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MIGRATION EXPERIENCE AND FERTILITY IN POSTWAR GENERATIONS: RUSSIAN CASE

The only source of data for studying the relationship between migration and fertility in Russia are still sample surveys. Official registration of demographic and migration events do not provide such opportunities. Population censuses could have potential value. However, the program of tabulation of the last censuses did not assume studying of differential fertility according to migratory status (or duration of residing in the given settlement). Access for researchers to the microdata as the Soviet population censuses, and to the data of the last census of 2002 is not provided till now, despite extensive discussion of this point in question over the past two decades.

Data analysis of The Russian Generations and Gender Survey (2004) and the Employment and Education Survey (2005) leads to the following key findings.

1. Our results confirm basic lines of well known theoretical concepts: the existing differences in fertility between people of different migratory status undoubtedly caused also by socialization conditions during their childhood and adaptation to conditions of a place of destination of migrants, and to some extent selectivity at change of the migratory status. We did not put a most important task to define weightiness of all these moments to explain of the multifaceted differences in each specific case. At this stage for us it was important to reveal, first of all, whenever possible, the whole spectrum of the differences in fertility due to migration and to estimate their significance.
2. Our data also confirm the validity of the main findings of fundamental research carried out earlier by Leonid Kuznetsov (1992) based on data from the 1985 Microsensus and by Hill Kulu (2003) based on data from the Estonian FFS. Surprising that similar results were obtained for as diverse countries as Russia and Estonia.
3. Besides, migration certainly influences a calendar of demographic events: marriage and childbearing. However far not in all cases it can be as a stress disorder of life plans. On the contrary, frequently, the individual is observed consistent offensive demographic events in connection with the decision to move.
4. Migrants from outside Russia contributes significantly to the number of Russian births, but until recently the importance of this contribution is not so much by differences in fertility of the "average" migrant and Russians by origin as the size of migration flows. The ongoing shifts in the structure of international migrants in favor of the representatives of the titular ethnic groups from countries with higher fertility change the situation - in the long term fertility level in Russia will be under stronger influence not only number of immigrants, but also differences in fertility between the natives of Russia and arriving migrants, similar to as happens in other developed countries.
5. In the last decades of the Soviet period, migration activity of the population in Russia has gradually decreased, as in both men and women. Since the beginning of the transitional period (in the 1990s) there was even more substantial drop in the territorial mobility. Declining migration activity, as a factor influencing fertility in the areas, participating on both sides of the migration exchange, in the past decade has significantly smaller role than in the early postwar decades, when urbanization process enters its final phase.
6. For people born in Russia and had experience of migration, usually characterized by timing shifts of births, but their ultimate cohort fertility in average not much different

from those who had no such an experience. It must, however, bear in mind that the consideration of abstract case of migration averages the results of the migration mobility of "upward" and "downward" trajectory in terms of the hierarchy of the type of settlement from where and where committed move. Each of these paths leads to a substantial and countervailing impact on the fertility level.

- 7 . Completed fertility is highly dependent on the type of settlement in which the person was born and the direction of the move, if what happened in his life migration event. For migrant important role also plays when done move: prior to the formation of families, or migration is wedged in the interval between the first and second birth.
- 8 . In the most general case, the level of fertility of the migrant tends not to the level of fertility of the area, which he leaves, and the level of fertility, typical of the area of destination.
- 9 . Migration before the first birth change timing of a birth, but does not alter the proportion of people who give birth to her first child, except the men who did not serve in the army. Among male migrants, not served in the army, the final proportion who had their first child is even higher than those of men who are not migrated.
- 10 . Migration after the first birth not only shifts the calendar, but also reduces the likelihood of second birth for women and men not serving in the army. At the same time for the men who served in the army, the migration event after the first birth shifts only calendar of the second birth, virtually without affecting the final probability of the second birth.
- 11 . Migration after the first birth weakly differentiates the probability of second birth, depending on the direction of the move, with the exception of relocation of urban residents in the countryside.