Labour Migration of Russian Youth: the State Program of Support of Returnability

A Borisova¹, A Emelyanovich¹
¹Novosibirsk State Technical University, Marx Ave., 20, 630073 Novosibirsk, Russia

E-mail: a.borisova@corp.nstu.ru

Abstract. Predictors of strengthening negative tendencies of Russian migration policy are considered. The problem of increasing objective prerequisites for the growth of students’ intentions to emigrate from the country is identified and justified. The dynamics assessment of the level of youth labour migration return demonstrates the acuteness of the studied problems. The advantages and negative consequences of the closed circle of migration flows for the donor and recipient countries are highlighted. The sources that shape the direction of the migration flow of Russian youth are examined. The evaluation of government programs to support the educational and labour migration contributing to the growth of outbound tourist flow of young people is given. The leading directions of educational migration among Russian youth are determined. State regulatory policy of young people’s return migration is characterized; new initiatives on the formation of a young professional’s intentions to update a professional capacity in the country of permanent location are reviewed.

1. Introduction

Unfortunately, migration of highly qualified specialists for a long time is a stable phenomenon for the Russian economy. Variability of values of scales and directions of migration flows is fixed. But in general, the trend of qualified specialists outflow from high-tech industries remains. Discussions are held on indicators of migration flows [1] and differences in the values of indicators determined by different monitoring systems are indicated. The comparison of data on migration of Russians, published in Russian [1] and foreign sources [2], reveals significant differences in estimates of migration flows. The observed difference in data is due to the different approaches to statistics used in different States. For example, in the United States, an immigrant is a citizen of a foreign country who moved to the country for the purpose of permanent residence. In Russian practice, persons who left the territory of Russia, but did not withdraw from registration, are not considered immigrants, while they are considered as immigrants abroad. Since the majority of emigrants retain their citizenship and place of residence, the size of real data of official statistics on migration of Russians are increasing.

According to estimates of demographers and sociologists, more than 40% of Russian citizens migrating abroad have higher education and possess high professional skills [3]. Data on the size scale of migration flows, as well as qualitative parameters of migrants record the fact of movements. This reality is less amenable to state regulation.

Recently, a rather dangerous reason for increasing the rate of migration has been recorded – an increase in the mood of young people to move to a country that, according to their estimates, represented more attractive conditions for professional implementation and/or residence. Researchers noted the
rejuvenation of the world migration flow: – 24.7% of migrants are young people aged 16 to 29 years (in 2000 - 20.5%) [2]. This trend is supported by the separated opportunities of simplified choice of educational institutions and the applicants accumulated experience to stay and receive language training during school. The dynamics of building educational and career trajectories under the scheme of the Bachelor’s degree in a Russian University and the Master’s degree in a foreign one is positive and considered by many students as an excellent start to build a professional career and strengthen competitiveness in the labor market [4].

The increasing dynamics of migration movements among Russian citizens in general, and young people in particular, is accompanied by a number of positive aspects, but at the same time, represents a dangerous trend of threat to national security. So, you should analyze the preconditions of growth intention among students of Russian universities to the labor migration abroad; allocate programs and conditions according to which educational migration is often "transformed" into labor and label activities initiated by the government to facilitate youth return after training on the territory of the permanent locations.

2. A vicious circle of migration trends: advantages and consequences of migration of young professionals

Migration flows and their management mechanisms are an important prerequisite for ensuring the sustainability of the country's development. The result of the movement of labor resources significantly affects the formation of intellectual, professional potential and has an impact on the labor market and the establishment of an equilibrium wage rate. Significant impact, but of different directions and forces of influence, is produced on the countries-participants of international migration: in some countries the proportion of the economically active population is decreasing, in others, on the contrary, it is increasing; at the same time, the quality of the labor resources can change significantly.

We can talk about the formation of the so-called "vicious circle of migration trends". The growing polarization of states into "developed" and "developing" and the differentiation of countries in terms of socio-economic development and legal guarantees in the modern world lead to the focus of young people's attention on the assessment of the possibility of professional implementation outside the country in which they received education. Regular monitoring of the assessment of intentions and actions taken to increase the possibility of labor migration, conducted in Novosibirsk state technical university through a survey of students throughout the educational and career path [5], records the growth of positive decisions regarding the move to other locations, including abroad. The vicious circle of migration trends further reinforces the differentiation of countries: because donor countries are experiencing an outflow of labour and recipient countries, on the contrary, continue to build professional capacity in a sustainable manner.

Trends in the development of international migration are formed under the influence of assessments of subjects regarding the level of socio-economic development of states, the policy of accessibility of movement across borders and, finally, the ability to consolidate in the territory of another country.

Thus, the modern model of international migration is based on the juxtaposition of receiving and sending states, when the main migration flows are directed from states with a more problematic socio-economic situation to states with favorable conditions. At the same time, the migration of young people is accompanied by special consequences for both sides.

From the perspective of the sending state, youth migration has both positive and negative aspects. The positive effects can be attributed as follows:
- improving the level of skills and professional knowledge, the development of new practices and technologies;
- broadening the horizon and forming a modern / advanced vision of professional and social realization;
- professional networking and the formation of sustainable relationships in professional communities;
- establishing international business linkages that facilitate the flow of technology and knowledge;
- improving the level of foreign language proficiency;
- increasing in remittances from migrants abroad;
- the migrant’s use of accumulated capital after returning home to start their own business contributes to the formation of the middle class [5];
- popularization of national cultural features of the sending state and, as a consequence, the impact on the size of the tourist flow.

Almost all of these positive aspects are relevant only when migration is returnable. Return migration involves the use of formed and accumulated professional potential outside the country on the territory of a permanent location.

Recently, there has been a decrease in the level of return migration [6]: the frequency of cases when educational and labor migration from the temporary return form becomes permanent and irrevocable has increased. Our estimates [7], as well as estimates of other researchers [8], [9], [10] confirm the direct relationship between the duration, frequency of students stay abroad with the growth of the intention to pursue a career outside the home location on a permanent basis.

Economists have identified and studied the negative consequences of non-return migration of qualified youth. The growth of the negative trend is considered by many as a powerful threat to the development and national security of the donor state, as it is accompanied by:
- the loss of a part of highly qualified human resources at working age, resulting in the aging of labor resources and the weakening of the professional potential of the country;
- losses of resource investments in general education and professional training of labor resources;
- the leaching of intellectual potential ("brain drain") and weakening of the socio-psychological climate of the country (commitment);
- reducing the size of the expert community, reducing the number of scientific personnel capable of transferring knowledge to the next generation and forming a research culture of knowledge.

In general, the indicated losses lead to a reduction of production capacity of the country. The negative consequences in the long term lead to a weakening of the scientific and production potential of the state, which ultimately weakens its economic situation and makes it vulnerable to external threats. Thus, while maintaining and increasing the trend of migration of qualified specialists from the group "youth" outside the country, the problem is exacerbated.

The country-recipient of young professionals receives significant benefits: the expansion of the professional community and the growth of the general intellectual level of the population, diversification of views and obtaining specialists with experience and a way of thinking that differ from the standard for the state. At the same time, there is a common practice of saving on the difference in the level of wages of qualified specialists arriving in different statuses of belonging to the country [11].

Migration of young professionals carries negative consequences for the host state, these include: high costs of funding programs to support and adapt migrants, increasing social tensions caused by competition for jobs. Also, as a significant consequence we can consider a trend to change the criteria of segmentation of the global labour division.

Migration of young professionals is regulated by the countries participating in the migration movement: educational and research visas are submitted. In general, the regulation is aimed at facilitating access to the labour force with the necessary qualifications. It is also common to support the temporary migration of young professionals abroad, their participation in exchange programs and professional internships, postgraduate studies and doctoral degrees. The data [12] confirm that educational migration is one of the key and dynamically growing migration flows, the intensity of which will increase. According to experts [12], the flow of foreign students, which was 800 000 people in 1975, will grow to 8.4 million by 2021. Domestic data also confirm this trend: the number of Russian students going to study abroad reached 57 000 people in 2017. Training is conducted in more than 50 countries. The key areas of educational migration are: Germany (admits 17.2% of Russian students abroad), Czech Republic (9.14%), USA (8.9%), UK (7.05%) and France (6.2%) [13].
Migration for the purpose of professional development and education often turns into labour migration: in cases when the fact of becoming an employee of the company which represents the place of practice or training during educational process is fixed. Living in the country during the period of study (from 6 months to 4 years) contributes to the formation of the student strong social ties, adaptation to the place of residence and the host society. All these factors contribute to the transfer of migration from temporary to permanent status and cause the negative trends outlined above.

3. Formation of the migration flow of Russian youth: sources and programs

Knowing the sources of generation of migration flow and traffic channels allows justifying preventive regulatory measures including those to ensure the return of young people to their homeland.

There are several sources that form the direction of the migration flow of Russian youth:
- migration for permanent employment;
- temporary labour migration (for the holiday period);
- educational migration with parallel employment;
- migration for the purpose of internship.

The greater weight in the structure of migration flow over the past three years has been taken by temporary labour migration of young people. There are obvious reasons why this method is the most popular.

Firstly, it allows in the short term without making vital decisions to conduct "reconnaissance" and correlate expectations and ideas with the actually created conditions for professional and personal implementation.

Secondly, it leaves hope for a return to the usual and well-known realities.

Thirdly, it allows you to expand the world view and learn new management practices.

Finally, it helps check the viability and relevance of training outside the country, i.e. assess the level of its competitiveness in the international labour market.

The market has developed a traditional, well-recommended for temporary employment programs of students (for example, Work and Travel USA, STAR Travel, Au Pair), as well as recorded the development of new practices – the participation of students in tourist support programs. There are features of the implementation of practices and it is possible to highlight the benefits for further employment, which receive young people - participants of the programs.

One of the most popular programs of temporary employment of young people for a long period (since 1957) has been the program "Work and Travel USA". The program is implemented under the patronage of the USA Department and is aimed at the development of intercultural communication through the wide spread of American culture. The implementation of the program involves the allocation of about 300 thousand student work visas, secured employment and jobs in the service sector (staff in restaurants and hotels, sellers in shops, amusement park operators, etc.), subject to the guarantee by employers about the absence of differences in hourly wage rates between the participants of the program and the local population [14].

The demand for the program is confirmed by the significant interest of participants from China (30 000), Brazil (13 000), Russia (12 500), Ukraine (9 000) (data on the participants number are given in [15]. It is obvious that the sustained interest of young people from actively developing countries in this program is due to the intention of immersion in the dynamic practice of doing business, knowledge of a new culture of progressive management. Although there are other priority motivators: the possibility of higher earnings compared to work in the country of residence; the practice of foreign language proficiency and competitiveness in the subsequent, after graduation, employment [16]. We should also note that some students, albeit small number, who have received a J1 visa, after its expiration (usually in the period from May 1 to October 1), remain in the United States illegally. At the same time, official data are not disclosed, but unofficial statistics of returns show that, despite the efforts of the US government to limit and reduce this phenomenon, about 3.5% of the program participants remain in the US annually.
The program "STAR Travel" [17] is also popular among young people, which offers a longer period of employment (from three months to a year), extended age limits of participants (from 18 to 32 years) and is not limited to the status of "student educational institution".

The AU Pair, the oldest international youth exchange program, provides employment opportunities in Europe. Participation in the program involves the entry of a young person into a foreign family on the rights of an older child with certain rights and responsibilities for a fairly long period of time (up to 1.5-2 years) [18]. Upon completion of the program, participants receive certificates [19].

One of the most popular types of temporary employment abroad today is work in the tourism sector. The young people work as guides, tour guides, escorts and entertainers in resort countries. The main purpose of such employment is to gain experience abroad, gain independence and, finally, the combination of rest and work. Basically, this type of employment is really temporary, but there are cases of transferring the employment contract from temporary to permanent and fixing the employee in a new state for him.

Short-term work trips through such programs allow young people to broaden their horizons, acquire new professional skills and establish international contacts with people around the world. For host states, the benefits of programs are also evident – they receive cheap labour in areas that are often unattractive to indigenous populations and often simply characterized by seasonal growth. It should be noted that a certain category of young people, at least quite initiative, aimed at development, takes part in such programs. It is these qualities that are highly valued by employers and can have a decisive impact on the offer of permanent residence and employment.

The process of globalization is intense and it is no longer possible to narrow the possibilities of going abroad, to put significant obstacles to the desire of young people to work and study abroad. It is necessary to create conditions that will encourage young people to return.

Thus, modern trends form a "vicious circle of international migration", aggravated by the growth of migration flows. Along with the general flows, the migration of young people is also growing. The main channels of youth labour migration are employment after receiving an overseas education, migration in international exchange programs or temporary employment. The increasing migration of young people is alarming for sending states, a situation that has many negative consequences. Transferring migration from the category of non-returnable into returnable makes the nature of the consequences positive. Neutralization of the negative consequences of modern migration trend is based on the implementation of the policy of increasing the return of the migration flow.

4. State policy of regulation of return migration of Russian youth

The regulatory policy of the states on preservation of human potential is realized in two main directions: retention of young people and increased return on educational and labour migration.

In today's world, characterized by the spread of globalization, as well as blurring of borders and the availability of information, the retention of young people by force is unlikely to be. Legal support secures freedom of territorial movements (Article 27 Part 2 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation). In general, the policy of retention of young people is aimed at a comprehensive change in the socio-economic environment to neutralize the negative impact of the main driving factors of migration. For every second migrant, the key motivator was the desire to change the situation and curiosity, and the basic reason for the return is the longing for the usual way of life and not meeting the expectations of life abroad [6]. Moving first to one side and then back is a serious challenge, accompanied by financial and psychological investments. Some potential migrants can be transferred in advance to the category of future return migrants, providing them with the opportunity for short-term migration, which will satisfy their need for a change of situation, while not forcing them to make a decision on a complete change of location. You can prevent permanent migration in advance by providing a return policy.

Historically, in the Russian practice, programs of specialists exchange were implemented in the field of culture, technology and education, for example, in 1958, despite the Cold war, there were signed the agreements between the USSR and the United States on exchanges including the item on
students and graduate students exchanges between Soviet and American universities [20]. In modern Russia, a similar program "Global education" is being implemented, in which young people get the opportunity to study abroad at the expense of the Russian government, and after graduation from the university they undertake to return home for a certain period. It will be logical to develop a program of the same type, aimed at temporary employment of young people abroad, with the obligation to return to Russia to work already in the Russian enterprise for a certain time. To benefit all parties involved in the program, it should be conducted in the form of an exchange between enterprises operating in the same field. The enterprises will carry out the exchange of young specialists authorized by both states with the provision of a salary of the same level for a certain period, after which both specialists will return back to their homeland, to those enterprises where their exchange partners worked. As a result of such a program, its participants will receive professional experience and experience in international communication.

In order to increase the return of migrants, states most often use the method of targeted programs to attract compatriots. The Russian Federation is implementing a program to facilitate the voluntary resettlement of compatriots. Analysis of the program results allows us to propose the concretization of targeted activities. One of the possible programs is the return of young professionals who previously migrated abroad for the purpose of education or employment, as well as children of immigrants of past generations who have received education or professional experience in the most popular professional fields in Russia. The terms of the program may include:

- simplified procedure for obtaining a visa and citizenship of the Russian Federation;
- assisting in the selection of an employment place with a competitive salary even before the start of the relocation process, so that after the move the young person can immediately start working;
- providing a migrant with a place of residence, it is possible to register a specific period after which the provision of young migrants with housing stops, because the person will be able to provide himself;
- providing the young person and his family members with all necessary social benefits on the same conditions as local Russian citizens, or with simplification of procedures, due to the lack of a migrant in Russia (for example, if you need to get a place in a kindergarten, it is necessary to get on a waiting list as soon as possible);
- regular monitoring of migrants' satisfaction with working and living conditions, results of the program, provision of advisory services and support in case of problems.

Provision of the above conditions can be both complex and optional, depending on the level of the program – regional or state, the needs of the migrant and other influencing factors.

The selection of employment places can be organized by creating a unified database of vacancies and pooling existing databases of sites for searching work (for example, HeadHunter, Careers.ru etc.), developing a procedure for the selection of the work and conducting a remote assessment of the applicant's abilities and interviews. One way of identifying a location of employment for return migrants is the conclusion of target agreements with Russian companies that will provide return migrants with the employment in general terms on a par with local candidates, while the state is obliged to eliminate obstacles to the migrant's employment, which could affect his/her choice as the employee. Thus, the state will become an intermediary between the applicant abroad and the local company, while the program will not reduce the competitiveness of local young people, but their chances of employment will be aligned with the chances of young compatriots from abroad.

An important aspect of the success of such programs is to receive feedback from their participants and the ability to respond quickly and adequately to their requests, as well as to take into account their recommendations in the further implementation of projects. It is necessary to provide a high-quality system of communication both between the participants of the programs, and between the participants and the organizers and state bodies. To do this, the state should form the appropriate coordinating support bodies.
5. Conclusion
There is accumulated experience of state programs to stimulate return migration, the list of which includes: facilitation of the procedure for obtaining a national visa and citizenship; carrying out targeted programs aimed at attracting specialists in specific professional areas; providing return migrants with social benefits, tax discounts, scholarships and grants for higher education; cooperation with companies in hiring foreign employees; implementation of policies to strengthen national diasporas in foreign countries, etc.

The most successful practices of such a policy can be seen in Israel and Germany. The results and structure of the events in Israel can become the basis for the formation of the Russian policy of attracting qualified compatriots. At the moment, the Russian Federation is carrying out a "Program to promote the voluntary resettlement of compatriots", aimed at increasing return migration flows to the territory of Russia. The analysis of the program has revealed several significant shortcomings that reduce the effectiveness of its implementation: lack of control over the quality of activities; focus on the CIS countries; lack of measures aimed at improving the tolerance of the host society in relation to return migrants.

It is advisable to develop a targeted program to attract young professionals in the most popular professional areas for the state, including the provision of specialists with a simplified procedure for obtaining a visa, tax benefits, social benefits, assistance in finding a job;

It is also possible to develop programs to encourage enterprises to hire specialists from abroad through the conclusion of targeted agreements between the state and Russian enterprises. Within the framework of this program, a single database of vacancies available for compatriots abroad should also be formed, and procedures should be developed

Summing up, we can say that increasing the level of youth migration return is a promising way of further development of the Russian Federation, but in the conditions of high competition in the world arena, the achievement of this goal should be accompanied by high awareness on the part of the state and its willingness to conduct a comprehensive improvement of state policy in this area.

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