ In 1989, 18.5% of the population of Russia were not ethnic Russians. The North as a whole had even larger shares of non-Russian ethnic groups. There were 4.4 million Ukrainians, of which 18% resided in the North. Ukrainians made up 3.0% of the population of Russia but 8.0% of the population of the North. There were 1.2 million Belarussians in Russia, with 18% residing in the North. They made up 0.8% of the population of Russia but 2.3% of the population of the North. Though linguistically and culturally close to ethnic Russians, some members of these groups might feel more comfortable in their ethnic homelands than in Russia.

4.2 The population of the Russian North in 1989

At the time of the 1989 census, 69.1% of the population of Russia lived in the region in which they were born, meaning that 30.9% had moved to another region since birth, including from outside of Russia. The populations of many northern periphery regions are composed of newcomers born outside the region (Figure 2). The Murmansk, Khanty-Mansiy, Yamal-Nenets, Magadan, and Kamchatka regions, as well as few others, stand out with more than 60% of their populations having come from elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Many of these people had been sent or induced to migrate to these newly industrializing periphery regions. In the closed economic space of the Soviet Union, it was a place where one could legitimately earn a high wage. In the NEI survey of northern migrants, 52% stated that their reason for moving to the North was to earn money (Netherlands Economic Institute 1998). This was more important for males than females, 59% versus 45%, as more females than males went with a spouse or parents, 50% of females against 15% of males. Aside from monetary or family reasons, the next most common reason for migration to the North was a desire to see the world or romanticism (13% of respondents). Many viewed their stays in these northern periphery regions as temporary and maintained ties to their places of birth or previous residence in the mainland.

There was a strong correlation between Russian regions having large portions of their population born outside the region and having large portions born outside of Russia. Of the population of Russia, 7.8% had been born outside of Russia while 15.2% of the population of the North had been with large portions of the northern



Source: Interstate Statistical Committee of the CIS and EastView Publications (1996).

Figure 2. Percent of population born outside region, 1989.

Table 1. Population of the Russian North by place-of-birth, 1989 census (percent of total population).

	Total population	Born in region	Born outside region	Born outside Russia	Of which			Outside FSU or unknown
					Ukraine	Belarus	Other FSU states	
Russian Federation	100.0	92.2	7.8	7.1	3.1	1.0	3.0	0.7
The North	100.0	49.1	50.3	15.2	8.8	2.1	4.3	0.5
Karelian Republic	100.0	63.7	36.3	10.3	3.2	5.2	1.9	0.6
Komi Republic	100.0	54.4	45.6	12.7	7.6	1.7	3.4	0.3
Arkhangel'sk Oblast	100.0	72.2	27.8	7.0	3.8	1.3	1.9	0.2
Nenets Autonomous Okrug ^a	100.0	47.1	52.9	13.0	7.9	2.0	3.0	0.1
Murmansk Oblast	100.0	37.5	62.5	17.9	10.3	3.3	4.3	0.7
Khanty-Mansiy Autonomous Okrug ^b	100.0	27.6	72.4	22.6	12.6	2.2	7.8	0.7
Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug ^b	100.0	24.2	75.8	30.7	19.5	2.7	8.5	0.6
Tuva Republic	100.0	81.6	18.4	2.3	0.9	0.2	1.3	0.2
Taymyr Autonomous Okrug	100.0	–	–	17.1	10.3	1.4	5.4	0.5
Evenki Autonomous Okrug ^b	100.0	76.2	23.8	12.3	5.9	0.9	5.5	0.5
Sakha Republic (Yakutia)	100.0	56.6	43.4	13.6	8.3	0.9	4.5	0.4
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug ^b	100.0	49.0	51.0	28.9	21.0	2.0	6.0	0.7
Kamchatka Oblast	100.0	37.6	62.4	17.2	10.6	1.7	4.9	0.6
Koryak Autonomous Okrug ^{a,b}	100.0	55.2	44.8	13.7	8.7	1.1	3.9	0.3
Magadan Oblast	100.0	19.8	80.2	25.5	17.1	1.9	6.4	0.6
Sakhalin Oblast	100.0	48.9	51.1	12.0	6.8	1.6	3.5	1.4

Source: The Interstate Statistical Committee of the CIS and East View Publications Inc. (1996).

^aData for these regions also included in parent unit to which they are subordinated, listed immediately above.

^bFor the Khanty-Mansiy, Yamal-Nenets, Evenki, Koryak, and Chukotka Okrugs, those indicating they were born the region is a sum of those indicating they were born the okrug plus those indicating they were born in the parent region.

– No data.

population originating from Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan (Table 1). These were the more advanced and industrialized regions of the Soviet Union with large numbers of people with the skills and experience needed to staff the industrial and transport sectors of the North. More than one-in-five persons in the Khanty-Mansiy, Yamal-Nenets, Magadan, and Chukotka regions had been born outside of Russia. When the Soviet Union broke apart, not only would their shaky attachment to the region influence their migration decisions, so would their perhaps tenuous attachments to Russia when citizenship issues and related benefits and privileges become an issue.

Because the northern economy was heavily oriented toward resource extraction and infrastructure construction, it was from the more industrialized regions of the Soviet Union that northern workers were recruited. The Rostov and Krasnodar regions in the Southern Federal District sent workers to many northern regions. These regions were the eastern portion of the Donets coal basin and natural gas field extending from Ukraine (Shabad 1969). Bashkortostan and Tatarstan, having their own well-developed oil sectors were regions of origin for many northern regions, especially the Khanty-Mansiy and Yamal-Nenets regions with their growing oil and gas sectors. A large number of persons in the Khanty-Mansiy region had been born in Azerbaijan, previously one of the Soviet Union's major oil-producing regions. Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk, parts of the Sverdlovsk complex of mining and iron and steel processing plants and Krasnoyarsk and Kemerovo, located in the Kuznets Basin with large deposits of coking coal, were the place-of-birth of people in many northern regions. Outside of Russia, the Dnepropetrovsk and Donetsk regions in Ukraine sent large numbers of people to the northern regions of Russia. The Donets Basin is the site of Ukraine's major cluster of iron and steel plants based on coal deposits and hydroelectric power (Shabad 1969).

Compared to the rest of Russia, the northern population was younger, more male, and had higher levels of education, all characteristics of persons with higher propensities to migrate (Heleniak 2009). The survey of northern migrants found that they were more educated than the population of the North in general, which is consistent with theory (Netherlands Economic Institute 1998). The information on length of residency confirms this and reinforces the lack of attachment to the northern places in which these people were living in 1989. As seen in Table 2, nearly half the population of Russia had lived continuously in the same region since birth, while barely a third of the northern population had.⁶ In several northern regions, only a quarter of the population had been born in the northern region in which they were residing. Of those who were newcomers, 14% of the Russian population had moved to their current place of residence in the past five years, while one-quarter of the northern population had arrived in that time.

Figure 3 shows the share of newcomers by region in Russia in 1989. Many of the northern and far eastern regions are made up of large numbers of people who had arrived only recently. People who might have maintained a flat, a family, a job, or other ties in the region they came from, who might not have established strong social ties, or a sense of community in the northern region they were living. The Yamal-Nenets and Khanty-Mansiy regions again stand out with 69 and 59% of their populations, composed of recent arrivals. Thus, attachment to region and sense of community might be weak in such regions composed so much of newcomers. According to theory, attachment to place increases with length of residence. When the situation in the North deteriorated so rapidly in the early 1990s,

Table 2. Population of the Russian North by length of residency, 1989 census (percent of total population).

	Total population	Number who have lived in region since birth	Number who have not lived in region since birth	Less than one year	Of which								
					1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	6–9 years	10–14 years	15–19 years	20 or more years
Russian Federation	100.0	48.8	51.2	3.7	2.7	2.4	2.2	1.9	1.7	6.0	6.1	5.3	19.2
The North	100.0	36.5	63.5	5.5	4.3	4.5	4.0	3.5	3.1	10.3	8.1	5.9	14.5
Karelian Republic	100.0	42.9	57.1	3.6	2.8	2.5	2.3	2.1	1.8	6.4	6.1	5.7	23.9
Komi Republic	100.0	39.7	60.3	5.3	3.6	3.1	2.7	2.5	2.3	8.6	8.6	6.8	16.9
Arkhangel'sk Oblast	100.0	46.9	53.1	4.4	3.0	2.5	2.2	1.9	1.7	6.1	6.7	5.5	19.2
Nenets Autonomous Okrug ^a	100.0	42.0	58.0	6.7	5.0	4.4	3.9	3.1	2.7	9.9	8.6	4.0	9.8
Murmansk Oblast	100.0	35.6	64.4	4.3	3.5	3.6	3.3	2.9	2.7	9.3	8.5	6.4	20.0
Khanty-Mansiy Autonomous Okrug	100.0	21.9	78.1	7.3	6.4	8.5	7.5	6.5	5.5	17.1	9.2	5.1	4.9
Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	100.0	19.2	80.8	8.2	8.0	10.9	9.3	7.7	6.7	18.3	6.9	2.6	2.2
Tuva Republic	100.0	58.1	41.9	5.6	3.2	2.7	2.4	2.0	1.7	6.1	5.1	3.9	9.2
Taymyr Autonomous Okrug	100.0	36.6	63.4	5.7	4.4	4.9	4.3	3.4	3.1	11.9	10.3	6.0	9.3
Evenki Autonomous Okrug	100.0	29.8	70.2	8.0	6.5	7.5	5.7	4.6	4.7	12.2	8.1	5.0	7.9
Sakha Republic (Yakutia)	100.0	38.3	61.7	6.5	4.3	4.8	4.3	3.7	3.3	11.3	9.0	5.2	9.1
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	100.0	24.9	75.1	6.3	5.9	5.9	5.0	4.6	4.3	15.1	12.5	8.0	7.6
Kamchatka Oblast	100.0	32.7	67.3	5.8	4.9	4.4	4.1	3.4	3.0	10.7	9.7	7.4	13.8
Koryak Autonomous Okrug ^a	100.0	36.8	63.2	6.3	5.3	5.0	4.5	3.5	3.2	11.1	9.5	6.0	8.7
Magadan Oblast	100.0	27.7	72.3	5.5	4.6	4.6	4.2	3.7	3.5	13.6	11.7	9.2	11.7
Sakhalin Oblast	100.0	39.5	60.5	4.7	3.9	3.2	2.8	2.5	2.0	7.1	7.0	6.2	21.1

Source: The Interstate Statistical Committee of the CIS and East View Publications Inc. (1996).

^aData for these regions also included in parent unit to which they are subordinated, listed immediately above.

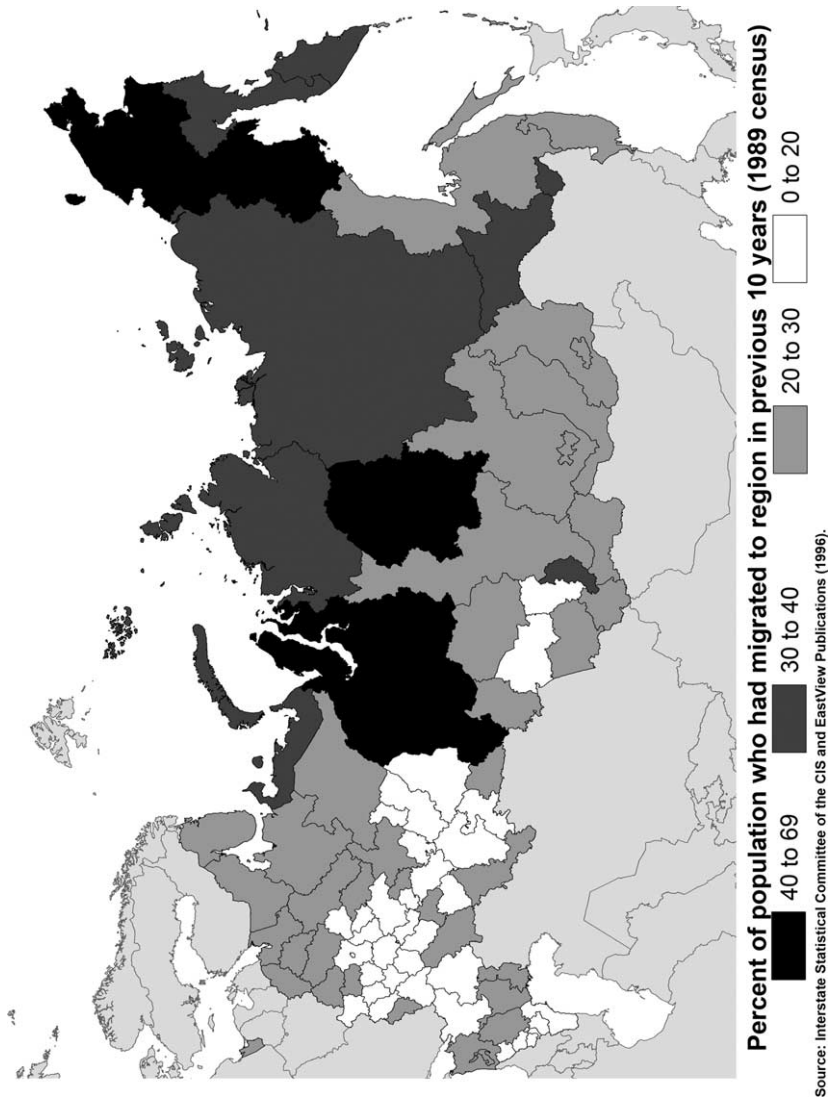


Figure 3. Share of newcomers by region, 1989.

with little attachment to the northern regions in which they were living and with still strong ties to their places of birth or previous residence outside the North, the migration decision for many was quite easy. They had used migration as a strategy of adaptation at least once before to migrate to the North to pursue wealth and they could easily use it again to leave and avoid poverty.

The figures for Russia and its northern regions in terms of migrant population shares are similar to trends in the USA and Canada, and their northern regions. The 2000 US census found that 60.0% of the population was born in the state where they currently resided (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2008). Western and southern states tend to have low shares of their populations who were born in those states with Arizona, Florida, and Nevada having the highest shares of newcomers and are the only three states that have smaller shares of person born outside the state than the northern state of Alaska. In 2000, only 38% of the population of Alaska had been born there (Edwards 2007). In Canada, 69% of the population had been born in the province of residence according to the 2001 census (Statistics Canada 2008). However, much smaller shares of the population in Canada's three northern territories were born there, making them similar regions of newcomers. In Nunavut, 57% of the population had been born in the territory, in the Northwest Territories, 53%, and in Yukon, only 36%.

4.3 *The population of the Russian North in 2002*

Based on theory, the changing economic conditions should drive many from the North and this is what had happened as there was a net out-migration from the North of 17% between 1989 and 2002. There was also considerable desire to migrate from the North for people who could not afford the move (The World Bank 1998). With the transition, the Russian government could no longer sustain the large population in the northern regions and devised a number of programs to assist with the relocation of persons who wished to migrate out of the region. But this assisted only a small fraction of migrants and those participating in these programs tended to be older, less educated, and predominantly female, i.e. the less mobile segments of the northern population (Netherlands Economic Institute 1998). Because of the increasing costs of supplying food, fuel, and other necessities to the vast and widely dispersed northern settlements, the Russian government also sought to liquidate of many smaller, distant, or other settlements without future prospects, thus the migration is not entirely voluntary (State Duma Committee for Problems of the North and Far East of the Russian Federation 2007).

For the northern regions, we would expect that the percentage of those born in the region should increase, as those not born locally would have left. There should be a decrease in recent arrivals as newcomers should have left and there should be a slowdown in migration to the North. The resulting population in the northern regions should be composed of long-timers and those born in the region. Further, those in the North in 1989 should have moved back to their region of origin, either their region of birth or the region where they last lived, regions where they had a strong attachment to place (Gerber 2005b). Because of fears about loss of citizenship and other benefits and privileges, there should be declines in those born outside Russia and declines in non-Russian and non-titular groups, people moving to what they perceived to be their ethnic homelands.

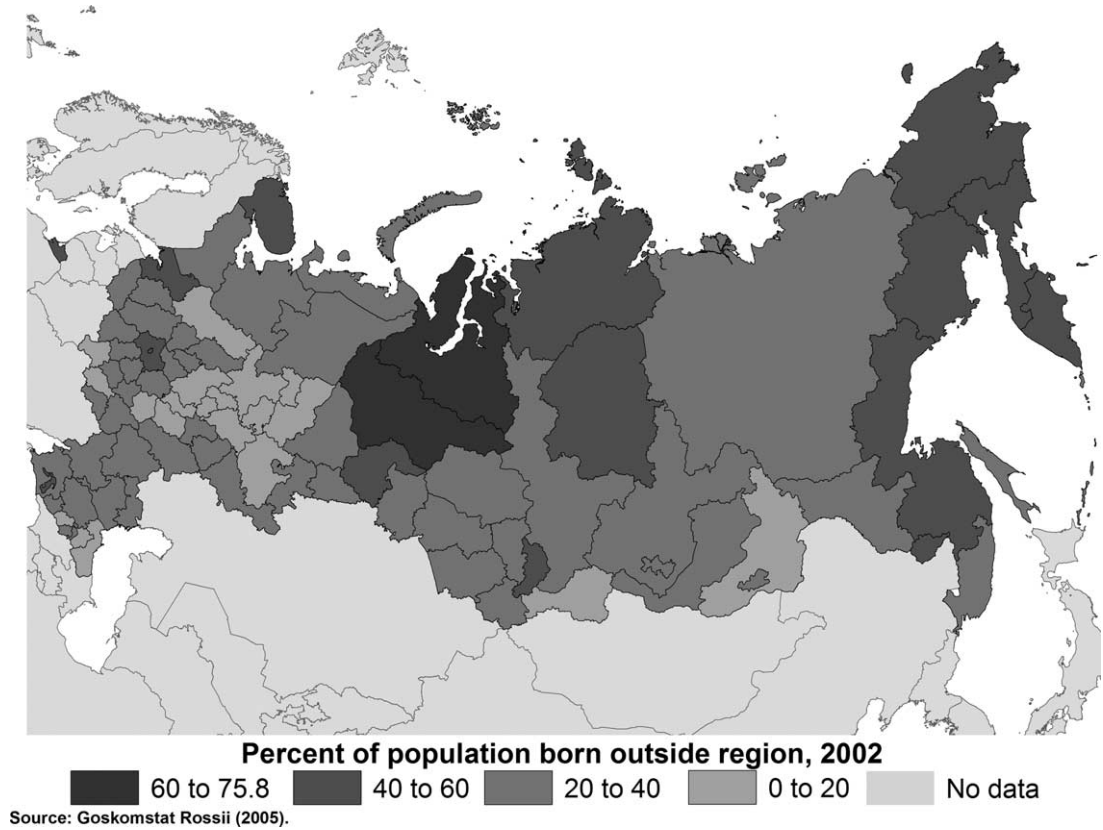


Figure 4. Percent of population born outside region, 2002.

Figure 4 shows the percentage of the population born outside each region according to the 2002 census (with the same classes as Figure 2). There were some significant shifts between the censuses in terms of the shares of each region's population born outside the region. In 2002, only two regions have more than 60% or more of their populations who had been born outside the region, whereas in 1989 there had been seven such regions. This was due to the large exodus of non-natives from several northern and far eastern regions, such as Murmansk, Magadan, and Kamchatka. Many regions in Siberia, the Far East, and the European North had large declines in the populations of persons not born in those regions. As in 1989, there is the same strong correlation between regions having large shares of their populations born outside the region and outside of Russia.

In nearly all northern and other periphery regions, the percentage of each region's population that was born outside the region declined considerably. It was those persons with less attachment to these regions who left in the largest numbers when the local economies shrank. Between the 1989 and 2002 censuses, the population of the North declined by 1.4 million, the bulk of which consisted of those not native to the regions. The number of those born in the North declined by about 100,000, while the number born outside the regions declined by 1.3 million. For instance, of the population decline in Murmansk of 272,052 over this period, 3% consisted of persons who had been born in Murmansk, while 97% consisted of persons born elsewhere in Russia and outside Russia. In Magadan, there was actually an increase in the number of persons who had been born in the region, with 6359, when combined with a decline of 215,320 persons who had been born elsewhere resulted in a total population decline of 208,961, or 53% between the censuses.

In the NEI survey of northern migrants, the most commonly cited reason for leaving the North was that 'we always viewed our stay in the North as temporary,' given by 29% of respondents (who could give up to three reasons) (Netherlands Economic Institute 1998). The next most common reasons were that it 'became senseless to stay in the North' (27%) and 'wanted to get back to our native place, relatives, friends' (23%). There were differences in reasons for leaving between natives (those born in the North) and non-natives, with natives citing the lack of educational facilities and a desire to obtain education for themselves or their children as the major motivation for migrating. There is a noticeable spike in out-migration from the North around age 17 when compulsory schooling ends (The World Bank 1998). These reasons and the choice of destination regions seem to support the theory that place-specific social capital is important. The romance of the North as a place was hardly compensated for when monetary compensation fell so dramatically (Heleniak 2008).

As expected, the percentage that the locally born population made up of the northern regions increased, from 49% in 1989 to 56% in 2002. The shares of those born outside the North decreased from 50 to 44%. The exception to this general trend again was the Khanty-Mansiy region which continues to attract migrants. Of non-indigenous adults in the okrug, nearly all had been born elsewhere and migrated to the work in the region's growing oil sector (Table 3).

As expected, the foreign-born shares declined in the North, accounting for one-third of the total decline in the population of those born outside the North. There were declines in absolute and relative terms in the foreign-born population in every northern region, again with the exception of the Khanty-Mansiy region. The Khanty-Mansiy Okrug had declines in Ukrainian-born and Belarusian-born

Table 3. Population of the Russian North by place-of-birth, 2002 census (percent of total population).

	Total	Born in region	Born outside region	Born outside Russia	Of which			Outside FSU or unknown
					Ukraine	Belarus	Other FSU	
Russian Federation	100.0	90.7	9.3	7.9	2.5	0.6	4.8	1.4
The North	100.0	56.2	43.8	12.5	6.3	1.4	4.8	1.1
Karelian Republic	100.0	69.4	30.6	8.9	2.6	3.7	2.5	1.0
Komi Republic	100.0	65.1	34.9	9.4	5.4	1.1	2.9	0.7
Arkhangel'sk Oblast	100.0	78.9	21.1	5.0	2.7	0.8	1.5	0.3
Nenets Autonomous Okrug ^a	100.0	70.4	29.6	5.9	3.5	0.9	1.5	1.6
Murmansk Oblast	100.0	47.9	52.1	14.9	8.4	2.4	4.1	1.5
Khanty-Mansiy Autonomous Okrug	100.0	20.6	79.4	22.0	9.7	1.4	10.9	1.3
Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	100.0	27.0	73.0	28.0	15.4	1.8	10.8	1.9
Tuva Republic	100.0	91.3	8.7	1.2	0.3	0.1	0.8	0.1
Taymyr Autonomous Okrug	100.0	49.9	50.1	13.4	7.7	0.7	5.1	3.0
Evenki Autonomous Okrug	100.0	50.0	50.0	8.2	3.5	0.6	4.0	0.1
Sakha Republic (Yakutia)	100.0	72.0	28.0	8.7	4.5	0.4	3.8	0.7
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	100.0	45.1	54.9	18.4	12.9	1.0	4.5	2.4
Kamchatka Oblast	100.0	49.9	50.1	12.9	7.6	1.1	4.2	3.7
Koryak Autonomous Okrug ^a	100.0	44.6	55.4	8.6	5.0	0.6	2.9	0.9
Magadan Oblast	100.0	46.0	54.0	19.6	12.7	1.2	5.7	0.7
Sakhalin Oblast	100.0	63.4	36.6	8.3	4.4	1.0	2.9	1.2

Sources: Goskomstat Rossii (2005), Volume 10, Table 3.

^aData for these regions also included in parent unit to which they are subordinated, listed immediately above.

populations but sizeable increases in those born in Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. The reason why persons of Ukrainian and Belarusian origin are leaving the Khanty-Mansiy region, while persons from the other former Soviet Union (FSU) states are migrating to the region, can be explained by the relative incomes among these regions. In Russia, there was a decline of roughly one million Ukrainian-born persons: one-third of this total was from the northern regions, which had a disproportionate number of ethnic Ukrainians. This seems to provide evidence of Ukrainians in the North not being able to or not wanting to obtain Russian citizenship or a desire to return 'home,' in this case to their ethnic homeland.

With the slowdown in migration to the North and out-migration of more recent arrivals, there should be decreased shares of newcomers and increases in long-timers or people with more social ties to the northern regions. Figure 5 shows the percentage newcomers by region based on length-of-residency data from the 2002 census.⁷ While some of the northern regions still have among the highest shares of newcomers, the spatial pattern has changed considerably and regions in Russia other than the North and Far East have become migration destinations. With the slowdown in migration across Russia, the number of newcomers decreased in every region of the country. For the country as a whole, in 1989, the share of the total population who had migrated to a different region in the previous 10 years or less was 21%, while in 2002 the share that had migrated since 1992 was 13%. The largest decreases in shares of newcomers were in the northern and far eastern periphery regions, where migration into these traditional migrant magnets declined precipitously and recent arrivals abandoned the regions. For example, in Murmansk, the share of new arrivals fell from 30% in 1989 to 13% in 2002, while in Magadan, it fell from 42 to 16%.

In 2002, 55% of the population of Russia indicated that they had lived continuously in the same region since birth, an increase from 49% in 1989, reflecting a slowdown in migration, and is consistent with the place-of-birth data (Table 4). The share of the population in the North who had lived in those regions since birth increased from 37 to 43%. In all northern regions, except the Khanty-Mansiy Okrug, the share of the local-born population who had lived in the region since birth went up as it was those with less family and other ties to the region who left in the largest numbers. For example, in Arkhangelsk, the share of the population who had lived their entire lives in the region went from 47% of the population in 1989 to 58% in 2002 while in Chukotka, it rose from 25 to 42%. There does seem to be a clear trend of fewer new arrivals into the North and increases in old-timers, persons either unable or unwilling to migrate from the North because of the social ties to those regions. Niobe Thompson, in his book on Chukotka, talks about two segments emerging in terms of mobility (Thompson 2008). One is a hyper-mobile class of wealthy young persons, many of whom work for Governor Roman Abramovich's administration or companies. The other is locals who find the cost of moving around Chukotka prohibitively expensive with the removal of transport subsidies.

What are the implications of the population of the North becoming increasingly composed of old-timers? Figure 6 shows the share of old-timers by region in Russia in 2002, defined as those who have lived in a region since birth plus those who had moved to the region during the Soviet period. In 1989, for Russia 80% of the population could be classified as old-timers according to this mobility measure.⁸ All

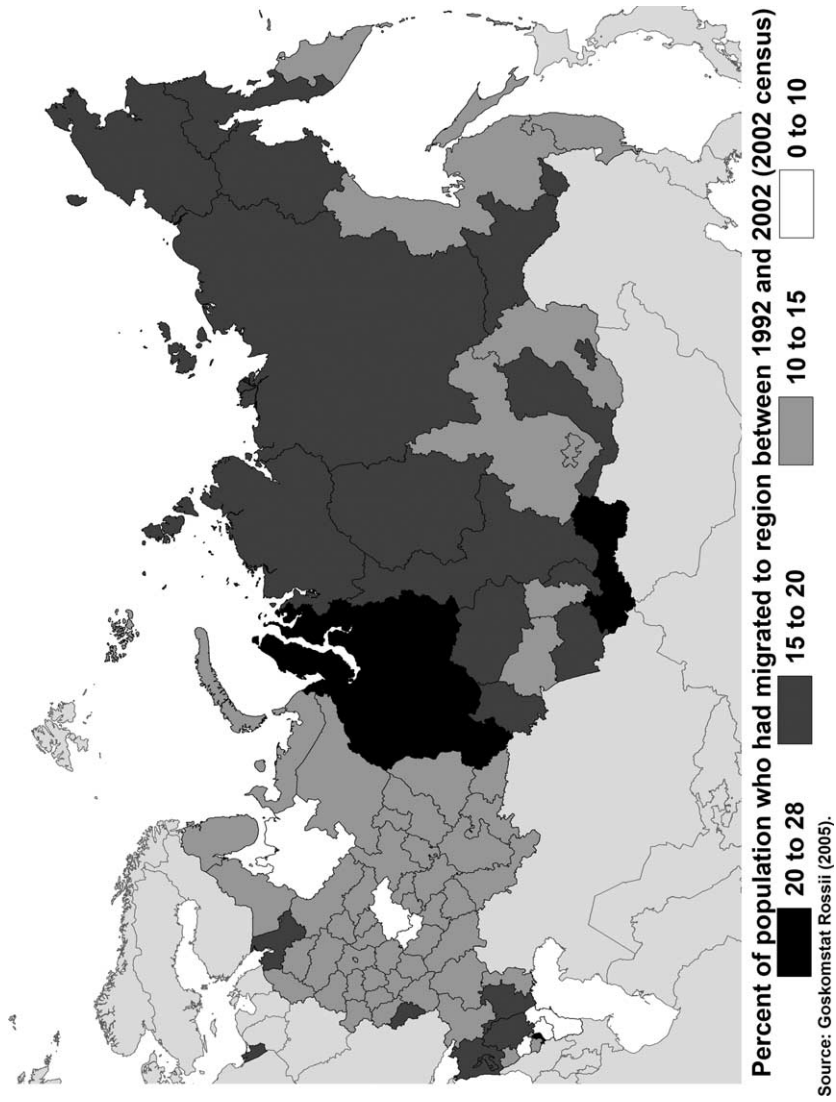


Figure 5. Share of newcomers by region, 2002.

Table 4. Population of the Russian North by length of residency, 2002 census (percent of total population).

	Total population	Number who have lived in region since birth	Number who have not lived in region since birth	Of which, since				Did not indicate whether they had lived continuously in place of permanent residence
				1992–2002	1989–1991	1988 or earlier	Year not known	
Russian Federation	100.0	55.0	43.6	12.9	2.9	27.4	0.5	1.4
The North	100.0	43.3	55.5	16.7	3.8	34.6	0.5	1.2
Karelian Republic	100.0	48.8	50.6	11.9	3.1	35.5	0.2	0.6
Komi Republic	100.0	47.8	51.6	12.8	2.9	35.6	0.3	0.6
Arkhangel'sk Oblast	100.0	57.5	42.3	9.7	2.4	30.1	0.2	0.2
Nenets Autonomous Okrug ^a	100.0	54.9	43.3	13.1	2.8	27.3	0.1	1.8
Murmansk Oblast	100.0	43.2	55.3	12.7	3.5	38.7	0.4	1.5
Khanty-Mansiy Autonomous Okrug	100.0	19.8	77.7	27.7	5.9	42.6	1.4	2.5
Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	100.0	25.4	73.0	27.9	6.6	37.5	1.0	1.6
Tuva Republic	100.0	61.3	38.6	20.1	3.3	15.2	0.0	0.0
Taymyr Autonomous Okrug	100.0	44.3	52.6	18.4	3.1	30.7	0.5	3.0
Evenki Autonomous Okrug	100.0	43.0	56.5	15.7	3.9	36.6	0.3	0.5
Sakha Republic (Yakutia)	100.0	52.2	47.1	17.4	3.3	26.3	0.2	0.6
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	100.0	41.5	55.3	17.3	3.7	34.0	0.3	3.3
Kamchatka Oblast	100.0	42.3	53.3	13.0	3.8	36.1	0.4	4.4
Koryak Autonomous Okrug ^a	100.0	41.6	57.4	15.9	4.1	35.1	2.3	1.0
Magadan Oblast	100.0	36.3	61.7	16.2	3.7	41.6	0.1	2.0
Sakhalin Oblast	100.0	49.1	50.2	12.9	3.0	34.0	0.2	0.7

Sources: Goskomstat Rossii (2005), Volume 10, Table 1.

^aData for these regions also included in parent unit to which they are subordinated, listed immediately above.

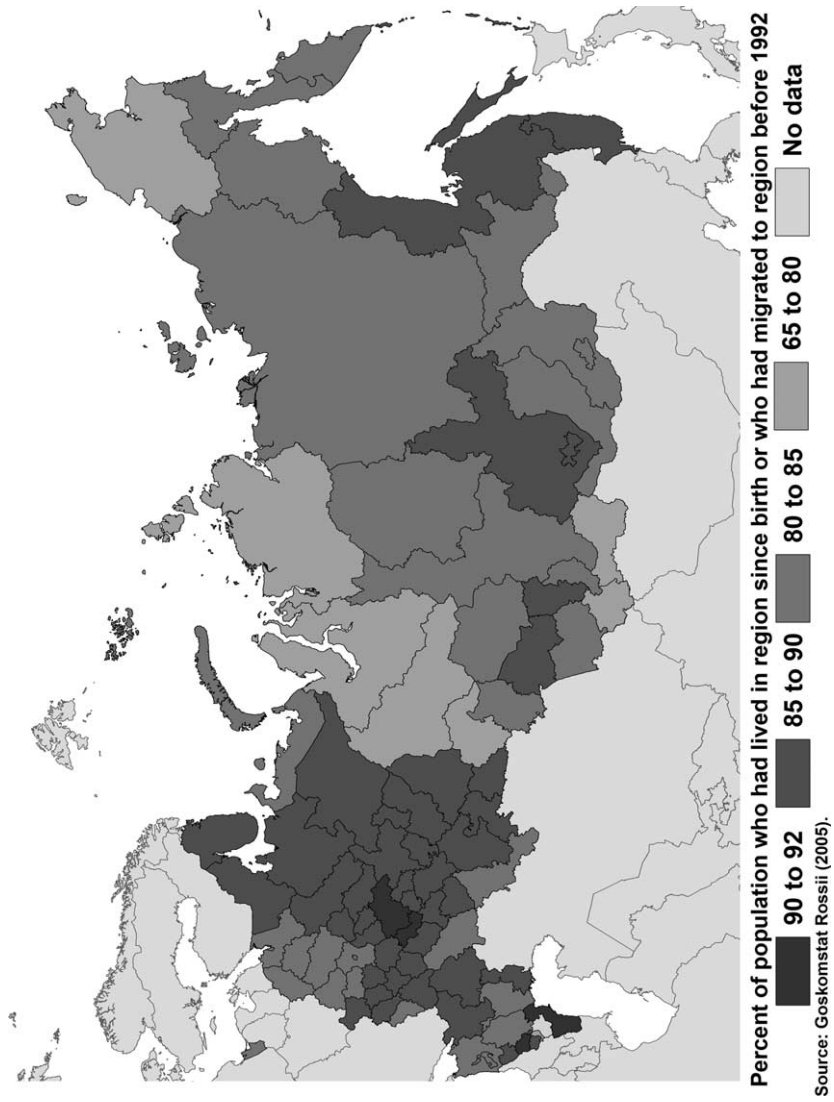


Figure 6. Share of old-timers by region, 2002.

northern regions had old-timer populations less than the national average. In 2002, the number of old-timers had increased for Russia to 85% of the population. There were increases in the old-timer population in every region except Moscow and St. Petersburg. The largest increases were in the northern and far eastern regions as it was newcomers who had left these regions. The spread among regions in terms of their shares of old-timers shrank considerably between 1989 and 2002, because many of the northern regions became more like the rest of Russia with larger pension-age populations stuck in many northern regions as the labor rotation system of the Soviet period was dismantled. The northern regions are no longer unique in being composed predominantly of newcomers. In this and other ways, the demographic distinctiveness of the northern regions is withering (Blakkisrud and Hønneland 2006).

There are several implications of this development. With the slowdown in mobility across Russia and the North, the regions are developing into segmented labor markets. This seems to be the case for many northern regions, though they are signs that various shift-work methods are replacing the previous Soviet system of reliance on large permanent settlements to exploit the resources of the North (Spies 2006, 2007). Many of the northern resettlement programs have been unsuccessful, in part because of under-funding, but also because of the underestimation of ties to the northern regions. Despite dismal economic conditions, for the old-timers in these regions, there is a great reluctance to leave as many do not have social ties elsewhere. After a decade and a half of transition, many of the resettlement programs are shutting down and many of the old-timers and pensioners in the North will be forced to live out their lives in rather dismal conditions.

4.4 Citizenship and nationality data of the population of the North

With the large number of persons in the North who had been born outside of Russia or persons of non-Russian ethnicity, there might be a desire for these persons to return to their 'homeland.' When the country broke apart, people had to exchange their Soviet citizenship and passport for one from the successor states. With large diaspora populations in the FSU states, there was some leeway as to which citizenship people could claim. Data from the 2002 census on the number of persons across Russia and the North by citizenship do not yield much insight into migration decisions of possible non-citizens. The majority of persons in Russia, 98%, adopted Russian citizenship with Ukrainian citizenship being the second-most common, though amounting to only 0.2% (Goskomstat Rossii 2005, Tables 14.4.5 and 4.15). The only discernable trend in the North was that a slightly higher than average percent of persons claimed Ukrainian citizenship. However, this never amounted to more than 1.0% in any northern region.

In part because of differences in the collection and compilation of nationality data between the censuses, only broad insights into ethnic factors influencing migration decisions can be deduced. There are three ways in which the ethnic composition of a region can change between censuses – different rates of natural increase, net migration, or ethnic re-identification. With the reshuffling of the ethnic hierarchy in the Soviet Union, this latter factor is likely quite high. In 1989, data were presented for 130 different ethnic groups. In the 2002 census, the number of ethnic groups expanded to 184, likely leading to the dilution of people identifying themselves as

members of larger ethnic groups. For most of the Soviet period, there were 26 Small-Numbered Peoples of the North. In 2000, this list was expanded to 38 ethnic groups as many of these groups were identified separately for the first time and this was partially behind the increase in their numbers from 181,517 in 1989 to 249,572 in 2002 (Øverland and Blakkisrud 2006). Between the censuses, the population of the North declined by 14% with the ethnic Russian population declining by 16%. The ethnic Ukrainian and Belarussian populations both declined by 41%. This is consistent with declines in the place-of-birth data for persons from these two countries and seems to support the theory that at least a portion of the decline for these two groups can be attributed to a desire for citizenship in their newly independent homelands and fears of loss of northern benefits if they stayed in Russia.

4.5 *Return migration from the Russian North*

When the economic situation deteriorated and people left the North in large numbers, how much of the migration could be classified as return migration, either to place-of-birth or place of previous residence? One classification divides migrants into primary migrants, secondary migrants, and return migrants (Eldridge 1965). Primary migrants are persons leaving their region of birth for the first time, which includes many migrants to the North. Secondary migrants are those neither leaving nor moving to their region of birth. Return migrants are those returning to their region of birth (Plane and Rogerson 1994). It is this later category of persons migrating from the North that is of interest.

There was a question in the 2002 census asking persons who had moved since 1989 where they were living in January 1989, the time of the last Soviet census. In the US censuses, a similar question is asked about place of residence five years prior, from which matrixes of state-to-state migration flows are compiled (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2008). The Russian census results contain a similar matrix combining place-of-current residence (October 2002) and place-of-residence in January 1989 (Goskomstat Rossii 2005, Volume 10, Table 2). Like the US census results, it is just a matrix of domestic migration and excludes foreign migration. The Russian results do include those who had been living 'abroad' (mostly in the other FSU states) in January 1989 and had migrated since then. Over the 13-year, nine-month intercensal period, 19.3 million persons reported that they had moved, including 13.2 million from elsewhere in Russia, and 5.2 million from outside of Russia. The domestic migrants represent approximately 9% of the 1989 population.

The data are not cross-tabulated to precisely determine whether people leaving the North were returning to their regions of birth or the regions in which they had last lived prior to moving to the North. However, when matched against place-of-birth data from the 1989 census, inferences can be made about regional destination trends of numbers of persons who, when leaving the North, decided to return to their place of origin. If there is an overlap between the two sets of regions, it should provide strong evidence that the social capital and familiarity of 'home' was the draw and the determining factor behind the choice of destination. To test this hypothesis, two types of information are compiled and presented in Table 5. The first is on the leading places of birth of persons who lived in each northern region in 1989 but were born outside those regions and elsewhere in Russia. The second is on

Table 5. Leading places of birth of the northern population, 1989, and largest outflows from regions of the Russian North, 1989–2002.

Region of residence in 1989	Percent of total born in leading region of birth	Percent of total born in top five regions of birth	Five regions where largest number of persons were born in that region ^a				
Karelian Republic	14.6	41.2	Vologda	Leningrad	Arkhangel'sk	Tver'	Murmansk
Komi Republic	7.4	27.5	Kirov	Arkhangel'sk	Vologda	Nizhegorod	Krasnodar
Arkhangel'sk Oblast	22.9	42.0	Vologda	Nenets AO	Kirov	Nizhegorod	Komi
Nenets Autonomous Okrug ^b	35.3	54.4	Arkhangel'sk	Komi	Krasnodar	Vologda	St. Petersburg
Murmansk Oblast	11.9	29.2	Vologda	Arkhangel'sk	St. Petersburg	Leningrad	Nizhegorod
Khanty-Mansiy Autonomous Okrug	35.8	57.9					
Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	34.9	53.3	Tyumen'	Bashkortostan	Sverdlovsk	Tatarstan	Chelyabinsk
Tuva Republic	51.4	69.1	Tyumen'	Bashkortostan	Sverdlovsk	Krasnodar	Samara
Taymyr Autonomous Okrug –	51.7	–	Krasnoyarsk	Altay Kray	Kemerovo	Khakassia	Irkutsk
		66.1	Krasnoyarsk	Kemerovo	Krasnodar	Altay Kray	Novosibirsk
Evenki Autonomous Okrug			Krasnoyarsk	Irkutsk	Kemerovo	Bashkortostan	Novosibirsk
Sakha Republic (Yakutia)	12.9	31.9	Irkutsk	Chita	Kemerovo	Krasnodar	Buryatia
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	8.1	28.9					
Kamchatka Oblast	8.4	26.6	Magadan	Krasnodar	Khabarovsk	Primorskiy	Rostov
Koryak Autonomous Okrug ^b	54.0	64.7	Primorskiy	Khabarovsk	Krasnodar	Amur	Novosibirsk
Magadan Oblast	21.3	49.9	Kamchatka	Krasnodar	Khabarovsk	Primorskiy	Rostov
Sakhalin Oblast	7.8	26.1	Chukotka AO	Krasnodar	Khabarovsk	Primorskiy	Rostov
			Primorskiy	Khabarovsk	Amur	Krasnoyarsk	Altay Kray

Table 5. Continued.

Region of residence in 1989	Percent of total born in leading region of birth	Percent of total born in top five regions of birth	Five regions where largest number of persons were born in that region ^a				
Karelian Republic	17.3	45.1	St. Petersburg	Leningrad	Murmansk	Moscow City	Vologda
Komi Republic	7.2	25.7	Krasnodar	Kirov	St. Petersburg	Bashkortostan	Vologda
Arkhangelsk Oblast	11.9	34.1	Vologda	St. Petersburg	Moscow City	Komi	Moscow
Nenets Autonomous Okrug ^b	16.9	43.2	Arkhangelsk	Yaroslavl	Moscow City	Krasnodar	Komi
Murmansk Oblast	10.2	30.7	St. Petersburg	Leningrad	Krasnodar	Vologda	Moscow
Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug	30.5	56.1					
Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	23.8	47.5	Tyumen'	Bashkortostan	Moscow City	Sverdlovsk	Samara
Tuva Republic	44.0	73.4	Tyumen'	Bashkortostan	Krasnodar	Khanty-Mansi AO	Sverdlovsk
Taymyr Autonomous Okrug	13.6	50.3	Krasnoyarsk	Khakassia	Novosibirsk	Irkutsk	Kemerovo
Evenki Autonomous Okrug	23.2	54.5	Irkutsk	Krasnoyarsk	Yaroslavl	Moscow City	Stavropol'
Sakha Republic (Yakutia)	7.6	26.3	Krasnoyarsk	Moscow City	Yaroslavl	Ingushetia	Primorskiy
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	7.1	25.0	Krasnodar	Irkutsk	Novosibirsk	Moscow City	Moscow
Kamchatka Oblast	9.0	30.7	Krasnodar	Rostov	Moscow	Voronezh	Primorskiy
Koryak Autonomous Okrug ^b	17.0	40.2	Krasnodar	Primorskiy	Khabarovsk	Moscow	St. Petersburg
Magadan Oblast	10.1	28.4	Kamchatka	Moscow City	Moscow	Kemerovo	Stavropol'
Sakhalin Oblast	9.7	33.6	Krasnodar	Krasnoyarsk	Rostov	Primorskiy	Khabarovsk
			Khabarovsk	Primorskiy	Krasnodar	Rostov	Moscow City

Source: The Interstate Statistical Committee of the CIS and East View Publications Inc. (1996) and Goskomstat Rossii (2005). Note: AO = autonomous okrug.

^aLeading regions of birth and regions of outflows are listed in order from highest to fifth highest.

^bData for these regions also included in parent unit to which they are subordinated, listed immediately above.

the leading destination regions of persons living in the northern regions in 1989 but who have subsequently migrated to elsewhere in Russia. On an average, one-in-five persons were born in the leading region of birth for persons residing in the North who were born outside the region and two-in-five were born in the leading five regions of birth. Thus, the regions sending migrants to northern regions were quite concentrated and for each, just a few outside regions could be considered 'home.'

For all but the regions in the Far East, the leading places of birth of those born outside the regions were typically adjacent or nearby regions. The major exception for regions in the European North and Siberian North was that the Krasnodar Krai was among the top five regions of birth of a number of these regions. The Krasnodar Krai is located in the Southern Federal District, shares an external border with Georgia, and has a highly industrialized economic structure and workforce, many of whom found work in the industrial sectors in the North. Because many of the northern regions in the Far East are not within the economic or migration tributary area of any other major populated region or industrial area of Russia, the places of birth of those born outside of those regions are to be more dispersed (Harris 1970). For many, the more populated southern regions of the Far East, Krasnoyarsk, Amur, and Primorskiy Krai were common places of origin for the northern regions as were some of the more populated regions in southern Siberia. The Krasnodar Krai was one of the leading places of birth of all of the northern Far East regions. For persons born in the Krasnodar Krai to migrate to Chukotka means undertaking the longest internal migration in the world!

To determine if people leaving the North were going 'home' requires comparison of leading places of birth with major destinations of those leaving (Table 5). In all but one case, the leading destination was one of the leading places of birth of migrants to the North. The exception was Karelia, where the leading destination, St. Petersburg, was the region where the sixth-most number of persons born outside Karelia had originated. For most northern regions, three of the top five destination regions were also among the top regions of birth. The major deviation to regions of birth being popular as destinations for migrants leaving the North was the emergence of Moscow and St. Petersburg and their surrounding oblasts becoming increasingly sought after destinations for northerners. In the post-Soviet period, these cities and their regions, especially Moscow city and oblast, have also become major migration magnets for persons from other regions in Russia, across the FSU, and increasingly even from beyond the FSU. For many regions in the European North, a common destination has become St. Petersburg, itself a northern city located on the 60th North parallel.

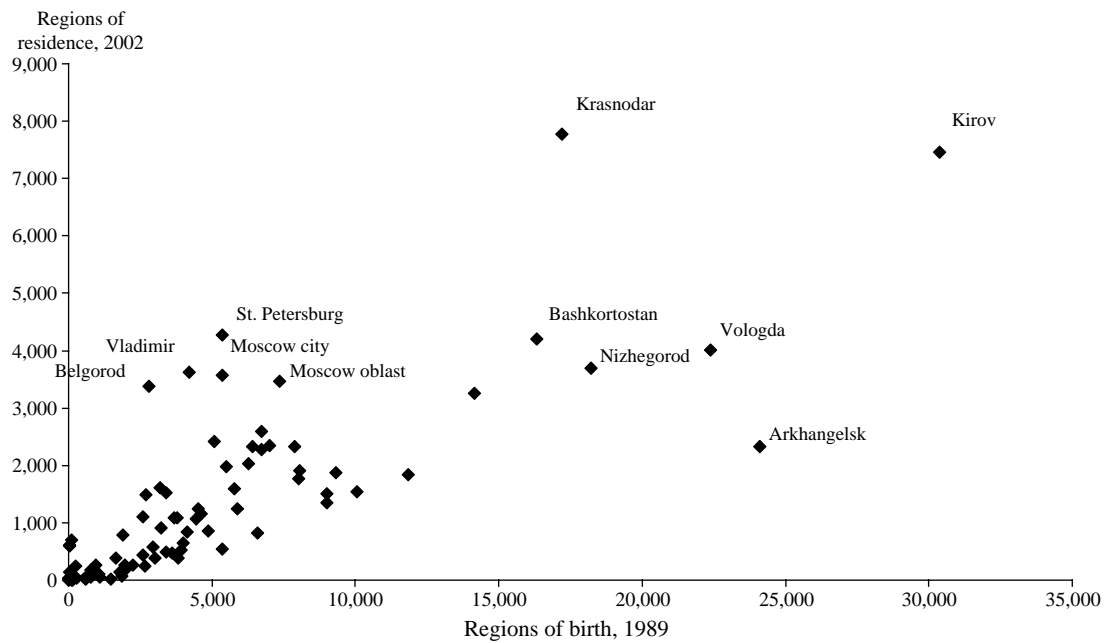
To illustrate the importance of place-of-birth as a migration pull factor, I give an example for one northern region, the Komi Republic. The major industries in Komi are forestry and fuels, the latter consisting of coal mining around Vorkuta in the northern part of the region above the Arctic Circle and oil and natural gas in the Ukhta area (Shabad 1969). In 1989, the population of Komi was 1,250,847, of which 1,088,579 had been born in Russia. Of those born in Russia, 679,929 had been born in the region and 408,650 elsewhere in Russia. The leading regions of birth of persons born elsewhere in Russia were Kirov, Arkhangel'sk, Vologda, Nizhegorod, and Krasnodar, accounting for 28% of those born outside of Komi. In 2002, 107,586 persons who had lived in Komi in 1989 reported living elsewhere in Russia. This was about 26% of those who had been born outside of Komi. The leading regions they had migrated to were Krasnodar, Kirov, St. Petersburg, Bashkortostan, and

Vologda, accounting for 26% of all persons who had migrated from Komi to another region in Russia. Three of the five top destinations were among the leading places of birth of the population born outside Komi. As seen in Figure 7, there is a strong correlation between the number of people born in regions outside of Komi and the destination regions of people who migrated from the region (correlation coefficient of 0.80, ρ -value of 0.000). There are several deviations from this pattern of people migrating to regions from where large numbers of persons had originated. This include Arkhangel'sk, the region of birth of the second-highest number of persons born outside of Komi but where a much smaller share of all migrants moved, the region itself another northern region with a declining standard of living. As in other northern regions, St. Petersburg and Moscow cities and their surrounding oblasts were leading migrant destinations for persons leaving Komi.

Thus, it appears as if a significant portion of the migration from the Russian North in the post-Soviet period could be classified as 'return migration' and that family and friends, established social networks, and familiar surroundings provided a strong pull factor. These trends are confirmed in the NEI survey which shows that about 60% of the migration was 'return migration' (Netherlands Economic Institute 1998). Of all respondents, 62% said that their choice for place of settlement was that parents, relatives, or friends lived there and 21% said that they had lived there in their childhood or before moving to the North. One study of migrants across Russia found that relatives nearby had an effect on migration decisions though the presence of friends did not (Gerber 2005b). Practically all those who were born in one of the four recipient regions had returned to the same region. Thus, the pull factors seem to be mainly related to family ties, or place-specific social capital in recipient regions. This is similar to a study of migration in the Barents Euro Arctic Region of Northern Europe which demonstrated the importance of place-specific social capital in the migration decisions of young people (Tuhkunen 2007).

5. Discussion

The population residing in the Russian North at the time of transition was unique, having been lured to the region by promises of high pay and security within a closed, centrally planned economy which then abruptly collapses. This provides something of a natural experiment confirming the importance of place-specific social capital as both a push and pull factor in migration. Persons leaving the North were often those with fewer ties to the region and were most often pulled to regions of origin where they had considerable social ties. The resources of the Russian North were vital to the Soviet economy but the manner in which they went about developing the resources of the region, based on large permanent populations, has become unsustainable in Russia's new market economy. The social costs of this transition across the North have been tremendous. More so than in other parts of Russia, huge economic disparities have emerged, translating into a wealthy, hyper-mobile group and a poorer, much less mobile segment (Thompson 2008). A number of regional poverty traps have developed across Russia, where people with low incomes who want to migrate are unable to afford to do so (Andrienko and Guriev 2003). Many of the migration assistance programs have failed or been ineffective because they did not fully take into consideration migration selectivity among different groups in the North (Plane and Rogerson 1994). While many newcomers did move, and moved of



Source: Goskomstat Rossii (2005).

Figure 7. Regions of birth and migration destinations regions, Komi Republic.

their own accord, there was considerable resistance to migration, because programs often failed to take into account attachment to place. Attachment to place was quite strong, especially among those born in the region and long-term residents (Bolotova and Stammler 2008). For many, the North was not just a place of work. Starting in the 1930s, with the first *severnaya nadbavka* (northern wage increments) and the forced-labor system, it took nearly 60 years to build up the population size that existed in the North on the eve of the breakup of the Soviet Union. In spite of considerable out-migration that has already take place, it will likely take a generation to downsize to a more sustainable level, as many of those resistant to migration will live out their lives in the northern regions they call home.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. The term *materik* (mainland) is often used by residents of the North to refer to the regions of central Russia. It is a conceptual construct that distinguishes between living in the north versus the rest of Russia. It refers to the sense that the isolated and distant northern settlements are like a series of islands separate from the more densely populated and well-connected regions of the central part of the country.
2. The city of Norilsk (population of 221,908 in 2002), administratively part of the Krasnoyarsk Krai but physically located in the Taymyr AO, is also included in the Far North, although it cannot be included as there are no comparable data on the city.
3. There seems to be a data-recording or data-processing error with respect to answers to the questions on place of birth and length of residency for some AOs. For the Khanty-Mansiy, Yamal-Nenets, Evenki, Chukotka, and Koryak AOs, the number indicating that they were born in a region and were living in the region at the time of the census was far less than the number indicating that they had lived there continuously since birth. For instance, of the total population of 1,282,396 persons in the Khanty-Mansiy Okrug, only 1,646 persons indicated that they were born there, while 280,301 indicated that they had lived there continuously since birth. Presumably, there was some confusion among respondents as to whether 'region' meant the Khanty-Mansiy Okrug or Tyumen Oblast to which it is subordinated. To compute the number born in the region for these okrugs, the number of persons indicating that they were born in the okrug and the number indicating that they had been born in the larger unit to which the okrug was subordinated, were added together. For the Khanty-Mansiy Okrug, those indicating they were born in okrug (1646), plus those born in the oblast (352,760) were summed to get obtain a total of 354,406.
4. The survey was carried out as part of preparation of the Northern Restructuring Project, a loan that the Russian government made from the World Bank in order to

assist persons who wished to voluntarily migrate from three northern regions, Vorkuta, Norilsk, and Magadan Bank, The World Bank (2001) Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Loan in the Amount of US \$80 million Equivalent to the Russian Federation for a Northern Restructuring Project. In Human Development Sector Unit (The World Bank 2001). Russia Country Department, Europe and Central Asia Region (Ed.), The World Bank.

5. The figure of 43 million refers to the total number of the 15 titular groups of the 15 successor states to the Soviet Union.
6. According to data on place-of-birth, 69.1% of the population lived in the region in which they were born in 1989, while 48.8% had lived in the region continuously since birth, according to the length-of-residency data. The difference being those who had moved away and returned.
7. 'Newcomers' to a region in 1989 was defined as those who had arrived in the most recent 10 years or less, while 'newcomers' in the 2002 census are those who had migrated to a region during the period 1992-2002, or in the previous 10 years and 10 months. There shouldn't be any recall issues asking respondents if they had arrived since 1992 as that was the date the Soviet Union broke apart - a significant date for people in the FSU.
8. Using a slightly different measure of those who had lived in a region since birth plus those who had lived in a region for 10 years or longer.

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