

# Role of Ethnically Mixed Families in Formation of Ethnic Structure of Russia's Population

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## 1. Abstract

Analysis of changes in the recent formation of ethnic structure displays that they are the results of significant decline of fertility and its ethnic differentiation, scale-down of selected ethnic emigration, growing immigration of other peoples, as well as changes in migration legislation. These multiple factors give the basis for understanding the recent features of ethnic composition of Russia in the 21 century. However the role of some other factors remains unclear. They include the processes of mixed marriage formation and associated ethnic assimilation. Another open questions deal with the features of so-called third demographic transition in the conditions of Russia. One of examples: is it possible to expect the projected trends in the population structure in the middle of the 21 century in Russia similar to these for some developed countries such as the UK or the USA? In the study the following sources were used: USSR and Russia population censuses, 1994 microcensus, annual and monthly statistics of Rosstat. Russia is a multiethnic country the majority of which are the Russians. They are currently about 80 per cent, but gradually depopulating. The total number of ethnicities accounted in the 2002 population census exceeds 190. At least 5 parts may be distinguished: peoples of Russia, peoples of the ex-USSR republics, Asian peoples, Germans and Jews, European ethnicities. The relations between these groups in ethnically mixed marriage differ significantly. Some ethnic mixtures display "ethnically-dominated" inheritance, some marriages are "father-oriented", many ethnic combinations are rather different for males and females.

## 2. Theoretical background

Let us consider the simple case of a population composed of two ethnic parts A and B. We assume also that these subpopulations have demographic characteristics of fertility, mortality, migration close to each other as well as population structure. What is the future of this population? It depends on the level of ethnic interaction between parts A, B, direction of assimilation, and other peculiarities.

2.1. Level "0": no ethnic mixture takes place. Subpopulations A, B develop demographically independently, proportion of them in the population remains stable.

2.2. 50/50 assimilation: some marital pairs are ethnically mixed, proportions of children in these families who belong to ethnic groups A and B are equal. In this case joint

demographic development of A and B parts leave their proportion in the population stable as well.

2.3. Asymmetric assimilation: proportion of children in ethnically mixed families who belong to group A is more than B. In this case the next generation of A ethnicity becomes more compared with B, thus its proportion in the population rises.

2.4. Sex asymmetry of mixed family formation: proportion of males A who enter a mixed marriage with females B differs from this of females A who form a family with males B. This case may indirectly lead to some changes in the proportion of parts A and B due to the shifts in the ethnically homogeneous marriage market.

2.5. Sex asymmetry of assimilation direction: proportion of children who belong to ethnic group A in family with father A and mother B significantly differs from this for group A in family with father B and mother A. Influence of this asymmetry on the A-B proportions is ambiguous and depends also on sex asymmetry of mixed families.

More complicated cases appear in the populations consisting of several ethnic components.

2.6. Frequency of ethnically mixed families for selected two groups A and B may significantly differ from the frequency that one can expect basing on the hypothesis of equal probability of meeting this combination. In this case the proportion of A-B (B-A) should be proportional to proportions of both A group and B group in the population. However very often this share is less or higher than multiplication of these proportions. In this sense it is possible to speculate on "the distance" between ethnicities A and B in "the ethnic space" of the country. This distance define the intensity of A-B ethnic counteraction: mutual mixture and assimilation are higher for short distance, lower for a long one, and close to the average level for a medium one. Thus ethnic mixture at formation of family cannot be considered as random. There are a lot of factors defining the propensity to and against ethnic mixture (language, confession, culture and education, territorial dispersion of ethnic group over the country, history, many other).

2.7. Description of direction of assimilation. One of possible approaches to it is utilizing the migration terminology. Children A in A-B mixed families are similar to "immigration" to A group, and children B as "emigration". Thus case 2.2 above may be considered as zero ethnic net "migration", and 2.3 as a positive one.

2.8. Generalization of the equation for population balance taking into account assimilation. It should include the additional term of its result. Thus this equation may look like

$$P^E(t) = P^E(0) + B^E(t) - D^E(t) + M^{E+}(t) - M^{E-}(t) + A^E(t),$$

where  $P^E(t)$  - population of ethnic group E at time t,  $B^E(t)$  - number of births in mono-ethnic families (E-E),  $D$  - deaths,  $M$  - in and out-migration,  $A^E(t)$  - the result of assimilation (number of

children born in ethnically mixed families [E - not E] who consider themselves as belonging to ethnic group E).

### 3. Current trends of ethnic structure of the Russia's population

The main sources for analysis of ethnic structure are the censuses conducted in the USSR in the 20 century and in Russia in 2002. These data are presented in Table 1. The list of peoples included in it is restricted here to those accounted both in 1970 and 2002, sized at least one thousand of persons in the last one.

**Table 1. Ethnic composition of population in Russia according to the censuses, thousands.**

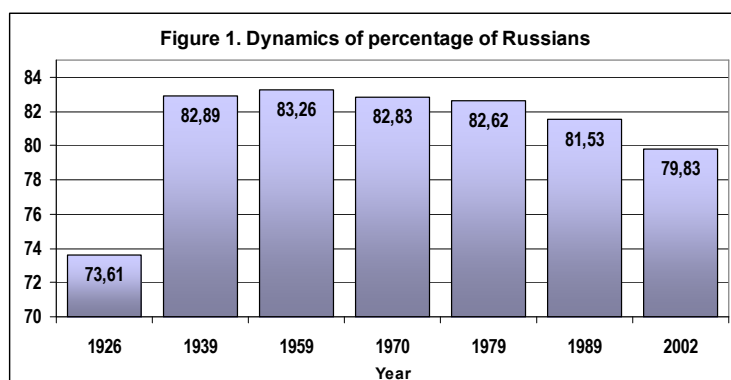
Ethnicity	Year						
	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979	1989	2002
All population	100623	108262	117534	130079	137410	147022	145167
Abasins	14	15	19	25	29	33	38
Abkhasians	0.1	0.6	1.4	2.4	4.1	7.2	11
Adigeys	65	86	79	98	107	123	129
Afghans	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.9	10
Aguls	7.7	...	6.5	8.8	12	18	28
Altaians	44	46	45	55	59	68	67
Americans	...	0.5	0.3	0.8	0.1	0.2	1.3
Arabs	1	0.1	0.6	2.6	2.3	2.7	11
Armenians	195	205	256	299	365	532	1130
Assyrians	2.8	7.4	7.6	8.1	8.7	9.6	14
Avarlar	178	236	250	362	438	544	814
Azerbaijanians	28	43	71	96	152	336	622
Balkars	33	42	35	53	62	78	108
Bashkirs	712	825	954	1181	1291	1345	1673
Belorussians	638	452	844	964	1052	1206	808
Bulgarians	19	8.3	25	27	25	33	32
Buryats	237	221	252	313	350	417	445
Chechens	318	400	261	572	712	899	1360
Cherkes	...	...	29	38	45	51	61
Chinese	9.1	22	19	8	5.7	5.2	35
Chukchis	12	14	12	14	14	15	16
Chuvashes	1115	1346	1436	1637	1690	1774	1637
Crimean Tatars	...	...	0.4	2.9	5.2	21	4
Czechs	9.9	7.5	7.2	6.1	4.5	4.4	3
Darghins	126	152	153	224	280	353	510
Dolgans	0.7	...	3.9	4.7	4.9	6.6	7
Eskimos	1.3	...	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.7	2
Estonians	150	130	79	63	56	46	28
Evenks	39	30	24	25	27	30	36
Evens	2	9.7	9	12	12	17	19
Finns	134	139	72	62	56	47	34
Gagauz	0.8	...	3	3.7	4.2	10	12
Georgians	21	44	58	69	89	131	198
Germans	806	811	820	762	791	842	597
Greeks	51	66	47	58	70	92	98
Hungarians	4.2	...	4.2	6.7	4.3	5.7	4
Ingushs	72	91	56	137	166	215	413

Itelmens	4.2	...	1.1	1.3	1.3	2.4	3
Jews	567	891	855	792	692	537	230
Mountaineer Jews	16	...	19	15	6.5	11	3
Kabardinians	140	161	201	277	319	386	520
Kalmyks	132	130	101	131	140	166	174
Karachays	55	74	71	107	126	150	192
Kara-Kalpaks	118	0.3	1	2.3	1.7	6.2	2
Karelians	248	250	164	141	133	125	93
Kazakhs	3852	356	382	478	518	636	654
Kets	1.4	...	1	1.2	1.1	1.1	1
Khakasians	46	52	56	65	69	79	76
Khanty	22	18	19	21	21	22	29
Komi-Permyaks	149	...	143	150	146	147	125
Komis	226	415	283	315	320	336	293
Koreans	87	11	91	101	98	107	149
Koryaks	7.4	7.3	6.2	7.4	7.6	8.9	9
Koumyks	95	110	133	187	226	277	422
Kurds	0.2	0.4	0.9	1	1.6	4.7	20
Kyrgyz	672	6.3	4.7	9.1	15	42	32
Laks	40	54	58	79	91	106	157
Latgalians	117	105	75	60	67	47	29
Lezghins	93	100	114	170	203	257	412
Lithuanians	27	21	109	77	67	70	46
Mansis	5.8	6.3	6.3	7.6	7.4	8.3	11
Maris	428	476	498	581	600	644	604
Moldavians	21	22	62	88	102	173	172
Mongolians	0.5	...	1.5	3.8	1.8	2.1	3
Mordvins	1335	1375	1211	1177	1111	1073	843
Nanais	5.9	8.4	7.9	9.9	10	12	12
Nenets	18	25	23	28	29	34	41
Nivhis	4.1	3.9	3.7	4.4	4.4	4.6	5
Nogais	36	36	38	51	59	74	91
Ossetians	157	196	248	313	352	402	515
peoples of the North	156	145	145	168	170	199	229
Persians	10	6	2.5	2.5	1.7	2.6	4
Poles	198	142	118	107	100	95	73
Roma	41	59	72	98	121	153	183
Romanians	2.9	2.5	3.3	4.1	3.8	6	5
Russians	74072	89740	97864	107748	113522	119866	115889
Rutuls	10	...	6.7	12	15	20	30
Sakhas	241	242	233	295	327	380	444
Samis	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	2
Selkups	1.6	2.6	3.7	4.2	3.5	3.6	4
Serbs	1.4	2.4	1.5	1.4	0.8	1.6	4
Shors	13	16	15	16	15	16	14
Spaniards	...	2.3	1.6	2.6	2	2.1	2
Tabasarans	32	33	34	54	73	94	132
Tadjiks	10	3.3	7	14	18	38	120
Tatars	3241	3683	4074	4755	5006	5522	5558
Tats	0.2	...	5.1	8.8	13	19	2.3
Tsakhurs	3.5	...	4.4	4.7	4.8	6.5	10
Turkmens	18	13	12	20	23	40	33
Turks	2.1	2.7	1.4	1.6	3.6	9.9	92
Tuvinians	0.2	0.8	100	139	165	206	243

Udegeys	1.4	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.9	2
Udinians	0.002	...	0.04	0.1	0.2	1.1	4
Udmourts	514	600	616	678	686	715	637
Uigurians	72	0.6	0.7	1.5	1.7	2.6	3
Ukrainians	7873	3204	3359	3346	3658	4363	2943
Ulchis	0.7	...	2	2.4	2.5	3.2	3
Uzbeks	325	16	30	62	72	127	123
Vepsians	33	31	16	8.1	7.6	12	8
Vietnamese	...	...	0.8	6.3	0.7	2.1	26
Yukaghirs	0.4	...	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.1	2

Sources: Население России за 100 лет (1897-1997): Статистический сборник. Госкомстат России. Москва, Госкомстат РФ, 1998; Итоги Всероссийской переписи населения 2002 года в 14 томах. Том 4 - "Национальный состав и владение языками, гражданство" Москва, ИИЦ "Статистика России", 2004.

3.1. Proportion of Russians. Russia is a multiethnic country the majority of which are the Russians. They are currently about 80 per cent, but gradually depopulating. As Figure 1 shows the percentage of the Russians is now by 3.4 less than 40 years ago.



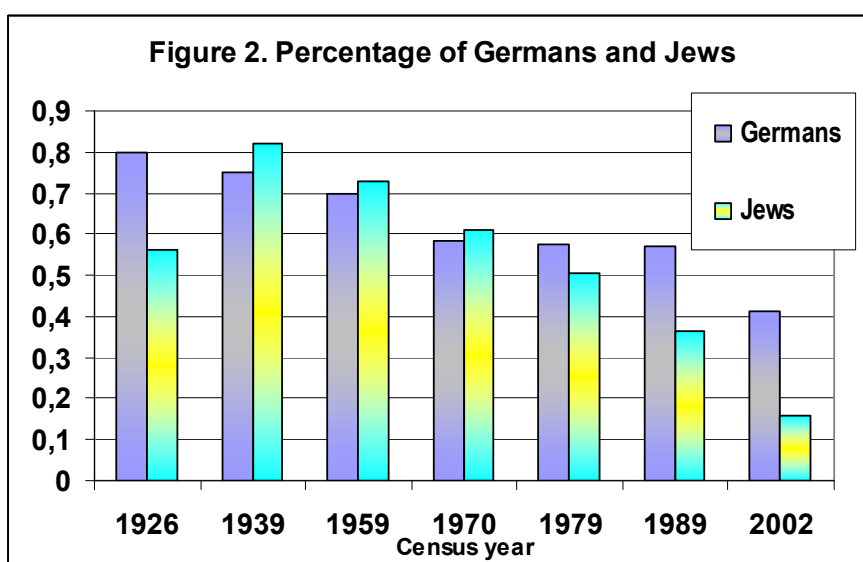
3.2. Five groups of ethnicities. The total number of ethnicities accounted in 2002 census exceeds 190. Currently seven peoples have population size more than one million: Russians, Tatars, Ukrainians, Bashkirs, Chuvashs, Chechens, and Armenians.

Various ethnic groups may significantly differ by their history, factors and trends of formation. It is reasonable to distinguish the following five blocks: The first part is the peoples who live during centuries on the territory of Russia: Bashkirs, Mordvins, Tatars, Chechens, Chuvashs, Lezghins, Darghins, Avarlar, Koumyks, Kabardinians, Tuvinians. This list is not full and it encloses also many other ethnicities. Many of these live rather compactly, form national republics or other territorial units (subjects of the Russian Federation). So called titular ethnos gives the name of its territory: Republic of Tuva, Sakha (Yakutiya), Maryi El, Chuvashia, Karelia, etc. Some of them are often referred to as the Peoples of the North. Now 18 of them appear in Table 1 totaling 229 thousand. The most populated (more than 10 thousand) are: Nenets, Evenks, Khanty, Evens, Chukchis, Shors, Nanais, and Mansis.

The second part is the peoples of the former USSR republics: Ukrainians, Armenians, Belorussians, Kazakhs, Azerbaijanians, Georgians, Moldavians, Uzbeks, Tadjiks, Lithuanians, Turkmen, Kyrgyz, Letts, Abkhasians, Karakalpaks, Gagauz. These peoples total 7 million.

A gradually growing new group 3 includes the peoples intensively migrating to Russia who live outside the former USSR: Vietnamese, Chinese, Turks, Kurds, Afghans, Arabs. The size of these ethnicities is relatively small totaling about 200 thousand. However the growth rate of them is very high. Thus the percentage of Turks in 2002 is by 50 times more compared with 1970, Chinese – by four times.

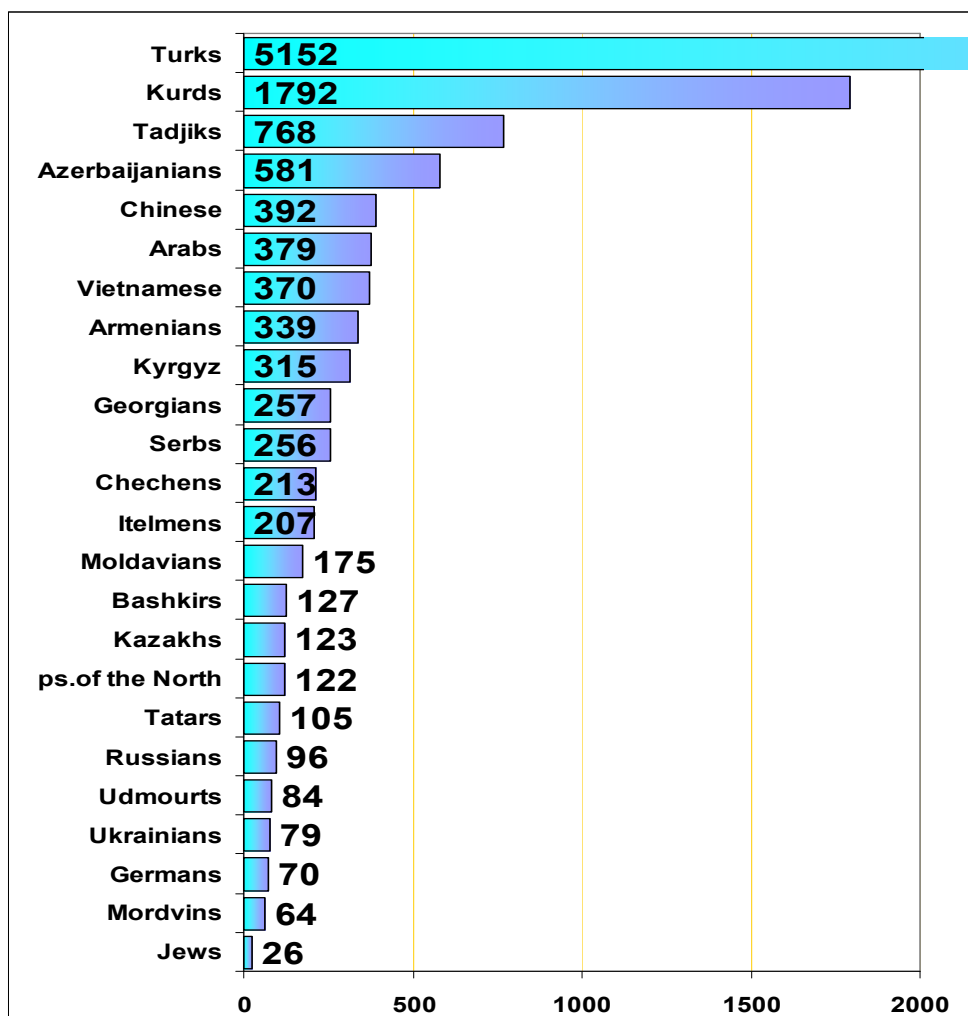
Group 4 is the Germans and Jews living in Russia for a long time. The size of each of these ethnicities was more than 800 thousand in 1939 and 1959. However due to the significant emigration to their ethnic origin at the end of the 20 century, their number became much less. The most significant decrease took place for the Jews. Compared with 1970 they are now about a quarter. The dynamics of their percentage in the total Russia's population according to the censuses is displayed on Figure 2. These two nations show significant scale-down in the last several years of migration to their ethnic origin.



Group 5 is a rather small part of ethnicities with the European origin: Serbs, Croatians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Poles, Hungarians, Finns, Austrians, etc. They are currently about 160 thousand and gradually depopulating.

**3.3.** The last changes. What are the most significant changes in the ethnic composition in the recent decades? Percentage change in the proportion of ethnic groups from 1970 to 2002 is displayed on Figure 3. As one should mention, eleven first places include only the nations that live outside Russia (Turks, Kurds, Tadjiks, Azerbadjanians, Chinese, Arabs, Vietnamese, Armenians, Kyrgyz, Georgians, Serbs). Of this list only five belong to the peoples of the former USSR.

**Figure 3. Change in the proportion of ethnic groups between 1970 and 2002, percent.**



#### **4. The role of mixed families**

4.1. Why consideration of ethnically mixed families is needed? The future of ethnic composition of the population in Russia remains rather unclear compared with its size and age-sex structure. The main reasons of this are the following: The potential of ethnic migration related to the Soviet past and disintegration of the USSR is almost exhausted. The last 2002 census displayed significant growth of "new" ethnicities (Chinese, Afghans, Turks, etc.). Possibility of positive natural increase and fertility at the level of population replacement is quite unreal. The role of migration in formation of Russia's population becomes substantial in the nearest decades. Expected ethnic structure of immigration may be estimated as quite unclear. Thus its influence on the size and composition of population significantly depends on the processes of migrant integration and ethnic assimilation.

4.2. Data and methods. Statistical data as a result of census tabulation were used as the main source on the ethnic structure of the population of the Russian Federation. For

more detailed analysis of some other processes defining the changes in the composition of the population were utilized the database of the 1994 microcensus.

The census data on ethnic composition may be found in [Population of Russia within 100 years, 1998]. The last 2002 census was completely published in 14-volume books and on the official Internet site <http://www.perepis2002.ru>. However if the details are needed, it is rather difficult to find the books required. Nevertheless currently all the main sources are available in the electronic format on the web at the pages of demographic newspaper Demoscope Weekly (<http://demoscope.ru>). A special section named Annex contains different statistical indicators for Russia, its regions, industrially developed countries of the world, as well as CIS countries in various formats (HTML, XLS, maps, graphs, etc.). Significant part of this section includes USSR and Russia censuses. The ethnic structure there is given for the period covering more than 100 years. During the last years the data on ethnic structure remain one of the most popular pages for dozens of visitors a day.

What the main factors influencing the changes in ethnic composition? From the general point of view, some of them are rather clear and evident, including ethnic differentiation of fertility and mortality, territorial heterogeneity of distribution of various ethnicities. Another reason – different participation of peoples of Russia in migration processes. However some components remain blind spots in the research of trends in ethnic structure. One of them is assimilation. According to [Anderson, 1989: 611] “no official data or estimates of assimilation have been published in the USSR, nor have Soviet researchers published such estimates. Soviet censuses gather information on the self-identified nationality of the population on the census date but do not ask whether individuals previously identified themselves with a different nationality or whether their parents belong to another nationality.” This remains valid for the last Russian 2002 census too. However some new results may be obtained on assimilation basing on the 1994 microcensus. In this paper we illustrate the opportunity to study this process using 1994 individual database. All the results on the structure of mixed families are obtained from the special tabulation performed by a special computer software developed by the author.

4.3. How many families are the mixed ones? According to the 1994 microcensus there were 211016 ethnically mixed families of the total 1,492,140, that is 12.4 per cent.

Up to the present no regular data and estimates are available on the process of assimilation. First attempts to study this process were initiated by Andrei Volkov with the study of ethnically mixed families. We try to proceed here with this work.

4.4. The following table may be used as an illustration of opportunities appearing at utilizing the individual data from the 1994 microcensus. It covers a group of four ethnic groups in three regions located almost in the Russia’s center: republic of Bashkortostan, Orenburg and Chelyabinsk regions.



**Table 2. Ethnically mixed marital pairs with children by ethnicity of children. 1994 microcensus. Bashkortostan, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk regions, 4 ethnicities.**

Combination of husband's and wife's ethnicity *	All marital pairs		Including marital pairs in which							
			all children have equal ethnicity						Children have various or another ethnicity	
	pairs	their children	Total		Father's		Mother's		pairs	their children
			pairs	their children	pairs	their children	pairs	their children		
All marital pairs	16760	28885	15740	26555	10007	17116	5733	9439	1020	2330
Of them combining:										
A and B	633	1092	583	975	526	893	57	82	50	117
B and A	544	953	493	828	262	441	231	387	51	125
Total (Russians and Bashkirs)	1177	2045	1076	1803	788	1334	288	469	101	242
A and C	440	812	431	791	424	779	7	12	9	21
C and A	532	911	515	870	37	64	478	806	17	41
Total (Russians and Mordovians)	972	1723	946	1661	461	843	485	818	26	62
A and D	1663	2828	1577	2616	1460	2447	117	169	86	212
D and A	1629	2707	1527	2467	645	1041	882	1426	102	240
Total (Russians and Tatars)	3292	5535	3104	5083	2105	3488	999	1595	188	452
B and C	10	15	6	8	6	8	0	0	4	7
C and B	11	21	5	7	2	3	3	4	6	14
Total (Bashkirs and Mordovians)	21	36	11	15	8	11	3	4	10	21
B and D	1991	3566	1873	3298	1333	2378	540	920	118	268
D and B	1988	3568	1863	3280	1433	2543	430	737	125	288
Total (Bashkirs and Tatars)	3979	7134	3736	6578	2766	4921	970	1657	243	556
C and D	30	58	22	44	16	30	6	14	8	14
D and C	28	51	21	36	16	28	5	8	7	15
Total (Mordovians and Tatars)	58	109	43	80	32	58	11	22	15	29

\*) A - Russians, B - Bashkirs, C - Mordovians, Mokshas, Erzyas, D - Tatars

It should be noted that in Russian-Bashkir (husband-wife) mixed families the number of Russian children with Russian father is 11-fold more compared with Bashkir children. However in Bashkir-Russian families these numbers as well as the numbers of such marital pairs are rather close to each other. Contrary, in case of Tatar-Bashkir mixed families the choice of ethnicity of children may be called more close not to ethno-oriented but to father-oriented. Almost  $\frac{3}{4}$  of these families have children having father's ethnicity.

4.5. Table 2 displays the different proportions of men and women of various ethnicities in formation of mixed families. In order to measure the propensity to enter a mixed marriage for males and females the next Table 3 is used.

**Table 3. Marital pairs of various ethnicities by ethnic homogeneity. Russia, 1994 microcensus, selected ethnic groups.**

Ethnicity	Marital pairs, total	Including the number of marital pairs in which are of a given ethnicity, per cent			
		Both spouses	Only one of the spouses	Including:	
				Only husband	Only wife
Uzbeks	1355	7.9	92.1	65.5	26.6
Georgians	2630	18.3	81.7	64.2	17.5
Azerbaijanians	4648	36.6	63.4	54.2	9.2
Jews	8460	29.5	70.5	49.1	21.5
Ukrainians	94952	13.9	86.1	48.3	37.8
Germans	18624	20.8	79.2	43.9	35.3
Mordovians	14884	25.7	74.3	37.8	36.5
Armenians	11647	49.2	50.8	37.4	13.4
Bashkirs	21816	50.5	49.5	24.5	25.0
Chuvashs	27779	55.1	44.9	21.8	23.2
Tatars	85988	57.9	42.1	21.1	21.0
Kazakhs	7435	66.9	33.1	19.8	13.4
Ossetians	5693	72.3	27.7	18.2	9.5
Yakuts	4556	79.9	20.1	9.4	10.7
Ps of Dagestan	20054	88.3	11.7	8.6	3.1
Russians	1539359	86.5	13.5	5.9	7.6
Tuvinians	1896	92.8	7.2	2.8	4.4

Total 1749906

Ethnicities are placed in descending order of percentage of mixed marital pairs in which only husband has a given ethnicity

Those ethnicities located at the first and the last places have the opposite ratios of mono- and multiethnic marital pairs (1:13 for Uzbeks vs. 13:1 for Tuvinians). Besides, a remarkable difference between males and females should be mentioned. For example, Tatars have no sex difference, the same is valid for Mordovians, but very few Azerbaijanian and Armenian women enter ethnically mixed marriages compared with men. Thus different ethnic propensity for assimilation becomes visible already at the stage of mixed marriage formation.

4.6. More detailed analysis of various combinations of ethnicities becomes available from the table 4. It covers 28 selected of them that belong to groups 1 and 4 (see item 3.2). This matrix of mixed family formation has a well seen diagonal responsible for ethnically homogeneous pairs. All the cells outside it are for the mixed ones. One can conclude that there are a lot of interesting regularities in mixed families. Some of them are the following:

4.6.1. Many combinations of ethnic groups display more closeness to each other compared to the other and have no or rather small sex asymmetry. Here is some examples: Tatar-Bashkir (Bashkir-Tatar), Cherkes-Adygei, Karel-Belorussian, Ingush-Chechen, Balkar-Karachay, Kabardinian-Balkar, etc. This case may be explained by short geographical, language, cultural "distance" between these ethnicities.

4.6.2. Presence of mixed families that show significant sex asymmetry. For instance, male from the peoples of Dagestan form much more pairs with Chechen females than the

inverse combination, Altaian-Tuvinian (there are no Tuvinian-Altaian families), Karachai-Russian, etc. The possible explanation of this phenomenon is cultural and religious diversity.

4.6.3. Many ethnic groups like Russians display that females are often ready to enter a marriage with other ethnicities, but males much more rarely do this with Karachai, Balkar females as well as peoples of Dagestan.

Table 4. Marital pairs by ethnicity of spouse. Russia, 1994 microcensus, selected ethnicities.

(to be continued)

Ethnicity of husband	Ethnicity of wife																		
	Russian	Ukrainian	Tatar	Belorussian	German	Chuvash	Mordvin	Bashkir	Jew	Udmourt	Mari	Komi	People of Dagestan	Karel	Ossetian	Yakut	Burayt	Kabardinian	
Russian	1331017	31867	11958	10004	5607	5184	4636	1665	1539	2654	1632	1565	300	813	316	197	302	213	
Ukrainian	41997	13186	552	864	418	240	245	99	100	72	60	243	26	75	20	26	18	10	
Tatar	12572	536	49786	134	104	341	136	3289	22	191	184	34	35	4	17	13	43	6	
Belorussian	12035	787	181	2870	87	80	60	29	12	27	20	65	7	101	5	12	4	1	
German	7175	444	113	84	3874	47	39	14	17	18	21	50	1	4	1	1	3		
Chuvash	4966	208	324	82	27	15300	156	60	4	28	66	22		5	1	4	2	1	
Mordvin	4864	209	121	57	28	200	3827	19	7	24	11	10		4				1	
Bashkir	1578	76	3394	27	16	46	16	11019	4	28	41	6			3		10		
Jew	3752	173	35	60	12	9	9	5	2493	2	3	3	10	3	5		1	2	
Udmourt	2306	77	166	24	12	25	23	19	2	6085	39	6	1			1	1		
Mari	1142	40	122	18	14	63	14	31	1	27	5324	9			2				
Komi	1133	106	14	37	35	14	2	3		11	2	2408	3	3				2	
People of Dagestan	1152	103	67	16	7	11	7	15	8	2	4	4	17701		23	3	1	22	
Karel	776	32	6	95	1	7	4			1		2		568					
Ossetian	790	48	23	10	3	3	5	5	3	1		2	12	1	4116			29	
Yakut	164	11	6	3	1	4	1	1	1	1			1			3642	14		
Burayt	348	8	27	4	2	1		4	2	1	1					15	3798		
Kabardinian	320	16	10	5	4	3	2	1	1			1	4		30		2	4010	
Chechen	262	12	9	1	4	3		2		1	1		29		3			2	
Kkhakassian	169	3	1	1	7	3	2									2	1		
Kalmyk	149	6	7	1	8	5	4						2		1	1	3		
Cherkes	57	7	3	1	2								13		4			5	
Adygei	159	10	3	1				1	1				3		2			3	
Altaiian	99	4	2		4											1	1		
Karachay	94	5	4	3	1				2	1			11		5		1	4	
Balkar	53	1	5		2			1							4			31	
Ingush	90	7	1	2			1			1	1				3	1		1	
Tuvinian	42									1						2	2		
All selected	1429261	47982	66940	14404	10280	21589	9189	16282	4219	9177	7410	4430	18159	1581	4561	3921	4207	4343	
Another	18770	1079	880	372	174	145	74	199	90	81	59	90	168	86	96	209	37	34	
Marital pairs, total	1448031	49061	67820	14776	10454	21734	9263	16481	4309	9258	7469	4520	18327	1667	4657	4130	4244	4377	
of them ethnicity of husband																			
the same	1331017	13186	49786	2870	3874	15300	3827	11019	2493	6085	5324	2408	17701	568	4116	3642	3798	4010	
Another, total	117014	35875	18034	11906	6580	6434	5436	5462	1816	3173	2145	2112	626	1099	541	488	446	367	
Another, selected	98244	34796	17154	11534	6406	6289	5362	5263	1726	3092	2086	2022	458	1013	445	279	409	333	
of them ethnicity of husband, per cent																			
the same	91,9	26,9	73,4	19,4	37,1	70,4	41,3	66,9	57,9	65,7	71,3	53,3	96,6	34,1	88,4	88,2	89,5	91,6	
Another, total	8,1	73,1	26,6	80,6	62,9	29,6	58,7	33,1	42,1	34,3	28,7	46,7	3,4	65,9	11,6	11,8	10,5	8,4	
Another, selected	6,8	70,9	25,3	78,1	61,3	28,9	57,9	31,9	40,1	33,4	27,9	44,7	2,5	60,8	9,6	6,8	9,6	7,6	



## **5. Conclusion**

5.1. In a multiethnic country in the era of low fertility the influence of mixed families upon the ethnic profile becomes rather significant.

5.2. Analysis of these families in Russia shows a definite sex and ethnic asymmetry both at the stage of formation and in the process of assimilation.

5.3. Along with ethnic differentiation of fertility, mortality, migration these processes lead to some shifts in country's ethnic profile and should be taken into account in the projections of future population structure.

5.4. The details of these processes are not well studied yet and need more in-depth investigation, including utilizing of micro-data of the censuses.

5.5. Great interest to the problems related with ethnic composition, history, trends and future of the population in Russia is steadily demonstrated by visitors of web demographic newspaper Demoscope Weekly <http://demoscope.ru>. There are a lot of data of population censuses and interesting results of the analysis of this rather complex phenomenon being at the stage of significant changes. However we have very few results of Russia's population projections with taking into account peculiarities of ethnic composition formation. The aim of the paper is to attract attention and to launch the activities in this direction. To use additional information and details, use <http://www.demoscope.ru/center/so/epc2010.html>. The author will really appreciate any remarks and messages dealing with the topics mentioned in the paper. Use please email address [esoroko@hse.ru](mailto:esoroko@hse.ru).

## **6. Open questions**

6.1. What are the main factors and the formula of generalized distance between ethnicities in the ethnic space, that defines the intensity of mixed family formation and direction of assimilation?

6.2. Do we need the measurement, analysis, and projection of demographic characteristics of the population in a large country not only by age, sex, territory, education, etc., but also by ethnicity?

6.3. Is it possible to establish a new concept of so-called "2.5 demographic transition", that tries to explain shifts in the ethnic structure due to not only differentiation of "classic" demographic processes but also to formation of ethnically mixed families and assimilation?

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