

## INTELLECTUAL EMIGRATION FROM MODERN RUSSIA

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**Abstract:** Emigration is intertwined with the country's social and economic processes most tightly. Recently, Russia has seen a steady growth of emigration, mainly, for reasons of work and education. Among the emigrants, there is a great quantity of skilled people having a high education level that exceeds the average level of education both in Russia and in the receiving countries. The paper analyzes the causes of emigration of highly qualified specialists and the dynamics of the processes taking place. The empirical base of the research was made up by results of the authors' sociological surveys, the secondary data of the Russian and foreign studies, and the statistical data of the state authorities. The materials of the paper will be of interests for professionals dealing with sociology of education and migration processes.

**Keywords:** emigration, sociology of education, highly qualified specialists, intellectual migration, factors of emigration, emigration, labor resources.

### 1 Introduction

The globalization processes being underway in the recent decades have opened up new opportunities for the population to migrate (Collyer & de Haas, 2012; Crawley & Skleparis, 2018). According to the UN Department for economic and social affairs, over the years 2000 – 2017, the specific weight of migrants of the world's total population rose from 2,8% to 3,4% and currently amounts to some 258 million people (IMS, 2017). The contemporary migration processes have a tremendous impact on the economic (Kuznetsova, 2011; Sushko et al., 2016b), political (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018; Mikhailov et al., 2018) and social sphere (Chigisheva, 2015; Goncharova et al., 2017; Pronchev et al., 2018) of any state.

Population migration leads to both positive – such as replenishing of the natural depletion of the employable population (Pronchev, 2018; Tretyakova, 2018) – and negative consequences, e.g. changed structure and criminalization of the society due to insufficient socialization of migrants in the new society (Kahbulaeva, 2011).

Migration of population to another country (emigration) is generally a negative phenomenon for every country. Emigration causes the loss of labor resources, which eventually affects the country's competitive advantages (Sushko et al., 2016a).

Any country having the less developed economy is interested in education and skills of a higher quality for its citizens who emigrate for some time to a more developed country and return to work (Crescenzi et al., 2017). On the other hand, the country loses the potentially "promising" workers for its own economy in the case of the trained abroad qualified emigrants' not returning.

It is mass emigration of well-educated highly qualified specialists that has particularly dire consequences for the country.

### 2 Literature Review

In order to analyze the trends in more detail, let the problem of emigrant moods among Russians and evaluation of the preferred choice in this kind of behavior be discussed.

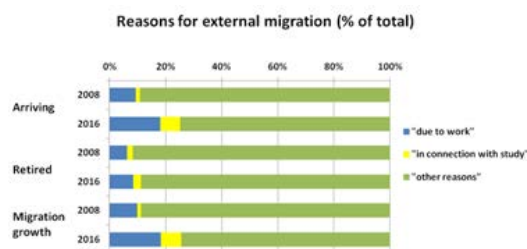
The data of monitoring that deal with studying Russians' emigrant moods presented by the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center in July, 2018, give evidence about the percentage of those willing to leave the country in 2011 – 2018 remaining almost unchanged, ranging within 10 – 13% of all the questioned ones. In 2018, the wish of departing for permanent

residence to another country was voiced by 10% of Russians (31% among ones aged 18-24) (WCIOM, 2018).

In 2018, they started choosing the country for residence in a more thoughtful manner: taking real steps for relocation more frequently (collecting the information about the "motherland-to-be", studying a foreign language, getting advice from the acquaintances who have left the country etc.). The most attractive countries are Germany (16%), the USA (7%), and Spain (6%) (WCIOM, 2018).

Recently, a steady growth of emigration from Russia for reasons of work and education has been observed, including, certainly, skilled professionals. In Figure 1, the contribution (in % to the total) of a concise list of causes ("due to work" and "in connection with study") into the outbound migration for the Russian Federation is presented. Other causes not detailed by the authors – the environment, unfavorable political situation etc. – are covered in the line "other reasons". Figure 1 is built on the basis of statistical data from the Social bulletin issued by the Analytical Center at the RF Government "Population in Russia: trends, problems, ways of solution" (Trubin et al., 2018).

Figure 1 Causes of external migration (% to the total)



Source: Federal State Statistics Service of Russia (Rosstat), calculation of the Analytical Center (Trubin et al., 2018)

It can be seen from Figure 1 that the contribution of causes "in connection with study" and "due to work" increased in 2008 – 2016.

It should be noted that countries providing learning and retraining for foreigners get tremendous advantages. As a consequence, these countries have special measures in place for receiving such migrants. For instance, in the USA, "foreign students amount to about 5% of the total quantity of the US college students, but they contribute almost 33 billion dollars into the economy of the USA and create over 400 thousand jobs. Immigrants having first come to the USA as foreign students ... are founders of almost 25% ... of startup companies in the USA, their capitalization exceeding 1 billion dollars" (Anderson, 2016). Curiously enough, around 39% (35 of 89 people) of the American Nobel prize winners of 2000-2017 were immigrants (Anderson, 2017).

The dramatic events Russia saw in the late 20th century (Kuznetsova, 2011; Sushko et al., 2016b) associated with transformation of social and economic system have led to uncontrollability of migration-related social processes. The Russian Federation currently ranks third in the list of countries – donors of migrants (10,6 million people) (IMS, 2017). O. D. Vorobyova and A. A. Grebenyuk (2016) point out: "The data of Rosstat for 2014 on emigration from Russia to Israel are 4 times lower than those of the Ministry of Aliyah and Integration of Israel, on emigration to the USA – 4,7 times lower than the data of the US Census Bureau, on emigration to Germany – 5 times lower than the data of the Federal Statistical Office of Germany etc. So, by the most conservative estimate, one needs to keep in mind a 3-4 times upward correction on the data of Rosstat in order to get a realistic idea about the scale of emigration from Russia". Uncontrollability of emigration has led to the fact that while in 2014 "13% had the higher education and incomplete

higher education" in Russia, "over 30% did among emigrants". The following percentage of Russian citizens having left the country had the higher and incomplete higher education: 60% of those going to Australia, 59% – to Canada, and 48% – to the USA and Israel each (Vorobyova & Grebenyuk, 2016).

### 3 Methodological Framework

The objective of this research is to study emigration of well-educated skilled professionals from the Russian Federation.

The main tasks of the research are the following:

1. Analyzing the causes of Russia's population migration.
2. Analyzing the structure of emigration from Russia.
3. Studying the mutual relationship of intellectual emigration and Russia's social and economic situation.

For completing the tasks associated with the analysis of interrelation of intellectual emigration and the relevant factors, the following research methods were used: the comparative law, the systemic and structural, and the logical and semantic analysis.

The comparative law method was applied for finding out the shared and the different between the sources of law within the legal system of the RF and the system of international law according to the elements of migration processes.

The use of systemic and structural method has allowed finding out and analyzing the impact of social and economic situation on intellectual emigration more extensively.

The logical and semantic analysis was applied for the search of correct definitions.

In the work, results of the authors' sociological research and secondary data of Russian and foreign studies were used.

### 4 Results and Discussions

Generally, migration behavior of a certain person or a group of people has to be considered within the context of motifs and aspirations of various kinds the most frequently. The latter are manifested as the citizens' extent of satisfaction with the situation in which they are currently (Osipova et al., 2017).

Surveys conducted in the Faculty of Sociology of MSU demonstrated that in 2017, 56,2% of Moscow students agreed with the statement "the contemporary Russian state is in a systemic crisis condition", which is 0,5% more than in 2015 (55,7%) (Osipova et al., 2018). Studies showed that the respondents recognizing the existence of a systemic crisis of the contemporary Russian state and/or society give serious thoughts to its causes. In Table 1, distribution of the students' answers to the question "What do you think are the causes of a such crisis?" is given (Osipova et al., 2018).

Table 1 Distribution of the students' answers to the question "What do you think are the causes of such a crisis?"

Answer options	%
The mass media imposing standards of consumer society, "American way of life", cult of money and violence	53,1
A global crisis of political, social and economic, cultural spheres of life of the world community	47,2
Crisis phenomena in the economic sphere of public management	45,9
Lack of spirituality and departure from cultural traditions	44,5
The destructive actions of "the fifth column" (internal enemies, traitors) within Russia	29,4
Other causes	3,9
It is difficult for me to answer	16,7

Source: authors on the basis of Osipova et al., 2018

It follows from Table 1 that 47,2% of the respondents answered as "A global crisis of political, social and economic, cultural

spheres of life of the world community" while 45,9% opted for "Crisis phenomena in the economic sphere of public management".

In analyzing the priorities playing an important part in the students' choosing their future occupations, the material constituent was found to have the major role: the "opportunity to gain high income" is recognized as important by 64,4 % of the students. The "opportunity to fulfill one's potential as much as possible" is a priority of no less importance (51,8 % of the answers) (Osipova et al., 2018).

L. D. Gudkov (2015) notes that in the recent years, emigration intentions have been manifested among the "educated, successful young people aged under 35 living in metropolitan cities, and most importantly – those who have already achieved by their own efforts social recognition, certain property, a position in the society, and rather decent salaries. In other words, among those who are included into the market economy greater, who depend on the state less, who rely mainly on themselves, their skills and head, who have the resources of being young, competent and initiative. Here, this figure has surged up to 50%".

As has already been pointed out above, emigrants' motifs reflect the social and economic condition of the state and the society to a significant extent. In 2016, at the Faculty of Economics of MSU, surveys were conducted of the most talented and successful in terms of academic achievement bachelor degree graduates of 1994 – 2014 (so-called "best and brightest" ones). The objective of the authors was to analyze the nature of influence of social and economic factors and moods on deciding to emigrate (Glushchenko & Vartanyan, 2018).

In the research, quite a high percentage of thriving bachelor degree holders was registered: 36% of the respondents marked they completed their studies with honors. According to the researchers, with a high probability, it can give evidence about this category of respondents' possessing such personal features as commitment, ambition, and inquisitiveness, which among others have influenced their decision to participate in the survey. This category are quite in line with candidates for the status of an "educational or professional" emigrant.

Let it be noted in advance that migration moods are fairly frequently explained in terms of the "push" – "pull" model (Glushchenko & Vartanyan, 2018). Positive factors are defined as factors that draw (attract) and so they are called pull factors; in line with them, decent economic conditions are provided, including the decent level of life. However, there are so-called putting off, repelling factors that are accompanied by economic risks. They are called push factors. They are more frequently accompanied by dissatisfaction with conditions and way of life and they can create the precedent of return migration, with both favorable and unfavorable consequences possible. In this way, the two kinds of factors create some semblance of an equilibrium with mutually repelling sides, which, incredible as it may seem, create the opportunity of mutually complementing each other while keeping a "small stream" for regaining the previous condition.

In Table 2, the main hypotheses for identifying the importance of factors that influence skilled professionals' deciding on the international labor migration (ILM) are worded in the "push" – "pull" model (Glushchenko & Vartanyan, 2018).

Table 2 Hypotheses about the role of push and pull factors of the international labor migration

Repelling factors (push factors)	Drawing (attracting) (pull factors)
The lower GDP per capita in the country of origin is, the higher a graduate's motivation for ILM is.	The higher GDP per capita in the receiving country considered is, the more likely a higher education institution graduate is to select it among other options
The lower the level of economic freedom in the	The higher the level of economic freedom in the

Repelling factors (push factors)	Drawing (attracting) (pull factors)
country of origin is, the higher a graduate's motivation for ILM is.	receiving country is, the more likely a higher education institution graduate is to select it among others.
The less open for migrant laborers' incoming and outgoing in terms of law and policy the country of origin is, the lower a graduate's motivation and opportunities for ILM are.	The more open for migrant laborers' incoming and outgoing in terms of law and policy the receiving country is, the more likely a higher education institution graduate is to select it among others.
The smaller the size of the country of residence's economy is, the higher a graduate's motivation for ILM is.	The larger (in the size of its economy, population number and area) the receiving country is, the more likely a higher education institution graduate is to select it among others.
The lower the expected level of net income both in case of keeping one's speciality and occupation and in case of retraining in the country of origin is, the higher a graduate's motivation for ILM is.	The higher the expected level of net income both in case of keeping one's speciality and occupation and in case of retraining in the receiving country is, the more likely a graduate is to select it among others.
The less comfortable organization of work space and work conditions is, the higher a graduate's motivation for ILM is.	The more comfortable organization of work space and work conditions in the receiving country is, the more likely a graduate is to select it among others.
The less opportunities for fulfilling creative and professional capacities in the country of origin there are, the higher the motivation for ILM is.	The more opportunities for fulfilling creative and professional capacities in the receiving country there are, the more likely a graduate is to select it among others.
The more social links with their former compatriots abroad the graduates have, the higher their motivation for ILM is.	The larger and more consolidated the diaspora of compatriots in the receiving country is, the more likely a graduate is to select it among others.
The lower the political stability level in the country of origin is, the higher a graduate's motivation for ILM is.	The higher the political stability level in the receiving country is, the more likely a graduate is to select it among others.

Source: authors on the basis of Glushchenko & Vartanyan, 2018

All respondents were subdivided into groups: 1) graduates who never left and who remained in Russia after graduation from the university; 2) graduates having emigrated; 3) graduates having returned after emigration; 4) potential migrants that may increase the percentage of the latter unless Russia's social and economic situation essentially improves.

Under "very significant" push factors, both emigrant graduates and ones never leaving Russia listed a low level of life (42 and 38%, respectively), impossibility to fulfill their creative capacities and professional qualities (42 and 34%, respectively), political instability (40 and 28%, respectively), and a low level of economic freedom (40 and 19%, respectively) (Glushchenko & Vartanyan, 2018).

Thus, for highly qualified specialists in deciding to emigrate from the country of residence, it is not only purely economic motivation but also other, non-economic push factors that matter

quite a lot, e.g. such as the above mentioned, the opportunity for self-fulfillment and lack of comfortable work conditions.

According to the results of the in-depth interviews conducted with university-educated emigrants having left Russia after 2010 and currently residing in the developed Western countries, the major channels of emigration for Russians having the higher education are as follows (Mkrtychyan & Florinskaya, 2018): 1) departure for master's degree studying or postgraduate studies (about one third of the respondents); 2) departing for work (about one quarter), with each second of those having left for Europe in this manner obtaining the so-called Blue card for skilled professionals; 3) moving house as a family member of a foreign citizen or of a Russian having signed a work contract abroad (each fifth of the questioned ones).

The authors of the above research point out that "intellectual migration from Russia is not exactly the non-return stream" (Mkrtychyan & Florinskaya, 2018). Judging by the plans voiced by the emigrants, they may be subdivided into 3 groups: 1) approximately one third is those who know it for sure they "will never return to Russia"; 2) about 15% – ones who "keep studying the labor market in Russia and are prepared to come back in the nearest future in case there is a job offer of interest"; 3) around a half is those "not ruling out for themselves the possibility to return to Russia for permanent or temporary residence, although no certain deadline can be specified and the prospects are dim".

Another important object of emigration from Russia demanding special attention on the part of specialists is scientists (candidates and doctors of sciences).

In the Russian Academy of Sciences, they note that in the recent three years there have been observed the growth of emigration of highly qualified specialists from Russia and simultaneously the reduction in the country's population of scientists. According to the chief scientific secretary of the presidium of the RAS, N. Dolgushkin, "It is over such a short span as from 2013 to 2016 that the quantity of those having left increased ... With regard to this, at the "academic" institutes, the staff of scientists has gone down from 69,5 to 67 thousand people in the recent three years. Among the scientists, the percentage of doctors of sciences has decreased from 13,8 to 13%, and that of candidates – from 31,7 to 30%" (Zvezdina, 2018).

Table 3 presents estimated quantity of emigrants from Russia, with scientists and highly qualified specialists specified, in the years 2002 – 2015, people (Ryazantsev & Pismennaya, 2016).

Table 3 Estimated emigration from Russia, including scientists and highly qualified specialists, in the years 2002- 2015, people

Year	Total number of emigrants		Emigrants having the higher education		Emigrants holding an academic degree	
	relocating for permanent residence	departing for temporary job placement	relocating for permanent residence	departing for temporary job placement	doctors of sciences	candidates of sciences
2002	89589	49265	16479	19696	22	83
2003	79380	47241	14463	16716	14	59
2004	66759	55903	12675	14934	23	53
2005	59228	60903	12215	20882	19	52
2006	46398	65747	10798	20901	23	42
2007	40941	69866	10013	25082	9	34
2008	35439	73130	9085	24607	40	53
2009	29086	66285	8173	31517	38	38
2010	33578	70236	8595	27647	32	31
2011	36774	67549	9059	29562	35	193
2012	122751	64370	13990	26614	40	194
2013	186382	61119	19845	26908	52	225
2014	308475	58093	29164	26700	96	231
2015	353233	57138	104885	27775	227	444
2002 – 2015	1484298	866870	279439	339541	670	1732
Total	2351168		618980		2402	

Source: authors on the basis of Ryazantsev & Pismennaya, 2016

According to the authors, the main problem of the Russian science in general and of the Russian Academy of Sciences in particular consists not in emigration of individual outstanding scientists but in the loss of "scientific schools". An important

cause of that has been emigration and "ageing" of leaders and members of scientific teams. The authors of this paper used to be employed with the Russian Academy of Sciences in more recent times but due to causes discussed above they had to change their occupations and go into teaching students.

### 5 Conclusion and Recommendations

On balance, emigration is a negative phenomenon for any country. It contributes to the changing structure and loss of labor resources. Meanwhile, emigrants arriving increase the competitive advantages of the receiving country greatly.

Emigration is intertwined with social and economic processes most tightly, being the driving force behind them.

Recently, Russia has seen a steady growth of emigration, mainly, for reasons of work and education. Among the emigrants, there is a great quantity of people having a high education level and of highly qualified specialists. The education level of Russian emigrants exceeds both the average level of education in Russia and that of the receiving countries.

At the same time, a large part of highly qualified migrants are prepared to return to Russia in case there emerge certain social and economic conditions.

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**Primary Paper Section: A**

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