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Article



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ON THE POSSIBILITIES OF MIGRANTS TO ADAPT TO THEIR RESIDENCE IN THE REGIONS OF RUSSIA

Abstract: The article presents the features of adaptation of migrants arriving in Russia to the socio-cultural characteristics of Russian society. The categorical concepts of "adaptation", "migration" "socio-cultural characteristics" are disclosed, the existing types of migrants, the specifics of adaptation and inclusion in Russian society of each of them, programs, practices and methods of adaptation of migrants, organizations implementing this activity, and the legislative framework regulating the entry and adaptation of migrants in the country are considered. In addition, the analysis of migration sentiments of the population of the regions of Russia and the identification of the main causes of migration based on the results of the sociological study are carried out. Particular attention is paid to the consideration of interregional migration and assessment of the scale of hidden migration. Based on the results of the study, the restraining factors of migration and possible ways of changing migration flows during their adaptation to living in the regions of Russia are determined.

Key words: adaptation, migration, migrant, labor migrants, foreign students, migrant guests, socio-cultural characteristics, interregional migration, migration sentiments, reasons for migration, restraining factors, regions of Russia, pendulum migration, new seasonal work, return migration, labor migration, region.

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Introduction

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The problem of labor market imbalance is partially solved by means of flexible forms of employment, as well as internal labor migration. Growing transport connectivity of settlements, unevenness of the labor market in different municipalities and widening differences in the well-being of the population make pendulum labor migration an increasingly common phenomenon. The phenomenon of pendulum labor migration is considered, which is defined as return short-term regular labor migration. It is characterized by a number of mandatory and optional criteria and features. Mandatory criteria include frequency, normativity and territory, optional criteria include distance, stability, forcedness and mobility. Thanks to the All-Russian Population Census conducted in 2020, it became possible to estimate the share of pendulum labor migration not only in Russia as a whole, but also for each region separately, a grouping of Russian regions is presented by the proportion of the working population in pendulum labor movements, by the share of participation of the urban and rural population in this process, by the direction of movements and their frequency. The flow of commuter labor migrants mainly consists of representatives of the rural population who make daily work trips. In general, commuter labor migration in Russia is mainly movement within the region of residence, however, in a number of regions the situation differs from the all-Russian trends. Estimates of the scale of commuter labor migration based on the All-Russian Population Census differ from the estimates obtained by Rosstat using cellular data and from the estimates of a sample survey of the labor force. The results of the study may be useful for researchers, state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation and local governments in implementing projects and improving policies in the field of labor, migration, socio-economic and spatial development of the territories of Russia.

Today, migration flows are not only territorial displacement of people, but are also considered as a complex social process affecting almost all areas of socio-economic development of both the country as a whole and each of its regions separately. For many years, Russian regions have been among the subsidized subjects of the Russian Federation and remain regions that do not cover their budget expenses with their own revenues due to an underdeveloped economy. This circumstance has a negative impact on the social development and demographic potential of such regions. A significant volume of migration outflow (the intensity coefficient for departure over a ten-year period has increased by 1.6 times), as well as low natural population growth, lead to an annual

deterioration in the demographic situation in traditional regions of Russia.

A distinction is made between external migration of the population - the movement of people associated with leaving the country, and internal migration - the movement of people (migrants) within the country, accompanied by crossing the territorial-administrative border and changing the usual place of residence for a more or less long period in those regions that are not border regions, do not have checkpoints across the State Border of the Russian Federation, as a result of which information on foreign citizens entering the region through a checkpoint is not recorded. The absence of international checkpoints across the state border in the region does not allow tracking migration flows (entry, exit) beyond these regions, as a result of which monitoring of arriving/departing foreign citizens and stateless persons is carried out using the information resources of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia, by performing control and supervisory functions. Analysis of internal migration in these regions of the Russian Federation by territorial coverage internal migration is divided into intra-regional — movement of population from one locality to another within a certain region (in this case we can talk about inter-district, intercity migration) and interregional — movement of population from one specific region to another within the Russian Federation. By temporal coverage (duration of stay) internal migration is divided into pendulum (regular daily movements of population from one locality to another for work or study), seasonal or cyclical (movement of population for a certain period — a week, a month, etc. with a return to the permanent place of residence) and permanent (movement of migrants with a change of permanent place of residence, which is also called irrevocable). Accounting for internal interregional temporary migration is complicated by the fact that the period of stay in the territory of another subject of the Russian Federation is not always defined. In statistics, the category of permanent population includes persons permanently residing in a given territory, as well as those temporarily absent. Who is included in the category of temporarily absent? We understand that these are people with permanent registration at their place of residence in the region, but who are absent for various reasons and have not registered upon arrival at their temporary place of residence in the Russian Federation, which is why hidden migration occurs. Calculating the number of temporarily absent people and obtaining reliable and accurate data is quite problematic. For a more in-depth analysis of the migration situation at the regional level, we attempted to determine the migration sentiments of the population, to assess the approximate volume and reasons for interregional migration, both temporary and permanent, during a sociological study conducted by the Institute for

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Comprehensive Research of Arid Territories in 2023. In total, 535 respondents over 18 years of age from the urban district (city of republican significance) and 11 districts in different regions of the Russian Federation were surveyed.

The scale of interregional migration was determined by the answers to the questions: "Are there any of your relatives and friends who have temporarily moved outside their region, but will they definitely return back?" and "Are there any of your relatives and friends who have temporarily moved outside the region and do not plan to return home in the future?" According to the sociological survey,

62.8% of respondents have relatives and friends who have migrated temporarily in their circle, and 71.6% of respondents indicated that they have people in their circle who have temporarily moved, but do not plan to return to their regions (Table 1). Every fourth respondent has more than five people among their relatives and friends who have left their region. In addition, more than half of this quarter have more than ten people among their circle who have migrated and do not plan to return to their homeland. From the data below it is noticeable that the values for the scale of permanent (irreversible) migration are 1.3 times greater compared to temporary migration.

Table 1. Scale of migration

Total, person	1-2 persons	3-5 people	6-9 people	more than 10 people
How many of your relatives and friends have temporarily moved outside their region, but they will definitely return home?				
336	164	71	39	62
1000/0	48.8%	21.13/0	610/0	18
[62.80/0]	20.65/0.6	in 270/0		590/0
1423	246	284	273	620
How many of your relatives and friends have temporarily left its borders?				
383	154	80	58	91
000/0	40	20.890/0	15.140/0	23.760/6
	28,790/0	14.950/0	0.840/0	17,010/0
1867	231	320	406	910

In terms of sample (N=535). In terms of the number of dropouts in terms of sample (N=535). In terms of the number of dropouts.

The obtained data allowed us to identify migration-minded regions - "leaders", where respondents have more than 10 acquaintances and/or relatives, both permanently and temporarily, as well as other regions (6-9 people, Table 2). Of the residents who permanently left their regions, perhaps only a

part of those who migrated is taken into account in the official statistics on migration loss, because, specifying the reasons why those who temporarily left do not plan to return home, on average half of the respondents noted that relatives or acquaintances purchased housing. Consequently, we can assume that the second half of those who permanently left belong to hidden permanent migration.

Table 2. Scale of migration (by regions of the Russian Federation)

Quantity	Average value by region	Place of residence	
They left temporarily and plan to return home			
1-2 persons	48.8	Yustinsky district	64.7
		Black Sea region	58.8
		Gorodovikovskiy district	58.8
		Maloderbetovskiy district	53.3
3-5 people	21.1	Ketchenerovskiy district	35.7
		Iki-Burul'skiy district	33.3
6-9 people	11.6	Laganskiy district (village)	22.2
more than 10 people	18.5	Sarpinskiy district	36.4

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		Maloderbetovsky district	33.3
They left temporarily and do not plan to return home.			
1-2 persons	40.2	Yustinsky district	68.8
		Black Sea region	61.5
		Lagansky district	
		Ksetchensrovsky district	50.0
3-5 people	20.9	Gorodovikovsky district	36.8
		Chernozemelsky district	30.8
6-9 people	15.1	Maloderbetovsky district	28.6
more than 10 people	23.8	Maloderbetovsky district	42.9
		Sapansky district	38.9
		Iki-Burulsky district	35.7

To the question: "For what reasons did your relatives and friends temporarily move outside their region?" — those who have relatives and friends who have migrated temporarily indicated, first of all, getting a job (on average 8096), secondly — improving housing conditions or purchasing housing and getting an education along with the desire to help their children and grandchildren. The main reasons for permanent migration, according to respondents, are better living conditions in the new place of residence, having a stable job and purchasing housing. Interregional migration in these regions has a stable negative balance. The most active migration exchange has developed with Moscow and the Moscow region, St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region, as well as with neighboring regions of the Southern Federal District - Rostov, Volgograd regions and Stavropol Krai, which is a subject of the North Caucasian Federal District. Official data is confirmed by the results of our sociological study - every fifth respondent is inclined to interregional migration. The overwhelming majority of migration-minded respondents consider the Central Federal District (Moscow, Moscow Region and, in isolated cases, Kaluga Region), Northwestern Federal District (St. Petersburg), Southern Federal District (Krasnodar, Volgograd, Rostov-on-Don, Astrakhan) and North Caucasian Federal District (mainly Stavropol, as well as Dagestan and Chechnya) for moving.

The main reasons for interregional migration, respondents noted, were "low wages" (78.4%), "unfavorable socio-economic situation in the republic" (50.9%), as well as "unemployment", "lack of career growth", "desire to earn money for an apartment or house", "corruption" and "having a large mortgage or consumer loan" (12.0%). What could stop residents of these regions of the Russian Federation from realizing their intention to move to another Russian region in the next three years? This question was asked with the possibility of choosing several answers, and according to the results of the

study, the restraining factors were distributed as follows, namely:

"salary increase" is most important for representatives of such professions as doctor, paramedic, employee, financier, employee of a commercial organization, teacher (48.3 0/0);

"parents" — stop people from deciding to move regardless of their social status, but mainly workers and entrepreneurs, including owners of peasant farms and private household plots (30.2%);

"own comfortable housing" is of great importance for the self-employed, doctors and teachers (20.7 0/0);

"Children", "business" and "mentality of residents of other areas and prejudice against newcomers" shared the last place (12.9%).

Nothing will stop every fourth respondent from changing their place of residence, half of whom have children and 27.6% plan to have a child. It should be noted that the answer "nothing will stop" was chosen more often by residents of Yashkulsky (66.7 0/0), Chernozemelsky (60.0%) and Oktyabrsky (50.0%) districts (these values are at least twice as high as the average value for individual regions). The most predisposed to migration are residents of Gorodovikovskiy (52.9 0/0, of which every second one plans to move outside the republic or the country in the next three years), Chernozemelsky (50.0%, of which a third intend to move outside their region) and Tselinny (40.5 0/0, including 29.9% intend to move outside their region in the near future). Among the migration-minded districts-leaders, 80% of young people are ready to migrate in the Gorodovikovsky district, 87.5% in Chernozemelsky. Of the more than half of young people who have already definitely decided to move in the near future, 80.3% plan to leave their region and even Russia (moreover, this is the opinion of all respondents of the Iki-Burulsky, Ketchenerovsky and Oktyabrsky districts of this age cohort). Every third of the migration-minded young people is already in a registered marriage and has children (26.5% have one child). 65% of the young

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people intending to leave are not burdened with family ties and children, which will allow them to ensure the necessary labor mobility and more easily adapt to a new place. While every fourth young person who does not want to change their place of residence is in a registered marriage, 49% have children (most of them with two or more children) and 52.9% of young people plan to have a child, which may act as a deterrent to migration of the younger generation. There are differences in the migration plans of other age cohorts. Thus, a quarter of respondents aged 36-59 plan to change their place of residence in the next three years (Table 3). Of those intending to move outside their region, including outside the country,

63.5% of respondents have children (80% of them have two or more) and 15% of respondents from the same migration-minded group plan to have a child. The main motives that encourage representatives of this cohort to move are the desire to provide their children with a decent and secure future, a suitable climate, better living conditions and the opportunity to have a job with a decent salary. Since the migration outflow mainly involves the working-age population, especially young people, which in the long term leads to a reduction in the rate of natural increase, this directly affects the absolute reduction in the population, in which the proportion of older age groups increases.

Table 3. Do you plan to change your place of residence in the next three years? (by age)

		Your age.			
		18-35	36-59	and the elders	
IICT	% Are you planning to change your place of residence?	29.7	51.9	8.7	
	% Your age:	46.6	73.9	85.3	64.2
Yes, I am planning to move to another region	Are you planning to change your place of residence?	51.6	32.3	16.1	0.0
	% in older age:	7.3			5.8
Yes, I am planning to move to one of the regions of the Russian Federation.	% Are you planning to change your	0.0		0.0	0.0
	% Your age:		0.8		
Yes, I am planning to move in your region	% Are you planning to change your	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0
	% At older ages:			0.0	
Yes, I am planning to move outside my region to another region of the Russian Federation	% Are you planning to change your place of residence?	62.9	32.8		0.0
	% At an older age.	33.3	15.8		21.7
Yes, I am planning to move outside of Russia	% in Are you planning to change your place of residence?	80.8	9.2	0.0	0.0
	% at your age:				
Yes, but I haven't decided yet.	% Are you planning to change your place of residence?	33.3	58.3	8.3	0.0
	% at your age:	1.8		1.3	

Main part

Russia attracts migrants from different countries with different cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds. Migrants make a significant contribution to the economy and development of the country. At the same time, the adaptation of migrants is associated with intercultural interaction and the establishment of harmonious relations between different groups of the population. Studying their adaptation helps to better understand how different groups of migrants interact with the local population, how their cultural characteristics affect the integration processes, understand global trends and challenges related to migration and intercultural interaction. In the last decade, the problems of adaptation and

integration of arriving migrants, including students from Central Asia to a new socio-cultural environment, have been studied by a large number of Russian researchers.

The term "adaptation" itself is very multifaceted and can be considered from different angles: social, pedagogical, psychological, economic, political, etc. In its most general form, adaptation is the process of adjustment of an individual or group to new conditions or environment in order to achieve harmony and successful functioning. In the context of arriving migrants, adaptation means the process of mastering and integrating into the new socio-cultural environment of the host country.

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In Russia, there are a number of practices and methods aimed at supporting the psychological adaptation of migrants, namely:

- intercultural psychological support;
- group trainings and education;
- cultural adaptation programs;
- psychological counseling and therapy;
- game practices in the form of tests, quizzes and other forms of games.

Migration is an integral part of human history and has existed for many millennia. The concept of migration itself refers to the movement of people from one place to another, either permanently or temporarily. The first examples of migration date back to the period of the earliest humans, when they left their home territories in search of new places to provide food or due to climate change.

Migration has gradually become linked to other factors such as war, trade, colonization, religious persecution, economic opportunity, and family ties. Examples of historical migrations include the movement of ancient peoples from Africa to other parts of the world, the migration of peoples during the great empires, the movement of colonists during the colonial era, mass displacements as a result of wars and conflicts, and modern migration movements around the world. Contemporary forms of migration such as labor migration, refugees, family reunification, and educational migration have become common phenomena in the modern world. Migration has a variety of causes including economic, political, social, and environmental factors.

The main regulatory legal act in the field of external migration is the Federal Law of 18.07.2006 No. 109-FZ (as amended on 14.07.2022) "On migration registration of foreign citizens and stateless persons in the Russian Federation". The regulators of internal and external migration also include:

Law of the Russian Federation of 25.06.1993 No. 5242-1 (as amended on 28.12.2022) "On the Right of Citizens of the Russian Federation to Freedom of Movement, Choice of Place of Stay and Residence within the Russian Federation", Law of the Russian Federation of 19.02.1993 No. 4530-1 (as amended on 08.12.2020) "On Forced Migrants", Federal Law of 19.02.1993 No. 4528-1 (as amended on 14.07.2022) "On Refugees".

The specified regulatory legal acts adopted in the post-Soviet period have a number of amendments and additions, but the general approaches to migration policy remain traditional. Its main provisions and implementation tools are spelled out in the Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for 2019–2025, which was approved by Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated 31.10.2018 No. 622.

Modern sociological science distinguishes several types of migrants, namely: labor migrants

(work), foreign students (study), migrant guests (private).

Labor migrants who come to work in Russia usually have clear goals and motivation for economic growth. They may be motivated by improving their financial situation and career prospects. However, they often have difficulties with language adaptation, understanding work processes and the culture of the organization. In addition, they often lack higher education and professional qualifications, which complicates the process of adaptation in the highly competitive Russian labor environment.

Short-term guest migrants to Russia may have less time to fully adapt because their stay is limited. However, if they show interest and openness to the local culture, they can have a positive experience and interact successfully with locals.

Foreign students who come to study have the opportunity to stay in the country for a long time and adapt more deeply. They can get an education, improve their language skills and get involved in the academic and cultural life of the university. However, the adaptation of foreign students may be caused by difficulties related to language, differences in the education system and social aspects. However, it is important to remember that successful adaptation depends on many factors, including the personal characteristics of migrants, support from society and institutional mechanisms provided to help migrants adapt. Therefore, there is no single answer and clear statistical correlation about which of the groups of migrants adapts better, since this is an individual process that depends on the specific circumstances and efforts of each migrant. For example, the number of migrants deported from Russia in 2023 increased by 2.5 times compared to 2022. The head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Vladimir Kolokoltsev cited such data at an expanded board meeting of the Ministry of Internal Affairs with the participation of Vladimir Putin in March 2024. The head of the department specified that in 2023, the number of violations of the law increased by almost 50% compared to 2022. In May 2024, the Chairman of the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation Alexander Bastrykin said that in 2023, Russia recorded an increase in the number of serious crimes committed by migrants in large cities - by 37%, to 15 thousand. Earlier, Bastrykin announced a fivefold increase in the number of criminal cases against migrants under serious articles in 2022. According to him, last year 4,729 appeals were received regarding crimes involving foreign citizens, as a result of which 4,231 criminal cases were opened. Migrants form ethnic organized crime groups. According to Kolokoltsev, in 2022, the illegal activities of 130 groups created on the basis of nationality were suppressed. The presented statistical data indicate that not all migrants can adapt and integrate into the socio-cultural Russian society.

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Studying the latest open statistics on external immigration of the population by subjects of the Russian Federation (statistics for 2023), it can be

noted that the entry of migrants into the country is uneven (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Structural diagram of the number of migrants from abroad who entered the territory of Russia by subjects of the Russian Federation in 2023, %

As can be seen from the presented data, the majority of migrants entering Russia from abroad choose the Central Federal District (CFD) for temporary and permanent residence. The leader in external migration is the Moscow Region - 10.6%. Among other federal districts, migrants often choose the Southern Federal District (SFD), Volga Federal District (VFD) and Siberian Federal District (SFD). The least popular region is the North Caucasian Federal District (NCFD). In 2021, only 3% of migrants chose it for relocation. In our opinion, the socio-cultural characteristics of Russian society reflect the characteristics and values inherent in Russian culture and society. They are manifested in various aspects of life and behavior of people in Russia. The main socio-cultural characteristics of Russian society include: Russian language and cultural tradition, collectivism and family values, hospitality and friendliness, patriotism and national pride, religiosity based on the postulates of the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as tolerance and respect for other religions and beliefs. Today in Russia there are a large number of state and non-governmental organizations that facilitate the adaptation of arriving migrants to the socio-cultural characteristics of Russian society. The results of the activities of some of them are presented below. The St. Petersburg regional branch of the All-Russian public organization "Russian Red Cross" is actively working to provide social and legal assistance to migrants, including female migrants. Since 2018, the organization has been implementing the project "St. Petersburg Information Center for Integration and Adaptation of Migrants", which includes free Russian language and computer literacy courses, meetings of refugees and migrants with representatives of government agencies, and preparation for school classes for children of migrants and refugees who do

not speak Russian well. It is also worth noting the experience of migrant adaptation, implemented with the assistance of the Center for Legal Protection and Socio-Cultural Adaptation of Migrants "Rosmigrant". The organization's activities are aimed at creating an interregional system of information and methodological support for migrants, as well as developing interethnic dialogue. "Rosmigrant" develops short legal manuals-booklets together with leading law schools and famous lawyers of the country, which cover the basics of constitutional, migration, labor, criminal and other areas of legislation of the Russian Federation, offers programs for primary training of migrants in the legal sphere, which helps to increase their legal awareness and competence. In implementing its projects, the organization covers 25 regions of Russia, and selects resource non-governmental organizations with experience in implementing projects supported by the Presidential Grants Fund as key partners. A significant part of the partners are interethnic organizations, which helps to strengthen interethnic and interreligious harmony. One of the most successful and active organizations in the direction of adaptation of arriving migrants is the Interregional Charitable Public Organization "Volga Region Migration Center" (hereinafter referred to as the MCPO "Volga Region Migration Center"). The mission of the organization is to provide worldwide assistance to refugees, forced migrants, compatriots abroad, foreign citizens and stateless persons, representatives of national minorities, including those belonging to the category of low-income citizens, their organizations, in the protection of their economic and social rights. During its existence, the MCPO "Volga Region Migration Center" has implemented a large number of projects aimed at the adaptation of arriving migrants. Here are some of them, namely:

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– June 2020 – June 2021: “Development of intercultural communication as a means of preventing threats to national security”;

– December 2017 – November 2018: “Territory of Harmony: Prevention of Interethnic Conflicts and Reduction of Interethnic and Interreligious Tensions Among the Youth in the Nizhny Novgorod Region”;

– September 2015 – August 2016: project “Protection of socio-economic rights and freedoms of all migrant workers and members of their families, as well as stateless persons, refugees and forced migrants, during their adaptation and integration into the local community”;

– 2014 – August 2015: project “Protection of the rights and freedoms of migrants during their adaptation and integration into the local community”;

– 2013 – October 2014: project “Legal assistance to migrants in their adaptation and integration into the local community”.

As part of the implementation of the above-mentioned projects, the Volga Region Migration Center uses the following adaptation tools for arriving migrants:

- historical and ethnographic excursions in the Nizhny Novgorod region and other nearby regions of Russia;

- meetings with spiritual leaders of religious denominations;

- group and individual legal consultations;

- public lectures, for example, a lecture on the topic “Rights and responsibilities of foreign students”, a video lecture “8 centuries of Nizhny Novgorod history. Events and peoples”;

- seminars, for example, “Development of the worldview and skills of tolerance and patience”, “Adaptation of migrant women into the local community. Legal protection and psychological support”;

- game and test exercises, for example, in the context of assessing personal qualities of tolerance, identifying and presenting behavioral stereotypes, the “harmfulness” of the actions of stereotypes in conflict situations;

- trainings, for example, the training “Ways to develop interactive communication”;

- various competitions, for example, the photo competition “Friendship of the 21st Century”;

- round tables to discuss various problems and tasks of helping migrants arriving in Nizhny Novgorod and the region;

- festivals, for example, the festival “My Community in Nizhny Novgorod”, dedicated to Unity Day – the festival program included theatrical musical performances with professional actors, including those from national communities and migrants, and an acting studio was also organized, in which those who wished could feel like actors and directors.

It is also worth noting the existence of such an organization as the Kostroma Regional Public

Organization for Adaptation and Integration of Compatriots “United Central Asian Community” (KOOO AIS OSAO). The organization's activities are aimed at promoting the development and support of the culture of national associations, science and education, as well as preserving their cultural and historical identity, strengthening a single confessional space. The organization includes representatives of the Tajik, Uzbek, Turkmen and Kazakh communities. Together, they provide assistance to compatriots coming to Russia.

Legal consultations on the explanation of the migration legislation of the Russian Federation are held on a regular basis. Members of the organization study the history and culture of Russia, the Russian language, and Russian fiction. The community also helps newcomers with employment, introduces them to the traditions of the Kostroma region and helps them integrate into the socio-cultural environment. The organization's work places great emphasis on introducing young people to a healthy lifestyle and developing sports. The United Central Asian Community takes an active part in events aimed at forming a civil identity, held by the regional government bodies.

In addition, new directions of adaptation policy for arriving migrants are constantly being developed in Russia. For example, from July 1, 2025, the Federal Agency for Nationalities Affairs (FADN) of Russia plans to launch a standard adaptation course for labor migrants in the Perm and Krasnodar Territories. Commuter labor migrants are a rather vulnerable category of workers, since there are no special regulatory and legal acts that could provide them with special guarantees and protection of labor rights in connection with the specifics of their movements. Such an “invisible” position of this category of the population is due to the fact that their statistical accounting is very difficult, statistics agencies and government authorities do not have reliable information on the scale and prevalence of commuting labor migration, therefore they do not create appropriate institutions and tools.

The results of the All-Russian Population Census – 2020 (hereinafter – VPC-2020) for the first time make it possible to assess the scale of such labor behavior at the level of regions of the Russian Federation in quantitative terms. They contain materials on the labor movements of individuals with different frequency of going to work, which in general allows us to judge some scales of return internal labor migration.

The objective of the article is to study the scale of pendulum labor migration both in the Russian Federation as a whole and in regions separately. The objectives of the study included defining pendulum labor migration in the structure of return labor migration, identifying its characteristic criteria and features, studying the structure and directions of flows

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of this phenomenon. The following methods were used in the work: monographic, systematization, analogy, comparison, cartographic, grouping and others. The methodological basis of the study was the works of domestic and foreign scientists, and the information base is represented by data from the All-Russian Population Census - 2020. It is advisable to start the study of pendulum labor migration with its place in the migration structure. Individuals who carry out labor activities outside their place of permanent residence are called return labor or temporary labor migrants. In our opinion, it is worth separating the criteria of temporariness and returnability for a better understanding of the phenomenon of pendulum labor migration. The term return migration in scientific literature is interpreted quite broadly. Two polar opinions can be traced regarding it. In the first case, return migration implies repatriation and re-emigration. This point of view is often found in foreign studies. For example, R. King defines return migrants as those who migrate to their country of origin. G. Gmelch supports a similar point of view, however, emphasizes that return migration is not equal to re-emigration, although it is a very close concept. The latter refers to people returning to their homeland and then emigrating for the second time. Return migration, especially in terms of labor migration, can be voluntary or forced. Forced migration is represented in the form of deportation, which refers to the practice of international migration. Voluntary return migration involves returning to the place of residence of one's own free will. Voluntary return can be carried out by those who have legal grounds to remain in the host country. The second

point of view regarding return labor migration applies to labor migrants who systematically go to work without permanent migration to settlements other than their place of residence. The research team headed by Yu. M. Plyusnin has been studying modern types of seasonal work for many years and emphasizes that this is not only a type of internal return labor migration of an individual, but also a special type of economic behavior. Yu. M. Plyusnin [et al.] in their large-scale studies of this phenomenon note that return is one of the main features of such spatial movements. The term "temporary migration" is mentioned in the article by S. V. Ryazantsev, which reveals new forms of temporary emigration from Russia. A wide range of labor movements fall under the category of temporary migration: pendulum migration, migration of businessmen-"shuttle traders", shift migration, seasonal migration and tourist trips. The parameter of temporary nature of such movements can be determined by such a document as a temporary permit for the implementation of labor activity of migrants, since we are talking specifically about foreign citizens. L.B. Karachurina also uses the term "temporary migration" in relation to foreign workers. N.V. Mkrtchyan and Yu.F. Florinskaya in their studies of internal labor migration or seasonal work define temporary labor migration as labor activity outside their locality, which the worker performs no more than once a week. Such periodicity of labor trips in many cases excludes pendulum labor migration. This allows us to conclude that the concept of return migration in relation to internal labor migrants working outside their place of residence is somewhat broader than temporary migration (Figure 2).

Long term	Short-term (new seasonal work)
- repatriation; - re-emigration	- watch; - pendulum migration; - seasonal employment; - shuttle migration

Figure 2. Types of migration by time of absence or stay

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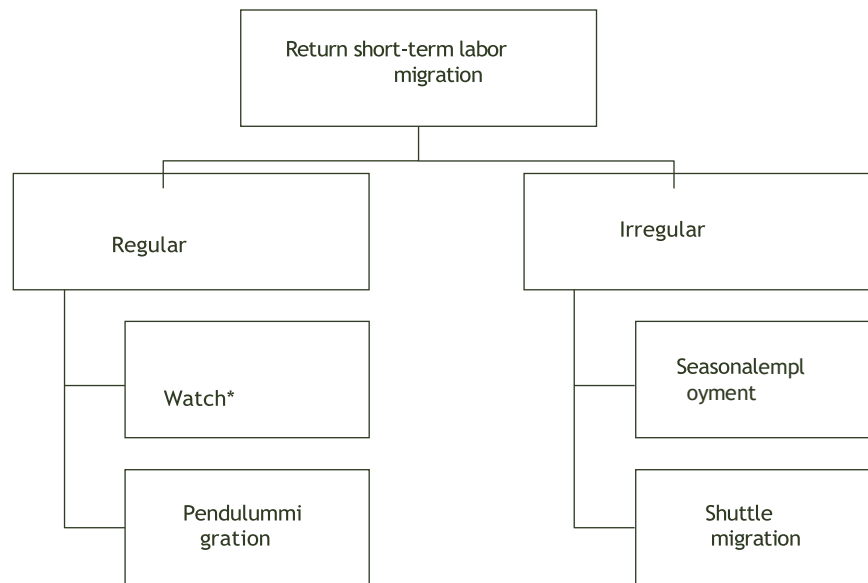


Figure 3. The place of pendulum migration in the structure of return short-term labor migration*

Short-term return migration, or new seasonal work, is inextricably linked with the labor and employment of an individual. Return short-term labor migration is divided into regular and irregular (Figure 3). S.V. Ryazantsev classifies daily pendulum migrants, border migrants, shift migrants as representatives of regular migration, and seasonal, shuttle migrants as representatives of irregular migration, since the movements of this category of people occur with varying frequency and depend only on the availability of a certain amount of work. In this regard, we can note that regular migration is that which implies the presence of a certain and permanent work schedule, and also assumes systematic periods of time for returning to the migrant's permanent place of residence.

Regular short-term return labor migration is divided into shift and pendulum migration. Irregular migration is that which is not characterized by permanence, such as, for example, seasonal employment.

Having established that pendulum labor migration refers to return short-term regular labor migration, we identified criteria and features that distinguish it from other types of migrant employment. Pendulum labor migration is characterized by a number of basic and optional criteria (Figure 3).

The main criteria include frequency, territory and normativity, since they form the distinctive features. Optional criteria are stability, mobility, forced nature and distance. Optional criteria create features that are characteristic of pendulum labor migration, but without the presence of the main features, they also determine other types of new seasonal work. Pendulum labor migration is

returnable, cyclical and not one-time. The cycle of movements can be daily, lasting up to two to five days, or weekly. English-language authors divide pendulum migrants into "daily commuters", those who make daily trips, and "long-distance weekly commuters", those who make weekly movements over long distances. In our opinion, the main criterion for the frequency of pendulum labor movements is not a link to a specific number of days, but the work schedule of the labor migrant. In this case, the frequency of such movements will vary, but the commuter labor migrant will always return home after each work shift, depending on the work schedule. The schedule is often determined by the nature of the work, for example, some professions require a schedule of one day on, three days off, and in this case, if an individual works outside his place of residence, he will go to work once every three days or twice a week.

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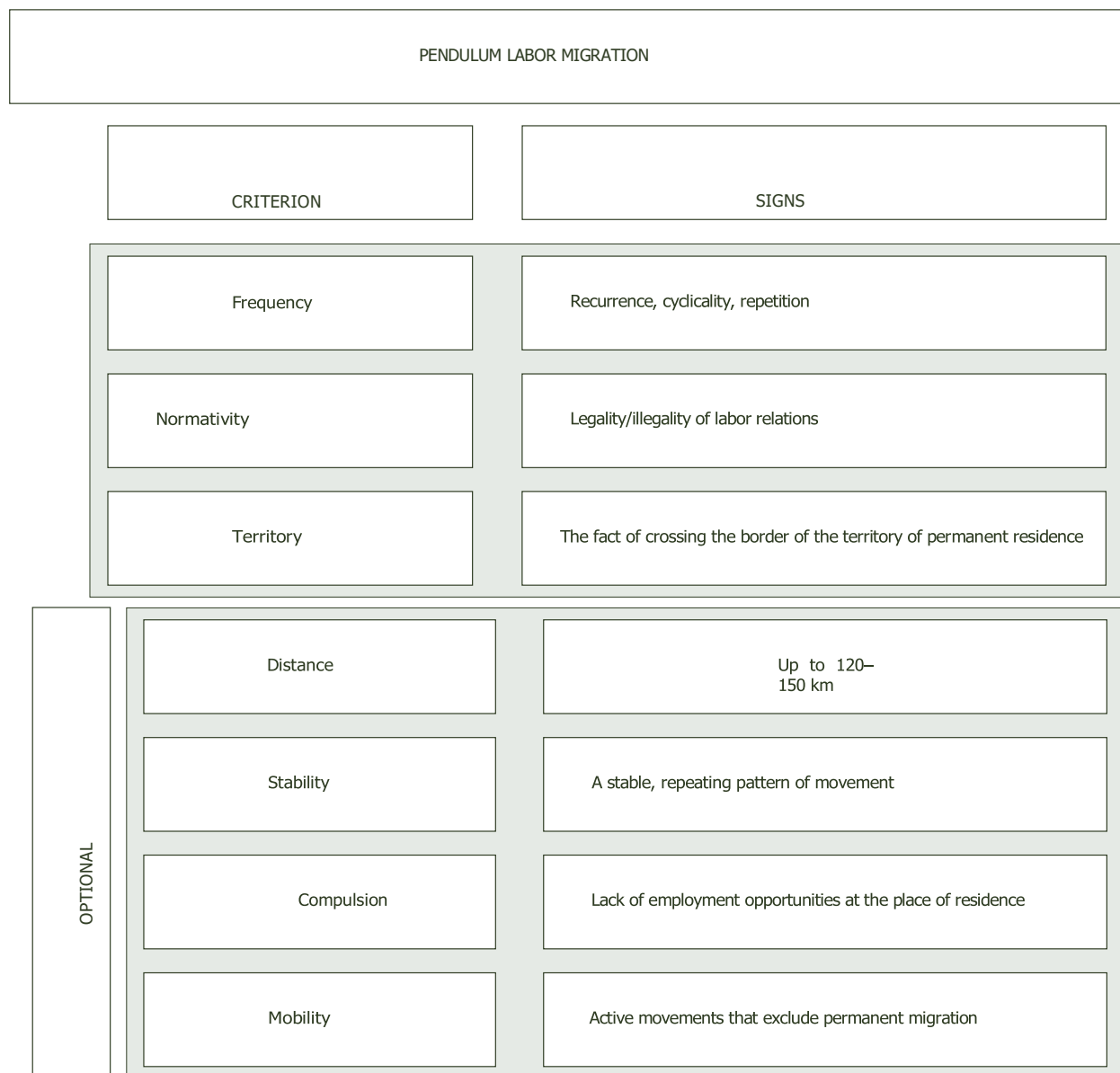


Figure 4. Criteria and signs of pendulum labor migration

The fact that commuter labor migration is a phenomenon characterized by a frequency of movements that goes beyond daily ones is also supported by the materials of Rosstat, obtained using data from cellular operators. commuter movements are those in which a unique subscriber leaves the home territory for the destination territory in which the person spends the maximum number of hours during the daytime (from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m.), subject to the following conditions: such spatial mobility must occur for at least 10 days during a calendar month; at least 5 hours during each of these 10 days; and at least 1 day out of 10 days every week. It includes two components, namely:

- the nature of the employment relationship (legal or illegal);
- terms of the employment contract.

Pendulum migration will be legal if a person is at the workplace in accordance with the norms of labor law (employment contract) or civil legislation (civil law contract). Legal pendulum labor migration could be tracked through the introduction of an established reporting form at enterprises identifying pendulum labor migrants, with subsequent sending of it to the employment service agencies. Pendulum labor migrants are a vulnerable group, since their labor is not regulated by any regulatory and legal documents. The form of the employment contract of a pendulum labor migrant does not differ from the standard one inherent in all "local" workers. For example, another form of new seasonal work - shift work - is more protected, since the Labor Code establishes clauses regulating guarantees, the sphere of work and rest, which indicate the maximum

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established duration of the shift, the mandatory organization of travel and accommodation of the labor migrant by the employer, etc.

One of the distinctive features of pendulum labor migration is the fact of crossing the border of the settlement where the pendulum migrant permanently resides. It is important to note that the pendulum labor migrant does not change his place of permanent residence, but always returns home after a work shift. There are two ways to measure distance: in kilometers and in time spent. The distance of travel during pendulum labor migration cannot be large, since the individual systematically returns to his place of residence. Concentration of attention on the issue of the number of kilometers in relation to pendulum labor migration is characteristic for the most part of domestic authors, who set the figure at 120 - 150 km maximum. In foreign literature, there is a concept of "the time limit of trips - the time that a pendulum migrant spends on the road from home to work. The division of pendulum migration flows by the amount of time spent on the road is an important aspect, since the further the workplace is, the more time the pendulum migrant spends on the road, the more pronounced the financial costs will be for the individual himself, as well as the consequences for mental and physical health.

For many modern Russian provincial families, forced migration to economically more prosperous territories to earn money is the main model of life support. However, we should not forget about voluntariness: the labor migrant himself decides to choose such a labor strategy for himself in order to maximize his labor and human capital.

It is important to emphasize that pendulum labor migration is generally stable and permanent, especially in the area of legal employment. A pendulum labor migrant can make such movements for years, having permanent employment with the same employer. The routes of such workers are relatively stable.

One of the main characteristics of otkhodniks, according to Yu. M. Plyusnin, is their initiative, initiative and independence, which excludes permanent migration. Pendulum migrants, with all their active movements in space, remain faithful to the choice of such a labor strategy and do not carry out permanent migration.

The All-Russian Population Census held in 2020 allows us to estimate the scale of employment of individuals working outside their place of residence. In total, within the census, such employment was presented by the frequency of going to work, namely: daily, several times a week, several times a month, once a month and less often. Individuals working

remotely were also added to employment outside their place of residence; their frequency of going to work or work schedule were not reflected in any way.

In our study, one group includes people who go to work every day and several times a week. They are classified as commuter labor migrants. According to the 2020 All-Russian Population Statistics System, commuter labor migration accounts for 8% of the total number of employed people in the Russian Federation. However, among all types of employment that involve going to work in a locality different from the place of permanent residence, commuter labor migration accounts for a significant part, namely 75.3% of the total number of all employed people working outside their place of residence who indicated the frequency of going to work.

A large share of commuter labor migrants comes from the European part of Russia, where there is a strong territorial-administrative division that facilitates such spatial mobility due to the close location of regional borders and administrative centers (Figure 5). In addition, this region has two large agglomeration centers - the Moscow and St. Petersburg agglomerations. It is noteworthy that the cities of federal significance themselves have a significantly lower share of commuter labor migrants, while the regions surrounding them, on the contrary, have the maximum. In this context, it is important to remember that the 2020 All-Russian Population Statistics data provide information on people leaving the named regions, which is why the Moscow and Leningrad regions have the largest share of employed people leaving for work in other populated areas, presumably in the corresponding cities of federal significance. Moscow and St. Petersburg have some of the lowest rates of commuter labor migration, as residents of large cities have more opportunities to find employment in accordance with their level of qualification and preferences in their area of residence. According to their share, the subjects of the Russian Federation can be divided into three groups: regions with a low, moderate, and high share of commuter labor migration (MLM; Table 4).

The flow of commuter labor migrants mainly includes representatives of the rural population and makes up 69% of the total number of commuter labor migrants. It can be assumed that in the city an individual has a better chance of finding a suitable job than in the village; a person is forced to choose an employment that involves leaving his place of residence. Both urban and rural commuter labor migrants predominantly move within the region of residence. The share of intraregional rural commuter labor migrants (88.1%) is significantly higher than urban ones (63.2%).

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Figure 5. Share of pendulum labor migration by constituent entities of the Russian Federation, 2024, % of the number of employed persons included in the labor force

Table 4. Grouping of subjects of the Russian Federation by the share of commuters, 2024, % of the employed population included in the regional labor force

Category	Quantity	Regions
Subjects with low MTM shares (from 0 to 8.2%)	48	Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (0.3%); Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (0.4%); Saint Petersburg (0.4%); Sevastopol (0.7%); Moscow (1.1%); Magadan Region (1.3%); Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Yugra (1.7%); Republic of Kalmykia (2.1%); Nenets Autonomous Okrug (3.2%); Kamchatka Krai (3.4%); Khabarovsk Krai (3.6%); Zabaykalsky Krai (3.9%); Republic of Dagestan (4.1%); Krasnoyarsk Krai (4.2%); Sakhalin Oblast (4.5%); Sakha Republic (Yakutia) (4.6%); Republic of Karelia (4.9%); Omsk Oblast (5.1%); Amur Oblast (5.1%); Saratov Oblast (5.1%); Primorsky Krai (5.2%); Republic of Tyva (5.3%); Arkhangelsk Oblast excluding the autonomous okrug (5.4%); Komi Republic (5.5%); Volgograd Oblast (5.5%); Murmansk Oblast (5.5%); Sverdlovsk Oblast (5.5%); Krasnodar Krai (5.6%); Republic of Ingushetia (5.9%); Kemerovo Oblast (5.9%); Chechen Republic (5.9%); Chelyabinsk Oblast (6.1%); Altai Krai (6.2%); Kirov region (6.5%); Samara region (6.5%); Irkutsk region (6.6%); Tomsk region (6.7%); Novosibirsk region (6.7%); Orenburg region (6.8%); Republic of Bashkortostan (6.8%); Altai Republic (7.1%); Stavropol Krai (7.2%); Perm Krai (7.3%); Rostov Oblast (7.5%); Republic of Buryatia (7.6%); Kurgan Oblast (7.9%); Jewish Autonomous Oblast (8.1%); Republic of Tatarstan (8.2%)
Subjects with a moderate share of MTM (from 8.3 to 16.5%)	34	Voronezh Region (8.3%); Ivanovo Region (8.5%); Ulyanovsk Region (8.5%); Tyumen Region excluding autonomous okrugs (8.6%); Nizhny Novgorod Region (8.8%); Pskov Region (9.0%); Astrakhan Region (9.1%); Yaroslavl Region (9.7%); Republic of Mordovia (9.7%); Vologda Region (9.8%); Kostroma Region (10.0%); Penza Region (10.0%); Kabardino-Balkarian Republic (10.0%); Republic of Khakassia (10.3%); Udmurt Republic (10.5%); Republic of North Ossetia – Alania (10.7%); Smolensk Region (10.7%); Novgorod Region (10.8%); Kursk Region (11.0%); Republic of Crimea (11.7%); Karachay-Cherkess Republic (11.8%); Bryansk region (11.8%); Tambov region (12.3%); Chuvash Republic (12.3%); Oryol region (12.4%); Tver region (12.5%); Ryazan region (12.7%); Kaliningrad region (12.8%); Vladimir region (13.1%); Kaluga region (13.1%); Tula region (13.4%); Lipetsk region (13.5%); Belgorod region

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		(15.3%); Republic of Adygea (15.5%)
Subjects with high MTM shares (from 16.6% and above)	3	Mari El Republic (17.1%); Moscow Region (21.25); Leningrad Region (24.7%)

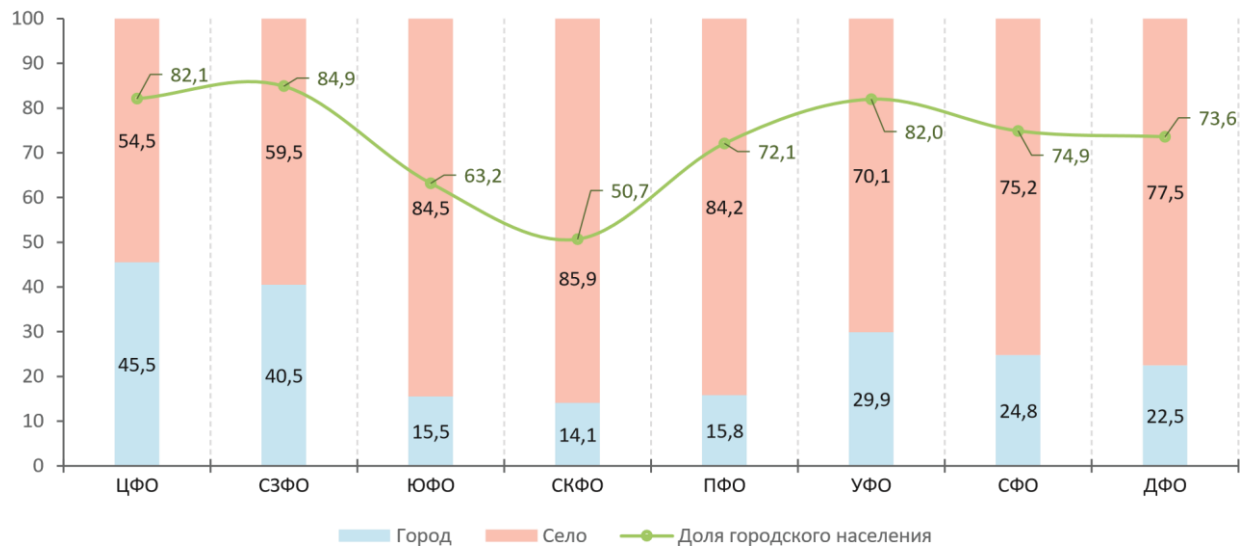


Figure 6. Structure of pendulum labor migration by share of participation of urban and rural population, 2024, %

The share of participation of rural and urban population in pendulum labor migration is significant in the federal districts, since the representation of the urban population among the population working outside their place of residence is significantly lower than in other districts (Figure 7). Such a ratio can presumably be associated with the low level of urbanization of the named federal districts. As noted earlier, at the level of federal districts, the share of rural residents prevails in the flows of pendulum labor migration. However, there are subjects where the bulk of the flow of pendulum migrants are urban residents. We are talking about the federal cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, where there are generally no representatives of the rural population among the commuter labor migrants, the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, where only 12.3% of the rural population is involved in commuter labor migration, the Magadan (14.6%) and Murmansk (17%) regions, the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (26.6%), Moscow Region (33%), Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug (37.2%) and the federal city of Sevastopol (39.9%). All other subjects have a share of rural population in the commuter migration flows above 50%. The share of urban population in the population of these regions is high.

Commuter migrant workers travel with different frequency. They mostly travel to work every day (Figure 8). Going to work several times a week may indicate more distant places of work and an excellent employment sector, but, unfortunately, the 2020 All-Russian Population Statistics (VPS) data do not reflect the structure of professional employment of commuter migrants. The main sources of information on the professional employment of commuter migrants are sociological surveys, which do not allow us to estimate the scale at the country level. For example, A.A. Zakharchenko and V.V. Pit, when studying commuter migration in the Urals Federal District, mention that people employed outside their locality of residence most often occupy blue-collar jobs. The results of studies conducted in the Nizhny Novgorod region show that 79% of commuters are employed in material production sectors, and a study conducted using the city of Dubna as an example shows that more than 70% of commuter labor migrants are employed in trade, industry, the financial sector, and construction. The structure of the frequency of trips to work has a slight bias towards daily trips to work (61.2%), the average value for trips several times a week in Russia is 38.8%.

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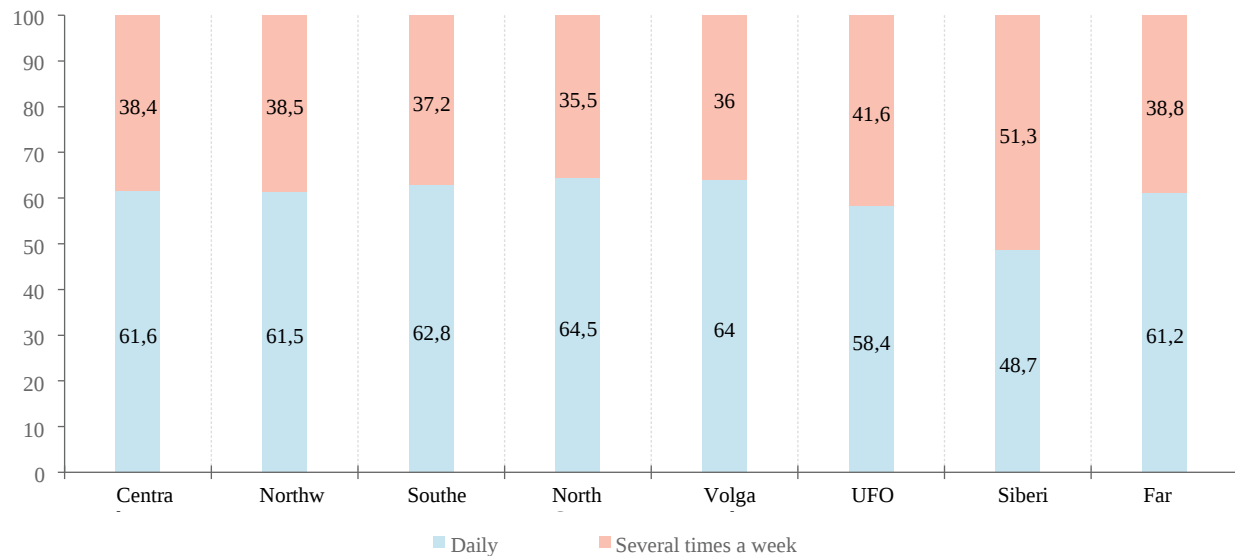


Figure 8. Structure of pendulum labor migration by frequency of going to work, 2024, %

The proportion remains approximately the same for all federal districts, except for the Siberian Federal District, which demonstrates a slight preponderance of work transfers several times a week. There are also regions with values that significantly deviate from the all-Russian trend and the average indicators for federal districts (Table 5). If in all other groupings of regions we divided the interval into equal-width segments, then in the case of grouping by the criterion of periodicity of transfers, we identified groups that represent a ratio of 40/20/40 in order to more clearly demonstrate the mixed type of regions that combine both daily transfers and going to work several times a week.

According to the 2020 All-Russian Population Statistics, there is a division of the flows of movement of the employed population working outside their place of residence. In general, in the Russian Federation, the share of internal pendulum labor movements prevails (76.6%), while external labor pendulum migration in Russia makes up 9% of the number of employed people who indicated the frequency of departure (going) to work. The Central and Northwestern Federal Districts are characterized by lower shares of internal pendulum labor migration (Figure 9), and demonstrate a higher proportion of external pendulum labor migration, which is possibly explained by the strong attraction and influence of the largest agglomerations in Russia. In general,

pendulum labor migration in Russia mainly represents movements within the region of residence of workers (Table 5). The structure of the external migration flow also includes pendulum labor migration to other countries, but this type of movement makes up less than 1% of the total number of movements, pendulum labor migrants. The Northwestern Federal District stands out in terms of labor migration abroad. The share of foreign pendulum migrations is still very small in the structure of pendulum labor migration (0.6%), but it is much higher than in other federal districts. For example, in the Central Federal District the share of foreign pendulum movements is 0.005%, and in the Far Eastern Federal District - 0.1%. Kaliningrad, Leningrad Regions and St. Petersburg take on the entire share of pendulum labor movements abroad in the Northwestern Federal District. Movements abroad from St. Petersburg and Leningrad Region are carried out mainly with a frequency of several times a week, while in Kaliningrad Region daily movements prevail, which may be due to the special exclave position of the region. The Khanty-Mansiysk and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrugs stand out for their high share of external pendulum movements. These entities are promising mineral and raw material centers, in which the employer is close to their residents, so the population does not need to leave for a long time to work on a rotational basis.

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Table 5. Grouping of subjects of the Russian Federation by frequency of pendulum labor migration, 2024, % of daily movements from the total number of pendulum labor migration in the region

Category	Quantity	Regions
Subjects with predominance of daily movements (60.0–100.0%)	a54	Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (85.2%); Nenets Autonomous Okrug (82.5%); Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (80.45%); Tuva Republic (74.2%); Kamchatka Krai (73.7%); Karachay-Cherkess Republic (72.4%); Chuvash Republic (72.3%); Altai Republic (72.1%); Sakha Republic (Yakutia) (71.8%); Kabardino-Balkarian Republic (70.8%); Republic of Crimea (70.2%); Republic of Ingushetia (69.6%); Khabarovsk Krai (69.6%); Republic of North Ossetia – Alania (69.3%); Chechen Republic (68.9%); Sakhalin Oblast (68.9%); Primorsky Krai (68.5%); Moscow City (68.2%); Republic of Adygea (68.1%); Udmurt Republic (67.6%); Komi Republic (67.3%); Kaliningrad Region (67.1%); Ivanovo Region (66.8%); Saratov Region (66.7%); Mari El Republic (66.6%); Republic of Dagestan (66.4%); Krasnodar Region (66.2%); Magadan region (65.9%); Republic of Tatarstan (65.8%); Belgorod region (65.6%); Republic of Bashkortostan (65.5%); Orenburg region (65.5%); Tambov region (65.4%); Bryansk region (65.2%); Kirov region (64.8%); Murmansk region (64.6%); Moscow region (64.6%); Republic of Mordovia (64.2%); Arkhangelsk region without the autonomous okrug (64.0%); Samara region (63.7%); Republic of Khakassia (63.4%); Rostov region (63.2%); Kurgan region (63.1%); Lipetsk region (63.1%); Astrakhan region (63.0%); Sevastopol city (62.8%); Kursk region (62.4%); Oryol region (62.2%); Kostroma region (60.9%); Vologda region (60.9%); Altai Krai (60.7%); Leningrad Region (60.6%); Yaroslavl Region (60.5%); Pskov Region (60.2%)
Subjects with mixed type of movements (40.1–59.9%)	26	Penza Oblast (59.8%); Tyumen Oblast excluding autonomous okrugs (59.7%); Voronezh Oblast (59.6%); Ulyanovsk Oblast (59.1%); Sverdlovsk Oblast (58.2%); Nizhny Novgorod Oblast (57.9%); Saint Petersburg (57.8%); Republic of Karelia (57.8%); Ryazan Region (57.6%); Novosibirsk Region (57.5%); Republic of Buryatia (57.4%); Perm Region (57.3%); Krasnoyarsk Region (57.2%); Omsk Region (57.1%); Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Yugra (56.9%); Smolensk Region (56.9%); Chelyabinsk Region (56.7%); Stavropol Region (56.1%); Novgorod region (55.6%); Tula region (53.3%); Kaluga region (52.6%); Transbaikal Territory (51.8%); Kemerovo region – Kuzbass (50.5%); Amur region (50.4%); Vladimir region (46.3%); Tver region (45.1%)
Subjects with predominance of displacements several times per week (0–40.0%)	a5	Volgograd Region (39.6%); Tomsk Region (35.1%); Irkutsk Region (12.1%); Republic of Kalmykia (9.2%); Jewish Autonomous Region (0.7%)

Table 6. Grouping of subjects of the Russian Federation by flows of pendulum labor migrants, 2024, % of external pendulum migration from all pendulum labor migration of the region

Category	Quantity	Regions
Subjects with predominance of external flows (65.3% and above)	a3	Nenets Autonomous Okrug (97.9%); Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Yugra (95.6%); Saint Petersburg (72.2%)

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	GIF (Australia)	= 0.564	ESJI (KZ)	= 8.100	IBI (India)	= 4.260
	JIF	= 1.500	SJIF (Morocco)	= 7.184	OAJI (USA)	= 0.350

Subjects with mixed flows (32.7–65.2%)	8	Leningrad Region (64.0%); Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (63.6%); Moscow Region (61.7%); Sevastopol (58.3%); Republic of Adygea (55.4%); Jewish Autonomous Region (48.7%); Moscow (44.7%); Vladimir region (33.3%)
Subjects with a predominance of internal movements (0–32.6%)	74	Kaluga Region (31.9%); Tver Region (29.7%); Tula Region (25.5%); Mari El Republic (17.2%); Novgorod Region (16.9%); Smolensk Region (14.5%); Tambov Region (14.3%); Pskov Region (12.3%); Republic of Kalmykia (11.8%); Republic of North Ossetia – Alania (11.4%); Udmurt Republic (11.2%); Ulyanovsk Region (10.0%); Kurgan Region (9.9%); Karachay-Cherkess Republic (7.9%); Lipetsk Region (7.8%); Kursk Region (7.6%); Kostroma Region (6.7%); Kabardino-Balkarian Republic (6.6%); Primorsky Krai (5.2%); Kirov Region (5.1%); Oryol region (5.1%); Ivanovo region (4.9%); Chuvash Republic (4.9%); Vologda Oblast (4.9%); Krasnoyarsk Krai (4.7%); Ryazan Oblast (4.5%); Bryansk region (4.3%); Altai Krai (4.3%); Republic of Crimea (4.2%); Yaroslavl region (4.1%); Penza region (4.1%); Orenburg region (3.9%); Republic of Mordovia (3.8%); Murmansk region (3.7%); Republic of Buryatia (3.4%); Republic of Dagestan (3.4%); Kaliningrad region (3.4%); Transbaikal Krai (3.3%); Republic of Karelia (3.2%); Kemerovo Region – Kuzbass (3.1%); Krasnodar Krai (3.1%); Arkhangelsk Region without the autonomous okrug (3.0%); Altai Republic (3.0%); Stavropol Krai (2.9%); Republic of Khakassia (2.8%); Republic of Bashkortostan (2.7%); Republic of Tatarstan (2.7%); Sverdlovsk Region (2.1%); Republic of Ingushetia (1.9%); Belgorod Region (1.8%); Magadan Region (1.7%); Chelyabinsk region (1.7%); Tomsk region (1.6%); Samara region (1.4%); Omsk region (1.3%); Chukotka Autonomous District (1.2%); Nizhny Novgorod Region (1.2%); Volgograd Region (1.1%); Perm Krai (1.1%); Astrakhan region (0.9%); Rostov region (0.9%); Komi Republic (0.8%); Tyva Republic (0.8%); Amur region (0.7%); Kamchatka Territory (0.7%); Khabarovsk Territory (0.6%); Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) (0.6%); Novosibirsk region (0.5%); Sakhalin Region (0.4%); Voronezh Region (0.4%); Saratov Region (0.4%); Tyumen Region without autonomous okrugs (0.4%); Chechen Republic (0.2%); Irkutsk Region (0.1%)

Residents of the named regions can travel to work in accordance with the schedule offered to them by their employer and return home much more often than shift workers. Internal pendulum labor migration is mainly represented by daily movements, while in the structure of external pendulum migration there is a preponderance in favor of movements made several

times a week. This fact can be associated with the fact that longer distances force one to choose a work schedule that excludes daily movements. But there are a number of regions in the structure of external movements of which a large share of daily movements is observed (Figure 10).

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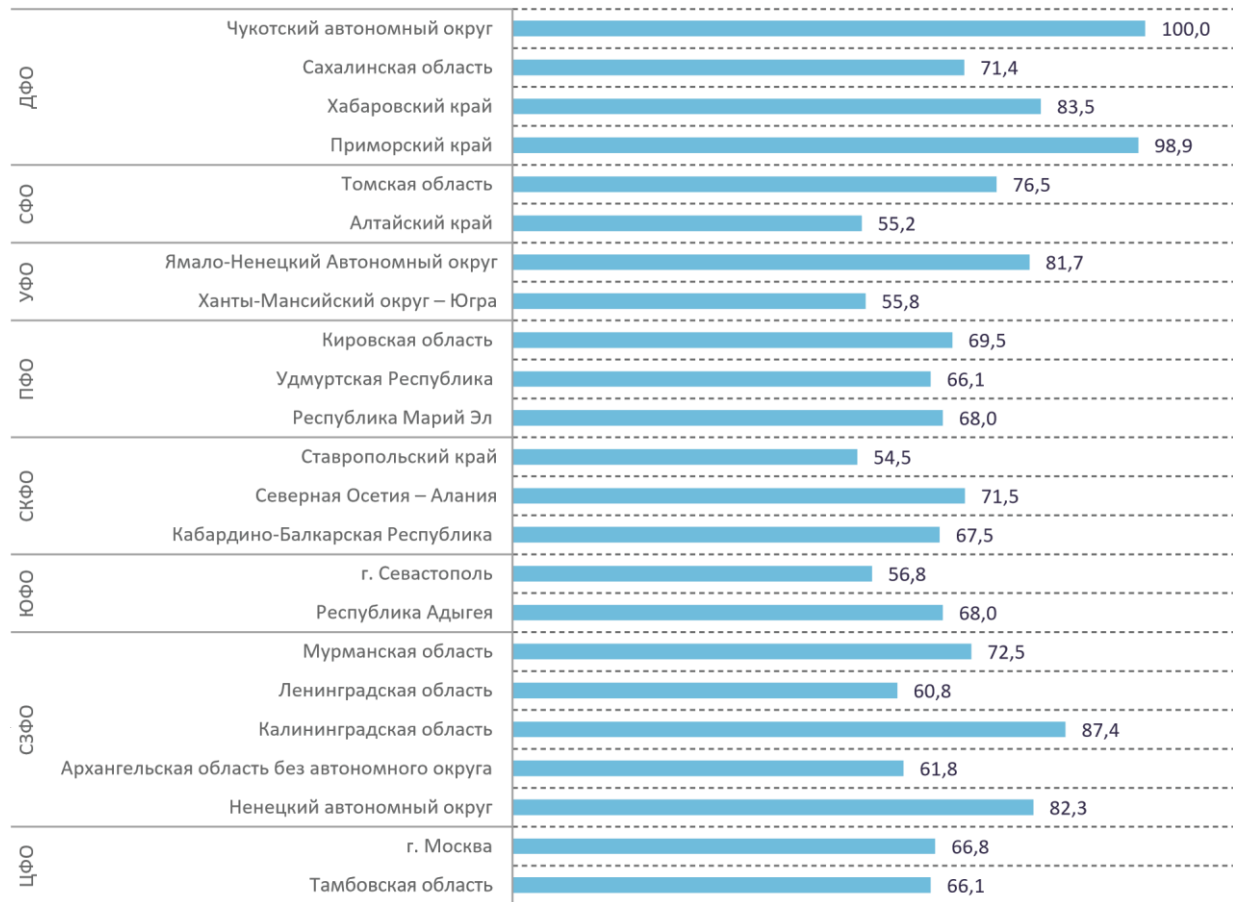


Figure 10. Regions with a predominance of external daily commuting, 2024, % of external pendulum labor migration

The Northwestern Federal District is represented by the largest number of regions with predominant external daily movements. Its peculiarity is that the largest shares of daily external movements fall on the regions that are priority geostrategic territories of the country: Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, Primorsky Krai, Kaliningrad Oblast, Khabarovsk Krai, Nenets and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrugs, Murmansk Oblast. Situated on the border of the country, only Kaliningrad Oblast (35.2%) and Primorsky Krai (14.6%) have foreign pendulum migration in the structure of external pendulum migration; in the other regions listed, spatial daily movements abroad are absent. It can be assumed that the structure of the economy and settlement in these regions allows people employed outside their place of residence to give preference to daily movements.

Pendulum labor migration is a return cyclical, repeated phenomenon that involves mandatory crossing of the boundaries of the settlement where the pendulum migrant lives. As a rule, pendulum migrants independently plan and pay for their labor movements, which are characterized by a stable and repetitive route. The distance of movements is mainly concentrated within a radius of 120-150 km around

the place of permanent residence of the individual. Labor relations of the studied group of persons can be formalized both legally and illegally. If this is official employment, it is carried out under a standard employment contract. In general, the category of pendulum labor migrants is quite vulnerable, since at the moment there are no regulatory legal acts governing the sphere of pendulum labor migration. It is very difficult to assess the scale of pendulum labor migration in Russia due to the imperfection of statistical data. The 2020 VPN was the first large-scale source of data on various forms of temporary labor migration, which also reflected pendulum labor migration. It is also possible to assess pendulum labor migration using data from a sample labor force survey, which allows one to see the distribution of the population by the frequency of returning home with the same gradation as in the 2020 VPN, except that remote employment was added separately to the Census. However, the results of the sample labor force survey do not provide a breakdown by region and federal district, there are only general figures for each frequency of going to work, information on the number of men and women participating in return types of labor migration since 2013. According to

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estimates from this resource, the share of pendulum labor migration in 2024 was 2% of the total employed population. According to geoanalytical data collected by Rosstat using information from mobile operators, 1/5 of the workforce in the Russian Federation is involved in pendulum labor migration.

The share of commuter labor migrants, according to the results of the All-Russian Population Survey 2020, is 8% of the total employed population in the Russian Federation, which is significantly less than the Rosstat forecasts using cellular data and 4 times higher than the estimates of the sample labor force survey. The discrepancy in the scale estimates can be explained by differences in the data collection methodology. An analysis of the scale of commuter migration showed that there are regions with a low, moderate, and high share of commuter labor migration in the structure of the employed population included in the labor force. Regions with a high share of commuter labor migration have a large focus in the European part of Russia. According to the All-Russian Population Survey 2020, such movements are typical mainly for rural residents who travel to work every day. When assessing the phenomenon of commuter labor migration, there are studies that examine the scale of commuter labor migration at the regional level, for example, using GIS technologies, data from mobile operators at the level of local entities: cities, or individual regions. In the Moscow region in 2015, using data from mobile operators, it was revealed that commuter migrants accounted for 1.3 million people, i.e. approximately 34% of the employed population of the region. In Ufa, where in 2015 the number of commuter labor migrants was 45 thousand people, this share is about 4.5% of the employed population of the city. In 2020, the head of the Committee on Labor and Employment of the Population of St. Petersburg indicated that more than 440 thousand commuter labor migrants arrive in the city every day, which, according to him, is equal to 9% of the employed population of St. Petersburg. Comparison of quantitative data with the census results is not possible, since the results of the 2020 All-Russian Population Census contain information only by region, not by individual cities. Another reason for the incomparability of data is the different years and methodology of the study. During the analysis, it was noted that there is a growing need to identify groups of movements in the structure of pendulum labor migration that occur daily and several times a week, since such movements can be due to the different

nature of the work of pendulum labor migrants. The division of flows by the frequency of pendulum movements is also due to possible economic effects and socio-demographic consequences for the individual. It is necessary to distinguish between external and internal pendulum labor migration, since the employed population traveling beyond the borders of their region of residence contributes to the development of another region, because the entire volume of goods and services produced by this contingent of workers is related to the GRP of the region of work. Taxes, in particular personal income tax, also remain entirely in the budget of the “non-native” region, and the region of residence of the commuter labor migrant is deprived not only of revenues to the budget, but also of human capital and potential. The results of the 2020 VPS do not cover such aspects as age, gender, education, profession of labor migrants, their destination, which would allow a more accurate assessment of the consequences of this phenomenon. The influx of pendulum labor migrants to stagnant and depressed regions can revive their labor market.

Conclusion

Thus, according to the respondents, the intensity of migration loss of population is most influenced by such factors as the low level of socio-economic development of the region, low standard of living of the population, features of the regional labor market, as well as the desire to provide their children with a decent and secure future, as evidenced by the results of the study. Migration losses of the most active and mobile part of the population lead to a change in the socio-demographic composition of the population and pose a particular danger to the region in the future. Redirecting migration flows in the future is possible due to the alignment of regional differences in income levels of the population, development of social infrastructure, development of production, promotion of rural employment, which helps prevent stagnant unemployment in their regions, and achieving balance in the regional labor market. The results of the study contribute to the development of ideas about modern trends in return labor migration, especially in terms of pendulum labor migration. They can be used by researchers when conducting research on similar topics, government bodies of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation and local governments when developing projects, as well as improving policies in the field of migration and labor.

References:

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