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USSR Report

HUMAN RESOURCES

(FOUO 7/82)



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CONTENTS

DEMOGRAPHY

Country's Demographic Policies Examined (Various sources, various dates)	1
Demographic Policy Described, by G. I. Litvinova, B. Ts. Uralnis	
Migration, Reproduction Analyzed, by L. Rybakovskiy, N. Tarasova	

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DEMOGRAPHY

COUNTRY'S DEMOGRAPHIC POLICIES EXAMINED

Demographic Policy Described

Moscow SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO in Russian No 3, Mar 82 pp 38-46

[Article by G.I. Litvinova, candidate of juridical sciences, senior research officer at the Institute of the State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and B. Ts. Uralnis: The Demographic Policy of the Soviet Union]

[Text] Population problems have taken their place among the global problems of the present day. Jurisprudence faces great tasks in this regard. It is becoming more and more obvious that there is a need for legal regulation of social processes, including demographic ones; only yesterday it seemed that many of these processes could develop spontaneously. The management of demographic processes consists of the conscious, goal-oriented and systematic influencing of population on the basis of awareness and use of the objective patterns and progressive tendencies characteristic of socialism in the interests of ensuring optimal movement of the population and the establishment of a population reproduction regime which would fully answer the problems of the state and society under developed socialism.

The multi-faceted nature of demographic processes presumes a comprehensive analysis of these processes by economists, legal and medical specialists, sociologists and representatives of other sciences; the discovery of various factors which influence population movement and opportunities for managing these factors. The 25th CPSU congress directed representatives of the natural and social sciences to undertake comprehensive study of demographic problems for the purpose of developing an effective demographic policy [2]. In the CC CPSU report to the 26th party congress L.I. Brezhnev said: "In accordance with the directives of the 25th party congress, the Central Committee has devoted serious attention to the development and implementation of an effective demographic policy and to the population problems, which have become exacerbated in recent times" [3, p 54].

The demographic policy of the Soviet state is aimed at ensuring a natural increase in population, at strengthening health, at increasing the life span and labor activity of every person and at rationalizing territorial mobility. It is also oriented toward the development of qualitative population features, inasmuch as the progress of society depends not so much on the numbers as on the quality

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of the population. In the achievement of demographic policy goals a large role is assigned to the family, a most important function of which is the reproduction of the population. It is within the family that the reproductive aims of citizens are realized and the original socialization of the child takes place: his emotional world, his moral and ethical positions are formed here. The USSR Constitution declares that the family is under the protection of the state. The state manifests concern for the family through the establishment and development of a broad network of children's institutions, the organization and improvement of household and public catering services, the payment of benefits when a child is born, the payment of allowances and benefits to large families, as well as other types of allowances and assistance for the family (Article 53).

At the 26th CPSU Congress L.I. Brezhnev emphasized that the main way to resolve population problems was to manifest "increased concern for the family, for newly-married couples and especially for women" [3, p 54]. Without the assistance of the state it would be difficult for a woman to combine the functions of motherhood with production and societal activities. At the congress it was pointed out that although a series of measures were taken in the 10th Five-Year Plan to improve the labor conditions of working women, as well as conditions for family recreation, domestic and cultural services, no appreciable change had yet taken place [3, p 55]. There is still a large proportion of women who work night shifts and who are engaged in work which requires manual labor and few skills. The predominant practice of using female labor for low-skilled work is the reason why the average wage of women is two-thirds that of men, although the total labor load at home and at work is 15-20 percent greater than the load of men [4].

While consolidating the success achieved in the improvement of women's position, and confirming the principle of equality between women and men, the 1977 USSR Constitution, in comparison with the 1936 constitution, contains a series of supplemental measures, including program measures aimed at ensuring the actual equality of women and men, and at improving the conditions for combining motherhood and production activities by women, and specifically at reducing gradually the working time of women who have young children (Article 35).

Broad and effective measures to improve the working and living conditions of working women, and especially of working mothers, are set out in the Basic Trends in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in the years 1981-1985 and for the Period up to 1990. It calls for the introduction of partially paid leave to care for a child up to one year, the extension of child allowances, especially for the birth of second and third children, repeal of the tax on childlessness for young couples in the first year of marriage, a reduced working day for mothers of young children, expansion of the network and improvement in the operations of preschool facilities and schools with after school day care groups, and improvement in the entire sphere of household services. Plans call for improved housing benefits for young couples and for families which have children [3, p 55, 178].

The city of Naberezhnyye Chelny conducted an experiment in which young families with children were given top priority in obtaining living accommodation with

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modern conveniences. The results showed that this measure is capable of significantly influencing the birthrate. In this regard, it is advisable to establish legislatively the right of young families in a first marriage who have two or three children to receive maximum housing benefits. The priority introduction of such benefits in the republics and regions with a low birthrate will contribute not only to an increase in the birthrate, but also to the strengthening of marriages because the areas which have low birthrates are also characterized by a high percentage of marriage breakdowns.

The increase in divorces is a kind of shadow of progress with regard to the position of women: the increased economic independence of women has raised the level of their demands on the marital union and has become one of the reasons for the reduction in marriage stability. In resolving these complex issues consideration should be taken of changing attitudes toward marriage, the goals of marriage, its material foundation, the nature of the emotional and sexual relations of the spouses and their reproductive aims. It is clear that improvements in the marriage and family legislation should be carried out not so much along the lines of increased legal prohibitions concerning divorce and abortion (legal prohibitions which regulate the reproductive behavior of citizens should be applied with particular caution), as along the lines of granting increased allowances and benefits to families with children. It is this kind of solution of the problem that lawyers have been directed toward by materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, which point directly to the need for increased benefits and allowances, "especially with regard to the birth of a second or third child...." It is further recommended that the "features of the situation in the various republics and regions be taken into careful account" /3, p 557. The differences in the level of the birthrate and natural increase in the various republics and regions are extremely significant. The Soviet people are growing in numbers mainly as a result of the high natural increase of certain national groups at a time when there is a low level of natural increase or even a reduction in the numbers among other groups.

It is appropriate to recall that before the revolution depopulation was common among many of the peoples in the Asian part of the country: the number of Kazakhs, Khirgiz, Turkmenians, Buryats, etc. was falling. The Soviet federal state, having concentrated all material resources in its own hands, redistributed them to the backward regions, succeeded within historically unprecedented periods of time in raising sharply the level of material well-being, health care and culture of the peoples who were in danger of dying out. The rates of socio-economic development which were established for these peoples were accelerated in comparison with the all-union indicators. In this way the problem of real as well as legal equality among national groups was solved. As a result there was success in preventing the physical extinction of these peoples and in ensuring a high rate of natural increase for them. L.I. Brezhnev noted correctly that the growth of population in the Central Asian republics "reflects primarily the dramatic improvement in the economic level of our republics, including enormous growth in the well-being of the population in the former outlying districts of tsarist Russia...." /1/ Although the demographic situation in the USSR has now changed sharply, the existing system for the distribution of budget resources, the policy of purchase prices, which influences the level of material supply for the rural population and other factors remain as

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before, beneficial for the outlying republics and regions, although at present the central regions, and especially the Non Black Earth Zone, are in more need of such benefits.

The legislation, which was adopted in 1944 and is still in effect today, is aimed at providing the maximum encouragement for large families; this is no longer in line with the requirements of the demographic situation which has become established in the country. At a time when there is nearly full employment of women in public production and there are growing demands for the comprehensive development and education of children, families with many children cannot be either the standard or the norm encouraged by the state.

The policy proposed by the 26th CPSU Congress, which provides maximum encouragement for families to have two or three children, will help to bring closer together the birthrates of the various republics and national groups, to strengthen the community of their demographic characteristics, and to strengthen the unity of the Soviet people. The realization of this policy requires a re-examination not only of the magnitude but also of the principles of providing incentives to increase the birthrate, as stipulated by the 8 July 1944 ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The ukase provided for a monthly allowance which is paid to a family, but only beginning with the fourth child; further, the maximum allowance is paid for the 11th and subsequent children [5]. This same policy of encouraging large families is the basis for the procedure stipulated by the ukase, for awarding the orders of "Maternal Glory" and "Mother Heroine" to women who have given birth and raised 7-10 or more children [5].

The mother with many children is deserving of honor inasmuch as the raising of children requires enormous labor and self sacrifice from her. However, from the viewpoint of stimulating the birthrate, the existing norms for encouraging women to have more than one child are not sufficiently effective. One can hardly think that women have more children because they are hoping to receive a medal, an order or the corresponding title. At the same time it must be noted that having many children, even under the most favorable circumstances, constitutes a large burden for a woman. A large number of children reduces her opportunities for cultural and occupational growth, and at times it deprives her completely of her leisure and affects her health. Raising children in a large family is more difficult because the parents are not in a position to devote sufficient attention to each one. For this reason the interests of both the mother and the offspring dictate an orientation towards an optimal number of children, which will correspond to the rational need for children on the part of both the family and society. Under present conditions three children represents this optimum size family. However, at the present time, given the still existing housing difficulties for the urban population, one can talk about the universal acceptance of a two-child family as a realistic goal because it is well known that a significant number of married couples limit themselves to one child. This can be seen in the fact that the number of second children in 1977 was significantly less than the number of first-born children. Consequently, when the number of second children approaches the number of first children, it signifies a substantial increase in the birthrate. On the other hand, the legal norms must contribute to a reduction in the number of one-child families. It is generally known that it is difficult to create

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the best possible conditions for raising a child in one-child families. The child in these families frequently turns out to be a "luminary" around which all the "planets" revolve. This kind of child-centeredness cannot fail to produce hypertrophy of egotistical tendencies in a child and the desire to satisfy his primary needs frequently at the expense of his parents' interests.

Childless families prove to be in a special position. Voluntary childlessness extends to only 1 or 2 percent of married couples, while actual childlessness is greater and approaches 10 percent. These are married couples who suffer from infertility because of either the husband or the wife. Infertility frequently causes family conflicts and in a number of cases it is the cause of divorce. It is no accident that the overwhelming majority of divorces occur among childless or one-child families. The legal regulation of operations for the artificial insemination of women could become a serious measure to reduce the number of childless families, and consequently, to increase the stability of marriage.

Among the social measures, set out by the 26th CPSU Congress, there is great demographic significance to the decisions concerning the expansion of the network of preschool institutions for children and the improvement of their operations [3, p 55, 178]. In this connection it would be wise to standardize the legal position of kindergarten and day care centers, which come under the jurisdiction of various organs. As is well known, departmental day cares and kindergartens are in a better position in comparison with day care centers and kindergartens which come under the budget of the local soviets (fewer children per care giver, larger norms for food expenditures, higher wages for personnel, etc.). Matters with regard to kindergartens and day care centers which come under kolkhoz budgets are even more complex. For example, in the Turkmen SSR, where kolkhoz's are economically strong, every kolkhoz has one or two kindergartens and day care centers (the number of these institutions is 1.5-fold greater than the number of kolkhoz's in the republic), while by no means every kolkhoz in the Non Black Earth Zone has its own kindergarten or day care center. The sovkhos kindergartens which exist in rural regions do not always accept the children of kolkhoz members living nearby. Now, at a time when school programs are based on the assumption that children have received preschool education, the children of kolkhoz members who have not attended kindergarten start school at a disadvantage. Kolkhoz kindergartens experience not only financial difficulties, but also problems obtaining equipment and staff. The care giver is often a woman who has been transferred here because her health no longer permits her to perform heavy labor. All kindergartens and day care centers should be put under the jurisdiction of the local soviets; their material base and organizational structure should be improved.

Particular mention should be made of the legal position of unmarried mothers.¹ A significant amount of attention was devoted to the improvement of their position in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress. The unmarried mother is surrounded by the attention and concern of the state. In accordance with the January 1981 decree of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers "Concerning Measures to Strengthen State Assistance to Families Having Children" [6], the monthly allowance for the maintenance of a child of such a mother was increased from 5 to 20 rubles; moreover, it will be paid until the child reaches

1. It would seem that the existing term "single mother" is illogical: how can a single woman who has a family, even if incomplete, be called single or solitary? It would be better to talk about an unmarried mother, in contrast with a divorcee or a widow.

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16, or until 18 if he continues his studies. An allowance of this size compensates to a definite degree for the expenses of raising a child; this is especially important as the mother does not receive alimony.

The measures stipulated by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and a decree of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers "Concerning Measures to Strengthen State Assistance to Families Having Children" are of great significance for the formation of optimal families. These measures include: additional benefits for working mothers such as partially paid leave to care for a child under the age of one year; unpaid leave until the child reaches a year and a half, and in the future to two years; an increase in regular leave; the right to work a shortened working day or week; the right to work at home; an increase in the amount of paid leave to care for a sick child between the ages of 7 and 14 years, etc. The realization of these measures will contribute to the optimalization of the birthrate.

It goes without saying that no family can be obliged to have any specific number of children by any legal act. However, the legislator can specify a system of benefits and allowances under which all or the overwhelming majority of families will prefer to have the number of children which can be considered optimal for the normal development of the state and society. In working to improve the legislation which influences the reproductive behavior of our citizens, the positive experience accumulated in the area of demographic policy by the European socialist states should be used to good advantage. In recent decades this policy has developed along the line of expanded benefits and allowances for working mothers with two or three children. It would seem that the experience of granting housing benefits to newly-married couples and families with children is particularly significant given the conditions in our country. For example, in the GDR, young couples entering a first marriage are granted an eight-year loan of 5,000 marks, as long as the newly-weds are no older than 26. This interest-free loan has the following payment conditions: when the first child is born, 1,000 marks is deducted from the debt, when the second is born, another 1,500 marks is cleared, and when the third child is born the remaining 2,500 marks are cleared. The young couples willingly take the loan because nearly all of them want the first child. Having taken 5,000 marks, they only have to return 4,000. However, with the birth of a child the family's financial position, as a rule, becomes more difficult, and the remaining 4,000 are frequently "paid off by the children," whose births (the second and third) were not always planned before the loan was obtained. During the first five years the law was in effect (it was introduced in 1972), 398,000 credits worth a total of 2.2 billion marks were granted. During this period of time married couples returned 323 million marks in payment of the loans [7].

The numerical population of a state and its rate of increase depends not only on the birthrate but also on the average life span. The Soviet state was the first in the world to create a Ministry of Health and to take full responsibility for improving the health of its citizens, especially its children; this has resulted in a two-fold increase in life span and a sharp (10-fold) reduction in infant mortality. However, in recent years there has been a stabilization, and in certain age groups even an increase in mortality. This is one aspect

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in the exacerbation of the population problems and is an aspect which was noted in the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress^[2].

In the USSR health care is considered to be a top-priority issue. Evidence of this can be found in the special article of the USSR Constitution which stipulates the right of citizens to health protection. This right is ensured by the system of free medical care, the implementation of widespread preventive measures, environmental improvement schemes and "particular concern for the health of the coming generation, including the prohibition of child labor, not connected with instruction or labor education..." (Article 42). Much attention in the has been devoted to the spiritual and physical development of young people in the Constitution (article 25). The protection of citizens' health is also guaranteed by other constitutional norms, for example, the right to live in a healthy environment (Article 18), the right to recreation (Article 41), the right to material provision in old age, in the case of illness, or work disability (partial or complete) and also in case of loss of the breadwinner (Article 43).

The 26th CPSU Congress, having declared the right to life to be the most important human right, stipulated a system of measures to strengthen the health of citizens to improve the level and quality of medical care, to expand the network of health care institutions, to improve their structure and rational distribution ^[3], pp 182-183. The measures taken by the congress to improve social and work conditions for the population will contribute to the increase in the life span. The congress decreed that there should be increased mechanization of labor-intensive processes, and a reduction in the use of manual labor. It is thought that these measures will be carried out first in the production spheres which use primarily female labor; it would be good to establish this in the legal norms which regulate socio-economic planning.

Among the measures aimed at the protection of health, an important role is assigned to measures to combat the abuse of alcohol, which has a pernicious effect not only on the health of the people involved, but also on their offspring. According to the data of sociological studies, 65 percent of the fathers of mentally retarded children suffered from chronic alcoholism. There is an even greater probability that a defective child will be born if the mother is drinking ^[8]. In this regard there are grounds for proposing limitations on marriages by chronic, neglected alcoholics, as well as by feeble-minded people and drug addicts ^[9]. The issue of voluntary sterilization of such persons as a condition of marriage should be discussed.

Migration policy is an important element of demographic policy and one of its important constituents. The size of the population, and especially the magnitude of the available labor resources within a given republic or region is determined not only by the level of natural population increase but also by the trends and intensity of migratory processes. A significant amount of today's territorial mobility of the population is not in the interests of the national economy. Given the worsening of the problem of labor resources in most of the country, a well grounded migration policy is acquiring particular significance. Although the interests of economic and social development require

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an influx of labor resources into labor-short regions, the migratory streams are frequently directed to the regions of labor excess. At the 26th CPSU Congress, L.I. Brezhnev noted that up to now people have frequently preferred to move from the north to the south and from the east to the west, although the rational distribution of productive forces requires movement in the opposite directions [3, p 547]. The republics of Central Asia, which are characterized by the highest rate of natural population increase and a surplus of labor resources, have a positive balance of migration, i.e., more people come to this area than leave it.

The management of migratory processes presupposes an analysis and consideration of factors which influence the intensity and directional trends of the migration. Many of these factors were pointed out in the materials of the 26th party congress. They include first of all the developmental level of the infrastructure and the degree of material provision. For example, a person most often leaves Siberia because it is more difficult to obtain housing there or to find a place for his child in a kindergarten and there are few cultural centers. Taking this into account, the congress aimed at an accelerated rate of socio-domestic and cultural construction in regions of priority economic development, which, as a rule, are regions which are short of labor (Siberia, the BAM zone, the Non Black Earth Zone) [3, pp 54-557].

The success of the migration policy is closely linked to the budget and tax policy and the policy of purchase prices. Serious measures which are aimed at improving conditions in the Non Black Earth area will yield great results if they are supplemented by amendments to the tax and budget policy, as well as to the policy of purchase prices, which over a period of decades have developed to the disadvantage of certain regions. For example, in the fifties, the gross crop yield for 1 work-day according to the fixed prices for state purchases in the Non Black Earth Zone of the RSFSR was judged to be one-tenth of what it was in the Uzbek SSR and one-fifteenth the figure in the Georgian SSR [107]. In 1970 there were 11.5 hectares of arable land for every kolkhoz member in the RSFSR; in the Uzbek SSR the corresponding figure was 1.6 hectares but the income here for one kolkhoz member was 33 percent higher than in the RSFSR [117]. A comparison with the Non Black Earth Zone of the RSFSR shows that these differences were even greater. The comparatively low purchase prices for basic agricultural products which come from the Non Black Earth Zone (potatoes, flax, etc.), have a negative effect on the profitability of kolkhoz's and the incomes of kolkhoz members, and they are not completely in line with the principle of payment according to labor. Suffice it to say that the purchase prices for potatoes frequently do not justify the expenditures for their production. For example, the cost to produce a quintal of potatoes on a farm of the Non Black Earth Zone today amounts to 9 rubles 61 kopecks, and it is sold to the state for 6 rubles 6 kopecks per quintal (taking into account a reduction for starch, irregularity, etc.) [127]. The negative total profitability of agriculture in the RSFSR is explained primarily by the policy of purchase prices, through which we implement the basic redistribution of national wealth created by the agriculture of this republic and this region.

Over the decades the tax policy has also been constructed in such a way that the greatest tax benefits are granted to the outlying regions of the country.

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As for budget policy, during the years that the Soviet state has existed, the RSFSR has not only never enjoyed a subsidy from the union-wide budget, as certain other republics, but it has also obtained for the republic's budget one of the lowest percentages of allotments from the turnover tax, the basic item of budget income. In accordance with the general rule, the RSFSR receives only half of the money derived from the income tax on its population, at a time when certain other republics receive all of this income for their republics' budgets. The influence of these factors, as well as the lower (lower than the union average) rate of socio-economic development of rural regions of the country's center, are the reason for the excess emigration from here, especially the emigration of young people, which has led to an aging of the rural population and a reduction in its numbers.

At the 26th CPSU Congress mention was made of the substantial differences in the cultural and everyday living conditions in the various regions of the country; it was emphasized that it is necessary "to even out the social differences, in a so-to-speak territorial regard" [3, p 547]. In this regard it would be wise to introduce a differentiated ground rent which takes into account fully the soil, climatic and genographical conditions; this could reduce substantially the southern republics' demand for higher allotments from the union-wide state taxes and incomes, as well as take into account the demographers' proposal to develop territorial indices for the standard of living and indices for the population's living conditions. These indices, which should be calculated regularly for various areas, should be taken into account when legal acts concerning benefits for people working in certain regions are adopted. In this way there can be scientifically substantiated criteria for the establishment of certain wage supplements which should be made with consideration for the concrete conditions of life in a specific locality rather than over large territories and in an unscientific manner. These indices should include not only the cost of living in the given regions, but also the need to provide an adequate level of food and expenditures for clothing, footwear, and heating which arise from the climatic conditions of the locality. In addition, special indices of comfort and the satisfaction of the population's cultural requirements should be developed.

Migration policy, especially migration between republics, is related to national policy. The strictest possible observation of the principle of equal rights among nationalities, and provisions for actual equality and equal opportunities for social growth (job advancement, access to education, skill improvement, etc.) for representatives of every national group, regardless of which Soviet republic the citizen resides in, contributes to the optimalization of migratory processes. The all-union population censuses of 1970 and 1979 showed an increase in the proportion of people of indigenous nationality in the majority of union and autonomous republics, as well as a reduction in the proportion of people residing outside their own republic. One of the reasons for this is that the advantages for social advancement by representatives of the indigenous nationalities, in the republics have been retained. While this was justified in the first years after the Great October Revolution, it requires change under present conditions.²

2. Sociological studies have shown that when young people born of mixed marriages choose their nationality, they prefer the indigenous one, linking it to opportunities to obtain benefits, enter a VUZ or advance in a job, etc. [13]

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Having emphasized the strengthening of unity among Soviet national groups, the 26th CPSU Congress at the same time pointed to the existence of unresolved problems in the sphere of nationality relations, noting especially that citizens of non-indigenous nationality living in the union republics have the right to the necessary representation in the party and state organs of the republics, as well as their own specific needs in the area of language, culture and daily life. The CC CPSU report to the party congress says: "The central committees of the communist parties in the union republics, as well as the kraykoms and obkoms, must delve more deeply into such issues, and must suggest in good time ways to resolve them" [3, pp 56-57].

The management of migration is linked to the resolution of problems concerning resettlement, in particular with the organic growth of major cities. Here there are quite a few unresolved issues of an ecological, economic, legal, social and medical nature, as well as others.

The successful implementation of a demographic policy, which is a part of the state's socio-economic policy, depends on the resolution of the complex of socio-economic problems. An effective demographic policy presumes the achievement--within an historically short period of time and with minimal economic expenses--of a goal while observing society's existing social norms, including legal ones [14]. The legal provision for implementing demographic policy requires: determination of the role of the law in a system of other, nonlegal measures, which influence the demographic behavior of citizens; preparation of a legal act of the highest legal force, which would determine the foundations of the demographic legislation of the USSR and the union republics, the goals and tasks of demographic policy, the ways and methods to achieve them; the elimination of gaps in the legal effect on any given demographic processes; adequate legal reflection of the demands of optimal demographic development; the attribution--as far as possible--of a demographic nature to nondemographic legal norms.

The establishing in law of the basic principles and trends of demographic policy presume the inter-relationship of all of its elements, their scientific foundation and balance, as well as consideration for the hierarchy of goals. However, the realization of these requirements under today's conditions is held up due to a lack of clear criteria and indicators of demographic development, especially qualitative ones. The abundance of differing, sometimes diametrically opposed viewpoints of economists, sociologists and psychologists on the fundamental issues of how to influence demographic processes complicates the development and improvement of legal norms, and puts the law-maker in a difficult position inasmuch as the adoption of legal acts, especially laws, excludes any such rapid change in viewpoint as can sometimes be observed in science.

Because it is an effective regulator of societal relations, the law along with other means of managing the demographic processes of society, is capable of ensuring the most rational possible behavior of people, and of creating conditions for population reproduction which will guarantee the well-being of society in a demographic regard. But in order to fulfill this function, the law must express with the necessary completeness and in its characteristic forms the requirements of Soviet demographic science with consideration for the effect of objective patterns of demographic development, as well as of

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the social, economic and political needs of the state, the republic, the region
the specific national group, or the entire Soviet people and country as a whole.

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Migration, Reproduction Analyzed

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[Article by L. Rybakovskiy and N. Tarasova: "Evaluating the Influence of Migration on the Reproduction of the Population"]

[Text] The influence of migration processes on population reproduction is the least studied aspect of the theory of migration. This applies in full measure both to the contemporary level of sociological studies of the mechanism by which migration influences the intensity of the birthrate and the mortality rate of the permanent population and of the migrants, and to the development of methodological problems related to the work of evaluating the results of migratory redistribution of the natural increase in the population among territories and settled areas of the country. The latter is especially important because in the places to which people have moved the immigrants themselves becomes direct participants in natural reproduction. And, on the other hand, areas which have a constant migratory outflow of residents at the same time give to other regions a portion of their natural increase.

The literature contains several proposals for possible approaches to evaluating the results of the effect of migration on the reproduction of population. These are primarily statements of a general nature, which are not accompanied, as a rule, by any corresponding calculations. For example, Ye. Gladyshev and T. Daganyev, while emphasizing that on the basis of data from current statistics "it is not possible to discover the direct influence of mechanical movement on the nature and dynamics of the birthrate, death rate and, consequently, the rate of natural increase," consider that a concept of this influence may yield an analysis of the differences in the course of natural movement processes for cities with different types of migration.¹

However, this approach is applicable if no great differences exist in the indicators for the natural reproduction of residents in settlement points in the period under study. In any other circumstances the corresponding comparisons for the level of migration will be unfounded. V. Dzhaoshvili proposes adherence to the same kind of methodological arrangement in determining the influence of migration processes on the natural increase in the population. In his opinion "it is necessary to compare rayons which are identical in all other aspects and differ only in the given factor"² in order to discover the influence of the migration factor on the natural movement of the population. This approach, which is suitable for comparisons, nonetheless, does not make it possible to evaluate the specific scale of change in natural population increase in a region as a result of migration. In addition, opportunities to apply it are limited by the fact that it is relatively complicated to select identical objects for analysis. Moreover, it is incorrect to correlate the results of the effect of migration processes on the features of the natural movement of population exclusively with the magnitude of migratory increase characteristic for any given territory. The mechanism by which migration influences population reproduction is much more complicated.

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A. Kvasha and G. Kiseleva proceed from the assumption that "the influence of migration on population reproduction is manifested both through change in the age structure, as well as through the arrival in the city of a population which has standards of reproductive behavior which differ from those of the indigenous citizens; they consider that one possible solution to the problem of accounting for the influence of migration on reproduction is to be found in the development of a system of standard models for the intensity of the transition from one state to another. These models make it possible to propose amendments varying in magnitude to the prediction of the number of births in any given part of the country. For this purpose use can be made of a system of standard combined tables of mortality rates and migration in which a differing level of mortality is combined with a given intensity of age migration."³

This kind of method is of undoubted interest since it is based on the use of the most substantial factors influencing natural reproduction (the age-sex composition and the reproductive rates of the immigrants). But without special preliminary research, the use of this method is made more difficult due to the determination of the reproductive rates of the immigrants and the intensity of change in the rates over time and the establishment of a period in which there will be a levelling off of the differences in the standards for the reproductive behavior of the immigrants and the indigenous population at the point of settlement.

Those works which contain concrete calculations of the natural movement of the population and migrants are of the greatest interest. These are mainly calculations of the level of the birthrate and the proposed number of births as a result of change in the age-sex structure of the population in the regions participating in the migration exchange. For example, A. Topilin calculated the birthrate factor and the number of babies who were born into families of immigrants in 1969; he arrived at his figures by weighing age indicators for the population on the age structure of the migrants and by making corrections to the ratio between men and women among the immigrants and among the entire population of the RSFSR.⁴ Ye. Bol'shakova applied similar calculations. In order to clarify the influence of the migration level of women of fertile age on the birthrate a determination was made of the proposed number of births if the age structure of the population changed only as a result of natural processes, i.e., by death. The calculation was based on actual distribution of those born in 1969 according to age of the mother.⁵

Yu. Krasnoshchek proposed the use of a method of demographic modeling to analyze the effect of migration on the features of the natural movement of the population.⁶ In his models the change in the number of births is viewed as a function of the dynamics of the number of women as a result of migration. This method was approved using as an example the rural population of the Ukrainian SSR (i.e., women, 1969-1970) and the population of the city of Kiev (i.e., men, 1958-1959). This approach to evaluating the influence of migration on the features of natural population movement, like any other method of demographic modeling, requires special information and is extremely labor-intensive. It can be applied only to large population entities, because it proposes the use of indicators from actuarial tables on life span which apply to the population of the area under study.

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It is obvious that one of the examined methods of evaluating the results of the effect of migration on the dynamics of the indicators for natural population movement makes it possible to carry out the corresponding calculations for the territorial redistribution of the natural increase on a nationwide scale. Nonetheless, calculations of this kind are, in our opinion, possible although extremely difficult. This is related first of all to the inadequate level of study devoted to the mechanism of the influence of the migration processes on the intensity of the birthrate and death rate of the population in regions of migration, as well as of the new settlers themselves. The data of numerous special studies are fragmented and contradictory and cannot yield an unambiguous answer to this question because the investigations concern various territories, were conducted at various times and according to various programs. In other words, the current level of sociological investigation under favorable circumstances makes it possible to enumerate the factors which in one way or another must be connected with the influence of migration on natural reproduction, as well as to point out the possible direction of the effect of every factor taken separately.

In addition, evaluating the influence of migration on the redistribution of natural population increase among the territories and settled areas of the country requires comparable information on the birthrate and death rate for permanent residents and immigrants, and the information must relate to all the territories under study. The information available in the literature concerning the conditions of natural reproduction among migrants and the permanent population are extremely contradictory. For example, the results of a study of women on birthrate issues conducted in 1966-1967 by staff members of the Latvian Branch of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration and the Ministry of Health of the Latvian SSR provides evidence that the new arrivals have on average no more children than the old time residents, and have hardly any influence on the level of the republic's birthrate.⁷ On the contrary, materials from an investigation of Leningrad families in 1974-1975 and of the population in the city of Kazan' in 1974 show that the indigenous residents of the cities have fewer children than the immigrants, and a higher proportion of childless couples.⁸ The question which was introduced in 1979 into the civil status acts, "How many years have you lived in your place of permanent residence?", provides an opportunity to evaluate the real differences in the level of the birthrate among permanent residents and immigrants. At the same time, however, analogous information concerning the level of mortality is lacking; for this reason it is essential when determining its hypothetical level to orient oneself toward the particular (in comparison with the entire population) age and sex structure of the immigrants. In addition, the available statistical information on the birthrate first of all provides evidence of the natural reproduction levels of the new settlers in the region of immigration, and it does not make it possible to characterize the actual losses in the birthrate for various territories as a result of the exodus of population, because migration, as a number of special studies have shown,⁹ may result in changed reproductive patterns among the newcomers. In this regard, differences only in the age-sex structure of permanent residents and migrants must be taken into account in the estimated calculations regarding the role of immigrants in the natural population increase in regions with a negative or positive migration increase during a given period.

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With a few clarifications this method for evaluating the role of migrants in the natural population reproduction in the regions of intensive economic development, which is based on the age-sex composition of the permanent residents and migrants¹⁰ can be used for all the territories of the country, regardless of whether they have a negative or positive migration increase.

The formulae proposed for calculating the scale of redistribution of the natural population increase resulting from migration with consideration for structural differences are based on the application of complex percentages. The essence of the calculations consists in the following. In a region of migration the natural increase which applies to the entire population (E)¹¹ is made up of the natural increase of the population (E_s) and of the migrants (E_m):

$$E = E_s + E_m. \quad (1)$$

In this case we are talking about an algebraic sum because the territories with a positive migration increase will have a value for E_m which is greater than zero, and the regions which are losing population will have a value for E_m which will be negative.

The natural increase for the entire population of the region under study (E) cannot be divided into two equal parts because in the first place, the values for the migration increase and the original population figure do not coincide either absolutely or in time and, in the second place, the indicators of natural increase for the population which resides in the region of migration and for the migrants are not the same. The particular age structure of the immigrants, which is characterized by a predominance of relatively young age groups in the migratory streams, influences the general indicators of natural increase among the migrants, which are greater than among the permanent population.

Taking into account the features of the age structure, and, consequently, the differences in the indicators for natural reproduction among the permanent population residing in the migration region and among the migrants, the total natural increase in residents in the given territory (E) can be divided into its component parts in the following manner:

$$E_s = \bar{S} \cdot \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_s}{1000}\right)^i - \bar{S}, \quad (2)$$

where \bar{S} is the average population, residing in the given region, without migration or natural increase, for the entire period under study. Its value is essentially equal to the original figure for population of a given region (S_n), i.e., $\bar{S} = S_n$. In this case it is hypothetically excluded that some of the local residents might die or leave the region;

\bar{e}_s is the average indicator of increase in the population which resided in the region at the start of the period under study;

i is the number of years in the period.

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The magnitude of the natural increase which arises from the newcomers, is determined according to the formula:

$$E_m = \bar{M} \cdot \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_m}{1000}\right)^t - \bar{M}, \quad (3)$$

where \bar{M} is the average value of the migration increase for the entire period under study;

\bar{e}_m is the average indicator for the natural increase of immigrants.

The use of \bar{M} as an independent variable for calculating E_m results mainly from the fact that we are talking about an estimate of the scale of migratory redistribution of natural increase. Despite the fact that not only immigrants but also emigrants take part in the natural movement of the regions' population, nonetheless, from the viewpoint of an estimation of migration consequences in the area of natural reproduction, the magnitude of the natural increase in migrants (E_m) will be determined by the results of migration during any given period.

The magnitude of \bar{M} should be calculated according to the formula for the grand mean from the sample means for equal intervals of time; this makes it possible to take into account the erratic nature of migration processes within the framework of the period under examination:

$$\bar{M} = \frac{m_n + 3m_{n-1} + 5m_{n-2} + \dots + (2n-1)m_1}{2n}, \quad (4)$$

where m_i is the entire migrational increase in the i period of migration

($i=1, 2, 3, \dots, n$; years).

Also, while the results of migration in the first half of the period under study will be decisive when using this method to calculate \bar{M} , the lack of births among immigrants during a certain period after migration will be taken into account to a certain degree in E_m .

With regard to individual territories the ratio of actual and average migration increases is not identical and depends on the distribution in time and the sign of the actual migration increase. While regions with a stable migration growth (whether positive or negative) have an \bar{M} (according to the modulus) which does not go beyond the actual migration increase for any given period, while the areas which originally received population as a result of migration but subsequently had negative migration growth, have an \bar{M} which may be greater than its actual value (for example, 1959-1978 in Kazakhstan, Moldavia, and Kirgizia).

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In order to determine the values of the indicators E_s and E_m , \bar{e}_s and \bar{e}_m , it is essential to know the average actual level of natural increase of all the residents of a given territory for the entire period. For this we use the formula:

$$(S_n + \bar{M}) \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_f}{1000}\right)^t = S_k - (M - \bar{M}), \quad (5)$$

after the transformation of which we will obtain:

$$\bar{e}_f = 1000 \left(\sqrt[t]{\frac{S_k - M + \bar{M}}{S_n + \bar{M}}} - 1 \right), \quad (6)$$

where M is the total migration increase of population in the region during the period under examination;

S_k is the figure for the population residing in the region by the end of the period under study;

\bar{e}_f is the mean actual indicator of natural growth in the entire population of the given region for the entire period.

On the basis of equations (1), (2), (3) and (5), it is not difficult to determine the average indicators of natural increase in permanent residents (\bar{e}_s) and of immigrants (\bar{e}_m) and the formula for their relationship with indicator \bar{e}_f .

In the right hand part of equation (5), S_k (the size of the population at the end of the period under study) will be equal to:

$$S_k = S_n + E + M \quad \text{or} \quad S_k = \bar{S} + E + M, \quad (7)$$

because it was presumed that the average size of the population residing in the region (without taking into account the natural and migrational increases) is essentially equal to its original size ($S_n = \bar{S}$).

By making the corresponding changes in the indicators S_k and S_n in formula (5), we will obtain:

$$(\bar{S} + \bar{M}) \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_f}{1000}\right)^t = \bar{S} + E + \bar{M}.$$

Hence the natural increase which applies to the entire population for the entire period (E) will be equal to:

$$E = (\bar{S} + \bar{M}) \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_f}{1000}\right)^t - (\bar{S} + \bar{M}). \quad (8)$$

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In equation (1) let us substitute the values for indicators E , E_s and E_m derived from formulae (2), (3) and (8). As a result we obtain:

$$(\bar{S} + \bar{M}) \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_f}{1000}\right)^t = \bar{S} \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_s}{1000}\right)^t + \bar{M} \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_m}{1000}\right)^t. \quad (9)$$

Having divided both parts of equation (9) by $(\bar{S} + \bar{M})$, we shall obtain the following formula for the dependence of the indicators of natural increase \bar{e}_f , \bar{e}_s and \bar{e}_m :

$$\left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_f}{1000}\right)^t = V_s \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_s}{1000}\right)^t + V_m \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_m}{1000}\right)^t, \quad (10)$$

where V_s is the proportion of the average population residing in the given region before migration;

V_m is the proportion of average migration increase.

From the last equation it is not difficult to extract the indicators of national increase for permanent residents (\bar{e}_s) and for immigrants (\bar{e}_m):

$$\bar{e}_s = 1000 \left(\sqrt[t]{\frac{\left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_f}{1000}\right)^t - V_m \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_m}{1000}\right)^t}{V_s}} - 1 \right); \quad (11)$$

$$\bar{e}_m = 1000 \left(\sqrt[t]{\frac{\left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_f}{1000}\right)^t - V_s \left(1 + \frac{\bar{e}_s}{1000}\right)^t}{V_m}} - 1 \right). \quad (12)$$

A majority of the indicators used in the formulae (\bar{S} , \bar{S}_n , S_k , M , \bar{M} , V_s , V_m , \bar{e}_f), can be obtained either directly or they can be calculated relatively unambiguously on the basis of statistical data. The main methodological difficulties lie in the determination of the values for the coefficients \bar{e}_s and \bar{e}_m . Two approaches are possible here: they differ from each other in which unknown indicator (\bar{e}_s or \bar{e}_m) is chosen as the initial one for substitution in equation (10).

The first approach. The coefficient of the natural increase in immigrants (\bar{e}_m) is taken as the independent variable. The essence of this approach lies in the determination of the coefficients of the birthrate, the mortality rate and the rate of natural increase by converting the respective age indicators for the entire population to the age structure of the immigrants. But, because of the ambiguity of the influence of the migration processes on population reproduction for regions with positive or negative migration increase, the methods for calculating \bar{e}_m cannot be the same.

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Because the immigration stream going into regions of settlements is formulated on the basis of the population in nearly all of the territories of the Soviet Union, the value of \bar{e}_m can be calculated hypothetically on the basis of the average, union-wide indicators for the birthrate and death rate by age. This is justified since the average indicator does not reflect individual differences in the population's reproduction habits. In addition, although the value of the nationwide average indicators for the natural movement are also determined by their level in territories with high birthrates and comparatively low migration mobility of residents (the republics of Central Asia and Trans Caucasia), the differences in the territorial structures of the population and of the immigrants can be ignored in estimated calculations, and recourse does not have to be made to the relatively labor-intensive two-fold standardization (i.e., according to age and area of departure) of birthrate and death rates by age. This assumption is justified by the fact that when it is converted to the territorial structure of the new arrivals (according to the 1970 population census), the coefficient of natural increase for the USSR population amounts to 86-92 percent of its actual magnitude for the years 1970-1978.¹² In cases where the indicators of natural population increase for the immigration area differ insignificantly from the average union-wide level, we completely allow the conversion of the birth rate and death rate indicators by age for the local population to the age structure of the new arrivals. In other words, for regions which have close to average levels of natural population movement there is no fundamental differences as to which reproduction conditions (in regions of departure or settlement) are taken as the foundation for calculation of the \bar{e}_m coefficients. At the same time, the use of indicators for natural reproduction of population in places of settlement is hardly justified for areas with reduced or elevated indicators of reproduction. Thus, it is hardly likely that the immigrants coming from regions with a low birthrate to a region with a high one will shift to the new reproduction conditions. For this reason it is possible to use here only those indicators of natural population movement which are average for the country.

For regions with a negative migration increase it is essential to determine indicator \bar{e}_m on the basis of the coefficients by age of the birthrate and death rate of the population in a given area. This is the result primarily of the fact that the migration processes here reduce the size of the population not only as a consequence of its outflow but also as a consequence of the losses in natural increase (people in the most active reproductive ages are excluded). This method of calculating the natural increase coefficient for immigrants is applicable for all regions which have a negative migration increase, regardless of what the rate of reproduction is there. In a parallel manner it is possible to use average union-wide indicators for natural population movement, but exclusively for territories which have natural increase coefficients which come close to the average level for the country.

Second approach. The coefficient of natural increase for the permanent population (\bar{e}_s) is viewed as the initial indicator. First of all it can be assumed that \bar{e}_s approximately corresponds to the average value for the natural increase coefficient of the USSR population. The possibility of using average indicators was already discussed. What has been said above relates to a certain degree to the regions of intensive settlement, where migration over an extended

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period of time functions as a very important source of population growth. In these areas the permanent population is made up of emigrants from all regions of the country, and for this reason the reproduction rate is close to the average level for the country. At the same time the uses of the national average coefficient of natural population increase as \bar{e}_s is possible not only for territories which have experienced intensive settlement in the past, but also for all other regions which have natural reproduction indicators which are close to the average.

If, however, the rate of population reproduction in an area differs from the average level, then the average union-wide indicators cannot be used. In that case the reproduction rate of the permanent population can be hypothetically equated with its level among residents of the given area at the start of the period under examination. The difficulty in the application of this calculation is the result of the fact that the rate of population reproduction in a region builds up under the influence not only of migration processes but also as a result of changes in the birthrate and death rate (by age) of the permanent population. For this reason the most rational path is to take as the initial indicator not simply the coefficient of natural increase for the starting year of the period under study but its average actual value over a number of initial years.

The method examined above was tested and officially approved using a number of areas in the country as examples. The calculations showed that migration processes are an important factor in the natural population reproduction in regions with intensive migration. For example, in the Kazakh SSR the total increase in population amounted to 7.1 million people during 1951-1973; this included an immigration increase of 1.5 million and a natural increase of 5.6 million people. Moreover, the natural increase in the incoming population amounted to 1.1 million people, or one-fifth of the total figure. Thus, migration resulted in a 2.6 million increase in the size of the republic's population during 23 years; this represents 37 percent of the total population increase during this period. In other words, every third or fourth resident who is part of the total population increase is either himself a newcomer or the offspring of one.¹³

Migration is of particular significance in the population reproduction of those areas where population has grown intensively over a period of decades. For example, in the general population increase of the Far East during the period from 1920 through 1970 newcomers and their offspring accounted for two-thirds of the growth, although the migration increase during these years hardly amounted to one-fourth of the entire population of the region.¹⁴

We calculated the scale for the redistribution of the natural increase resulting from the migration effect on the population reproduction for the union republics and for the economic rayons of the RSFSR during the years 1959-1978. In the last 20 years (1959-1978), about 5.7 million people of the natural increase, or one-tenth of the total figure, were redistributed throughout the union republics and economic rayons of the RSFSR as a result of total migration. Moreover, the role of the newcomers in reproduction was most active in the rayons with relatively low intensity of natural movement. For example, the highest proportion of offspring of immigrants in the natural increase--30 out of 100 people (in the Central Asian republics this figure was 4-5)--is observed in the Baltic republics. At the same time the size of the natural increase proved to be one-seventh less in regions with a negative migration increase resulting from the exclusion of a significant number of people in the child-bearing years from reproduction.

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In the years 1959-1978 migration processes resulted in the redistribution of the natural increase, mainly from regions with a reduced birthrate to a larger degree in favor of the territories which have a high birthrate and to a somewhat lesser degree in favor of the regions with relatively low reproduction indicators. If the entire natural increase of newcomers in 1959-1978, which was concentrated in regions with positive migration increase, is taken as 100 percent, its proportion in regions with lower than average intensity of natural reproduction (the North-Western and Central rayons, the Ukraine, the Baltic republics) totals 36.4 percent, while in the regions with an elevated intensity of natural movement (the Far East, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, Armenia) it was 43.1 percent.

At the same time, out of 100 percent of the losses in natural increase resulting from emigration outflow, areas with a low birthrate (the Volgo-Vyatskiy, Central-Non Black Earth, Povolzhskiy and Ural'skiy rayons) account for 63.4 percent, and territories with a relatively high birthrate (Eastern Siberia, Georgia, Azerbaijan) accounted for only 9 percent. This kind of migration distribution of the natural increase is a direct reflection of the trends and intensity of the migratory streams and especially of the intense outflow of residents from the central rayons of the RSFSR. Under these conditions the optimization of migration also means an improvement in the processes of natural reproduction of the population.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ye.N. Gladysheva, T.K. Dagayeva, "Certain Aspects of the Influence of Migration on the Formation of the Population of Cities in Northern Kazakhstan," in the book "Voprosy demografii" [Issues of Demography], Kiev, 1968, p 180.
2. V. Sh. Dzhaoshvili, "Features of the Regional Differences in the Reproduction of the Population" in the book "Rayonnyye osobennosti vosproizvodstva naseleniya SSSR. Materialy Vsesoyuz. mezhvuz. nauch. simposiuma (g. Cheboksary May 1968 g)" [Regional Features of USSR Population. Materials of the All-Union Inter-VUZ Scientific Symposium (city of Cheboksary, May 1968)], Cheboksary, 1972, p 44.
3. A. Kvasha, G. Kiseleva, "Trends in the Reproduction of the USSR Population" in the book "Vozobnovleniya pokoleniy nashey strany" [Renewal of the Generations in Our Country], Moscow, 1978, p 11.
4. A.V. Topilin, "Territorial'noye pereraspredeleniye trudovykh resursov v SSSR" [Territorial Redistribution of Labor Resources in the USSR], Moscow, 1975, pp 28-29.
5. Ye. Bol'shakova, "Improving the Methods for Regional Demographic Analysis" in the collection "Demograficheskiy analiz rozhdayemosti" [Demographic Analysis of the Birthrate], Moscow, 1974, pp 27-28.
6. Yu. T. Krasnoshchek, "Migration and the Aging of the Population" in the collection "Voprosy demograficheskoy teorii, Tematich. sbornik" [Issues of Demographic Theory. A Thematic Collection], Kiev, 1975, pp 118-140.

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7. B. Ya. Mezhgaylis, "Current Issues of Population in the Latvian SSR" in the collection "Voprosy demografii" [Issues of Demography], Moscow, 1970, p 233.
8. E.K. Vasil'yeva, "The Family and Migration," in the book "Demograficheskiye problemy sem'yi" [Demographic Problems of the Family], Moscow 1978, pp 149-163.
9. L.M. Davtyan, "Concerning Features of Population Migration in the Armenian SSR" in the book "Problemy migratsii naseleniya i trudovykh resursov" [Problems of Population Migration and Labor Resources], Moscow, 1970, p 99; G.M. Korostelev, "Style Change and Demographic Behavior" in the book "Dinamika izmeneniya polozeniya zhenshchiny i sem'ya" [Dynamics of Change in the Position of Women and the Family], Moscow, 1972, pp 60-67; and others.
10. See L.L. Rybakovskiy, "Regional'nyy analiz migratsiy" [Regional Analysis of Migration], Moscow, 1973, pp 23-29.
11. The permanent population arbitrarily includes residents living in the region at the start of the period under study and their offspring.
12. It has been calculated. See: "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda" [Results of the All-Union Census of 1970], Vol VII, Moscow, 1974, pp 6-7; "Narodnoye khozyastvo SSSR v 1978 godu. Stat. yezhegodnik" [The USSR National Economy in 1978. Statistical Yearbook], Moscow, 1979, p 27.
13. "Sotsial'nyye faktory i osobennosti migratsii naseleniya USSR" [Social Factors and Features of USSR Population Migration], Moscow, 1978, p 133.
14. L.L. Rybakovskiy, "Regional'nyy analiz migratsiy" [Regional Analysis of Migration], Moscow, 1973, p 29.

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