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BELARUS IN THE MIGRATION EXCHANGE WITH THE COUNTRIES OF EU AND EASTERN PARTNERSHIP

Abstract

Types of international migration are considered. Tendencies in the migration movement of the population of the Republic of Belarus are analysed. Data about migration flows of the population between the Republic of Belarus and certain countries of EU and Eastern Partnership are cited. The influence of globalizing and regional socio-political and economic factors on migration processes of the population of the Republic of Belarus are examined. The emphasis is primarily laid on the demographic consequences for the Republic of Belarus.

Key words: *Migration, international migration, non-return migration, labour migration, academic migration, “circular” (seasonal) migration, “shuttle” migration, illegal migration, refugees, emigration, immigration, the Republic of Belarus, the European Union, Eastern Partnership.*

When politicians and journalists lead their conversation towards migration, they highlight the problems of illegal, illicit migration and refugees. However, it is only one of migration flows but not the largest one. International migration includes a few different flows, in which illegal, illicit migration and refugees though being a pressing problem take the smallest part in the world migration movement. Important features of international migration are crossing state borders and appropriate state control over the movement through them; the extent of openness to the outside world; striving for integration or isolation; labour market policy etc. [Iontsev 1999, 28-47]. Although international migration is inferior to internal migration on its scale, it influences both the life of countries where population emigrates to and from which it immigrates by its huge social economic, political and demographic impact.

Once a Nobel laureate in economics Simon Kuznets (born in Belarus, Pinsk) stated that "while emigration was important for sending countries as a means of decreasing the pressure of population during the periods of transition from pre-industrial to modern standards of growth, immigration was more important for receiving countries and had a visible impact on their economic growth" [Kusnets 1970,

The first flow is “classical” non-return migration associated with a change of residence, citizenship. Return migration is included here when citizens go back to their permanent place of residence, to their motherland. It is believed that annually this number is about 200 million people including 120 million people in developed countries that make up 60% of “classical” non-return migration; and 80 million people in developing countries, or 40% of the migration of this kind. This kind of migration plays a significant role in the life of economically developed countries where every tenth inhabitant is a migrant. Moreover, in some countries (of American and Australian continents) it was exactly the flow that formed new nations.

The second flow is labour migration when citizens of one or another country move to work to another country on legal grounds for a certain time. It is a bit smaller in size – about 60 million

people. Nevertheless, if we include family members who move together with their relatives (labour migrants), and they are at least about 120 million people, labour migration will be of the same size as “classical” non-return migration. It is the most popular migration type in the Post-Soviet Space today. In some countries, labour migration that includes cross-boarder commutation or frontier migration is widespread. The peculiarity of these migration types is that in some time they can become “classical” non-return migration. “Academic” migration is very close to it. It should be noted that they create conditions for the best students and highly qualified specialists in some countries where the flow is directed to, then “academic” migration transforms or replenishes “classical” non-return migration.

The third flow is illegal, illicit migration that identified with migration proper under public opinion at the level of everyday sense, hereby erroneous substitution takes place. This flow is considered to make up 30 million people. Moreover, it is primarily directed to more developed countries. Its certain part can transform into “classical” non-return migration in some time.

The most popular migration (being the fourth flow of international migration) is circular or seasonal migration (approximately 750 million people), including international tourism. These are trips for recreation, visits to major sport events, visits to relatives, participation in scientific and cultural events etc. As a rule, it is a short-term type of migration although in some cases it can be the basis of abovementioned three types of migration.

Finally, the fifth type of migration movement is a flow of about 50 million refugees generated by various disasters of natural, ecological or political origin, especially military conflicts, ethnic strives.

Some migration flows can relate to several types of migration at the same time, for example, "shuttle" migration. On one hand, it is a kind of labour migration as it ensures employment of population, means of livelihood. And at the same time, 'shuttle migration' is a kind of "circular" or seasonal migration, because staying in another country is short-term (sometimes one day long), and the cases of making several trips a day by such migrants were fixed at the Polish-Belarusian border - "shuttle trader" had acquired the necessary goods and transported them to his country.

Such multi-faceted and multi-aspect nature of international migration shows how complex and ambiguous migration processes are, to be treated equally, to the same level. Moreover, in today's world the role of migration increases. Its consequences are of multi-vector nature both economically and politically, and socially. First, let us note their demographic effects that have impact on demographic process both in the countries of entry, and in the countries of departure. These are changes of their ethnic, religious, sex and age structure, labour market situation, its impact on national mentality and many others.

The concern of the European states, where the flows of illegal migration of refugees and labour migration are directed to, is clear. However, these problems are not critical for Belarus though it takes part in the discussion of these issues on the international level. Our country, in fact, becomes the last obstacle for illegal migrants from many parts of CIS countries and even from Asia.

More than 3 thousand people from 46 countries worldwide applied to Belarusian migration authorities to seek asylum in the last 10 years. 802 people of asylum seekers were recognized as refugees. The largest group is refugees from foreign countries, mainly from Afghanistan - 565 people, and Georgia (mainly coming from Abkhazia) - 132 people. Besides 32 people from Tajikistan, 29 people from Azerbaijan, 23 people from Ethiopia, 9 people from Palestine, 5 people from Iran, 2 people from India, and 1 person from Iraq, Cameroon, Liberia, Rwanda and Armenia each were recognized as refugees. Moreover, the Belarusian migration authorities decided upon non-deportation of 80 foreigners to the states where their lives or freedom might be at risk.

Evidently, this group of migrants is ranked insignificant in the course of migration processes in Belarus. Therefore, our attention is drawn to larger-scale migration flows. Above all, the problem of migration is examined with a view to demographic issues, with a view to status and development

prospects of our country. In academic circles of Belarus, migration is regarded as a natural, multi-faceted and sometimes ambiguous socioeconomic phenomenon in contrast to security agencies whose task is to forbid and to prevent.

Over the period of gaining state sovereignty, the structure of migration in Belarus has substantially changed.

Firstly, the scale of international migration has considerably increased. Migration between Belarus and Soviet republics of that time hasn't been not classified as international migration, but after the collapse of the USSR migration between the former Soviet republics has already become international.

Secondly, before the collapse of the Soviet Union Belarus had a negative balance of migration with Soviet republics of that time, but since 1991 Belarus has had a positive balance of migration alongside with all post-Soviet states.

Thirdly, international migration exchange in Belarus has had two stages over the last two decades: the nineties and the years of this decade. In the nineties Belarus primarily had an intensive migration exchange with newly independent states, which composed almost 90% in the overall structure of Belarusian migration.

Belarus has had (and has at present) a positive balance of migration exchange with all near abroad countries including Russia.

Belarus has had (and has at present) a stable negative balance of migration exchange with all far abroad countries including Russia.

However, in the nineties the positive balance of migration with near abroad countries exceeded the negative balance of migration with far abroad countries therefore in general Belarus had a positive migration balance. During this decade, the positive balance of migration has considerably decreased.

As a result, the negative balance of Belarusian migration with far abroad countries has become an important factor that has influenced the fact that today Belarus does not have population growth at the expense of international migration.

Fourthly, during the new decade the share of migration exchange with so-called "far abroad countries" and the European Union countries has considerably increased within the structure of international migration in Belarus.

Fifthly, at the same time Belarus has a negative balance with far abroad countries in the usual understanding of migration, i.e. non-return migration.

Sixthly, the size of classic ("non-return") migration has considerably decreased.

These trends show that Belarusian migration processes of the recent years should not be examined with a group of countries alone, but in the context of overall migration processes. Similarly, the migration processes between Belarus and EU should be considered not in isolation but in the context of socio-political and economic situation and migration trends that have emerged globally. Therefore, it is necessary to take into account all the range of migrations.

For the years 2008-2009, the positive balance of Belarusian external migration made up 42334 people, notably the number of positive balance with CIS countries made up 56042 people, outside CIS, i.e. with the far abroad countries the negative balance made 13708 people. It goes without saying Belarus does not have a negative balance with all far abroad countries. Belarus has a positive balance with many countries (first of all, Asian countries). Nevertheless, it does not exceed the number of the population outflow from Belarus to other countries of far abroad. Of this negative balance, 3351 people went to Israel, 6136 went to the USA and 745 people went to Canada. During this period Belarus has had a negative balance of 8253 people (it is even more than with the USA and Canada) with the leading countries of the European Union that are a part of EU-15 area (there are no data about Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Luxemburg, Portugal and Spain) (see Table 1-3).

Table 1. International migration (on arrival) in the Republic of Belarus for the years 2001-2008 (people) [Statistics of Belarus 2010, 423]

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Arrived in the Republic of Belarus – in total	23355	18939	18146	14642	13031	14124	14155	17413
including:								
from CIS countries	20971	16797	15928	12530	11426	12390	11938	14239
from non-CIS countries	2384	2142	2218	2112	1605	1734	2217	3174
Austria	-	3	3	2	-	1	1	3
Bulgaria	140	83	3	5	4	10	16	18
Germany	47	55	70	102	68	78	86	157
Israel	207	233	361	283	227	271	297	257
Italy	8	8	10	11	11	9	24	31
Canada	6	6	8	13	9	14	9	12
Latvia	299	264	242	213	189	230	243	328
Lithuania	503	407	416	338	297	343	352	396
Netherlands	2	3	3	2	3	5	2	16
Poland	51	39	44	48	28	36	62	306
The United Kingdom	8	4	9	9	3	4	6	12
The United States of America	70	75	48	94	60	90	101	140
Turkey	31	28	38	36	13	32	49	130
France	7	6	9	10	6	7	5	12
Czech Republic	6	6	6	1	5	5	9	10
Sweden	8	2	3	7	3	6	1	5
Estonia	51	50	43	29	31	37	33	39

As for EU-8 countries (there are no data about Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia in the table) Belarus has a negative balance with Czech Republic and Poland – 324 people in number, but Belarus had a positive balance with Poland in 2008. However, with other countries of EU-8 area (these are Baltic countries) Belarus has had a positive migration balance, 11238 people in number, both in the nineties and in the years of a new decade. Certainly, it is 3.6 times less than it used to be in the nineties when in Belarus migration increase at the expense of Baltic countries was 40320 people.

Table 2. International migration (on departure) in the Republic of Belarus for the years 2001-2008 (people) [Statistics of Belarus 2010, 424]

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Departed from the Republic of Belarus – in total	14270	13378	12986	12510	11082	8498	9497	9268
including:								
from CIS countries	8149	8451	8177	8217	7520	6165	7142	6856
from non-CIS countries	6121	4927	4809	4293	3562	2333	2337	2412
Austria	6	6	24	24	26	18	29	24
Bulgaria	6	6	4	11	4	4	6	6
Germany	1306	1243	1316	1227	808	466	512	538
Israel	1701	1012	631	503	636	366	370	368
Italy	123	162	220	215	26	38	30	33
Canada	125	147	178	134	113	88	60	47
Latvia	49	46	34	32	35	14	30	50
Lithuania	82	82	121	104	143	97	97	139
Netherlands	40	22	28	12	7	28	35	29
Poland	83	81	64	87	89	86	88	111
The United Kingdom	10	17	17	21	11	12	20	19
The United States of America	1318	1117	1301	1075	664	534	434	371
Turkey	12	25	29	15	25	2	40	44
France	16	35	21	16	3	16	24	30
Czech Republic	34	29	25	13	30	34	66	66
Sweden	56	56	63	44	19	22	29	31
Estonia	16	13	16	16	16	14	9	8

As shown above, the most substantial migration increase to Belarus from modern EU countries is associated with the frontier Baltic countries. Undoubtedly, general size of migration turnover between Belarus and Baltic countries can't be compared with the population migration from the Baltic states to Russia. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Baltic immigration can be characterized as following: 89.8 thousand people moved from Latvia to Russia, 57.0 thousand people moved from Estonia, 36.0 thousand people came from Lithuania in the years 1992-1999. However, according to relative indices, i.e. migration load per 10 thousand people of Belarusian and Russian population, our country has a higher rate of migration attractiveness for the Baltic region.

Table 3. Balance of international migration in Belarus for the years 2001-2008 (people) [Statistics of Belarus 2010, 425].

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
In total	9085	5561	5160	2132	1949	5626	4676	8145
including:								
- CIS countries	12822	8346	7751	4313	3906	6225	4796	7383
- non-CIS countries	-3737	-2785	-2591	-2181	-1957	-599	-120	762
- non-CIS countries from EU-15								
Austria	-6	-3	-21	-22	-26	-17	-28	-21
France	-9	-29	-12	-6	3	-9	-19	-18
Germany	-1259	-1188	-1246	-1125	-740	-388	-426	-381
Italy	-115	-154	-210	-204	-15	-29	-6	-2
The Netherlands	-38	-19	-25	-10	-4	-23	-33	-13
Sweden	-48	-54	-60	-37	-16	-16	-28	-26
Great Britain	-2	-13	-8	-12	-8	-8	-14	-7
- non-CIS countries from EU-8								
Czech Republic	-28	-23	-19	-12	-25	-29	-57	-56
Poland	-32	-42	-20	-39	-61	-50	-26	195
Latvia	250	218	208	181	154	216	213	278
Lithuania	421	325	295	234	154	246	255	257
Estonia	35	37	27	13	15	23	24	31
Besides:								
Israel	-1494	-779	-270	-220	-409	-95	-73	-111
Canada	-119	-141	-170	-121	-104	-74	-51	-35
The USA	-1248	-1042	-1253	-981	-604	-444	-333	-231
Turkey	19	3	9	21	-12	30	9	86
Bulgaria	4	3	-1	-6	-	6	10	12

Comparing to Russia, the performance of Belarusian migration load per 10 thousand people is 5,71 in number with Estonia for the period of 1992-1999, Russia has 3.87 per 10 thousand people. Belarus has almost 3.5 times larger performance of migration load on arrival from Latvia, accordingly, Belarusian performance is 22.53, Russian performance is 6.10 in number.

It should be noted that Latvian migration flow of population is the largest for the Baltic vector according both to absolute and relative indices in Belarusian and Russian regions. Migration load to Belarus from Lithuania (13.24) is 5.4 times as large as the migration load between Russia and this country (2.45). What distinguishes Baltic migratory vector of Belarus and Russia in 1992-1999 was that Estonian migration prevailed in Russia and Lithuanian in Belarus (after Latvian migration flow) [Zlotnikau 2006].

Within “Belarus – Baltic countries” migration, impact on the change of migration movement from Baltic countries to Belarus had the following phenomena: firstly, low specific weight within the population of correspondent republics of titular ethnic group, secondly, highly leveled ethnic structure of population of Soviet Republics with Slavic routes, and thirdly, the highest specific weight of Belarusian people in the population of the Baltic states in comparison with other non-Slavic republics. The last factor is the consequence of many socioeconomic processes and, mostly,

of the fact that an important direction of inter-republican migration of that time was resettlement of ethnic Russians and Belarusians to Baltic States both in the pre-revolutionary and Soviet times.

Moreover, Belarus borders on Lithuania and Latvia. Some of the territory of contemporary Lithuania and Latvia was a part of Belarusian provinces in the pre-revolutionary times and they had a high specific weight of Belarusians. Alongside with the collapse of the USSR strained the problems in the regions where the atmosphere of national and political tense appeared. As a result, the flow of economic migrants decreased, migration caused by socio-political, international, ecological motives increased.

Such relative indices as migration load (per 10 thousand people) and effectiveness of migration (ratio of the number of arrivals to departures) of the population between Belarus and the Baltic countries indicate that the Baltic countries play a dominant role in the migration turnover with Belarus.

Thus, the coefficient of inter-regional effectiveness of population of the Republic of Belarus with the Baltic countries in the years 1991-2002 (this period is taken as a basis for our analysis, because after the year 2002 the value of migration exchange between Belarus and the group of EU countries has substantially reduced) was the highest rate in comparison with other major regions of the former Soviet Union – 6.51 in number, in other words 651 people arrived from the Baltic countries per 100 people who left for these countries from Belarus. It is almost 4 times higher than Belarusian-Russian or Belarusian-Ukrainian rate; and it is above the indicator observed in the Commonwealth of Independent States and Baltic States as a whole. The rate of migration load is even higher. The analysis of migration trends on the basis of migration load index, i.e. the number of migrants per 10 thousand people of the country from where (or where to) population migrates, reveals that this figure was the highest – 69.4 in number, in Baltic countries during the years 1991-2002 [Zlotnikau 2006].

Of all Baltic countries, the lowest coefficient of interstate migration effectiveness is observed Lithuania, this figure was 3.63 there in the years 1990-2008. Since 1991, the increase in migration from Lithuania to Belarus has begun, as a result, the migration effectiveness made up 3.88 in the years 1991-2008. As for migration of population between Belarus and Latvia the coefficient of migration effectiveness was 9.58 for the years 1991-2008; the coefficient between Belarus and Estonia was 10.47. They are the highest rates of interstate effectiveness between Belarus and Newly Independent Post-Soviet States; and for these countries, the given rates of interstate effectiveness are the lowest in comparison with other Post-Soviet states respectively.

Only two regions of the Republic of Belarus (Vitebsk and Grodno region) boarder on certain Baltic countries, which is reflected in more intensive migratory movement of the population of these regions and the Baltic countries they boarder on. Since 1995, the highest rate of migration exchange has gone to Vitebsk region – 3735 people in number within the migration exchange between the regions of the Republic of Belarus and the Baltic countries; the lowest one is in Mogilev region (886 people). This is primarily due to the fact that Vitebsk region borders on Lithuania and Latvia, and has had the closest economic and social ties with their neighbors for a long time. Northern provinces of Vitebsk region being close to major centres of Lithuania and Latvia and far from their regional centre ran to Lithuania and Latvia rather than to Vitebsk under the conditions of a single economic, political and demographic space. As for Vitebsk region, the highest specific rate of total regional population inflow (69.0 %) from the Baltic countries falls to the share of Latvia. The share of Vitebsk region in Latvian population inflow to the Republic of Belarus made up 38.9 % .

Because of migratory and other demographic processes, the number of all nations of those countries (the neighbours) that Belarus borders on, significantly decreased the population of the Republic of Belarus.

The following data indicate the extent of national decrease: the number of Ukrainians decreased by 18.5 %, Lithuanians – by 14.0 %, Latvians – by 15.8 % and Russians – by 14.9 %. Of the nations of

neighbouring countries, the smallest decrease of ethnic number goes to Poles, their number reduced by 5.3 % in the census period of the years 1989-1999. Some extremely nationalistic Belarusian historians think that they are not Poles but newly Catholic Belarusians.

The program “Eastern Partnership” of the European Union is aimed at six countries - Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. Belarus has a positive migration balance with all the countries of Eastern Partnership.

Of these countries, Belarus has the highest increase due to migration (non-return migration) with Ukraine (see Table 4); it makes up more than 90 % of growth at the expense of Eastern Partnership. In general, 15 % of migration growth in Belarus at the expense of CIS countries goes to the Ukraine. The number of migrants from Belarus to Moldova is large in comparison with the number of population of the country [Hurs 2001; Zlotnikau 2006].

Table 4: Balance of international migration between Belarus, CIS countries and Eastern Partnership during the years 2001-2008 (people) [Collection of statistics 2009, 425]

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
CIS in total	12822	8346	7751	4313	3906	6225	4796	7383
Including the countries:	5541		34374					
- Azerbaijan	107		15	26	12	15	16	23
- Armenia	92		13	20	11	13	24	11
- Georgia	120		15	15	13	17	18	42
- Moldova	179		43	31	36	26	25	18
- Ukraine	5043		1048	952	811	703	706	823

As far as the latest migration tendencies are concerned, there is an alarming fact of violations in the elasticity of the age structure of migrants: young population mainly leaves Belarus, especially young female population. As a result of international migration exchange of the years

While the negative balance among male population of this age group is small (minus 33 people), the negative balance among the female population of this age group (25-29 years) is minus 493 people. During the years 2006-2008, Belarus has had a negative migration balance (minus 169 people in number) in the age group of 30-34. But there was a positive balance in the group above working age (60 years old and more) – 6665 people and more than one third of the whole migration growth (36,1%). This is precisely the population of the most active demo-reproducing age group that go to the countries of far abroad, especially to the countries of the European Union. Because of this tendency, firstly, demographic potential of Belarus decreases, secondly, able-bodied population gets more labour loaded. Thus, the abovementioned tendencies of demographic elasticity cannot be taken as positive for Belarus. This tendency is probably an effect of employment problems and the issues of remuneration of labour in the Republic of Belarus.

New geopolitical and globalizing realities have influenced another kind of migration processes between frontier areas of Belarus and neighbouring newly independent states, i.e. commutation, and labour migration as the labour market tendencies show. Reduction in industrial production that resulted in the decrease of the number of people employed at production and construction, and customs, passport, currency problems have changed the content and direction of labour migration. Today trade and intermediary employment is prevailing within labour and frontier migration.

Speaking about external labour migration in Belarus, it should be noted that certain progress has been achieved since the mid 90’s, since 1994 to be more precise, when the registration of working migrants started. It should be observed that official labour migration data (on the basis of officially concluded work agreements and contracts) do not reflect the real situation within this migration

process. According to these data, labour emigration in Belarus is a little larger than 18 thousand people, labour immigration is 4.9 thousand people (see Table 5). However, these are only officially employed working migrants who represent less than 2 percent of Belarusian migration-prone citizens.

We have calculated that working migrants in Belarus make up 800-850 thousand people including the following: Russian sector – 500-550 thousand people, Western sector – about 300 thousand people. It means that a considerable proportion of working migrants statistically remain “in the shade”, although the given level of labour migration in Belarus is recognized by personnel offices, financiers, and members of the top brass.

Table 5: External labour migration of the population of the Republic of Belarus for the years 2006-2008 (people)

	2006	2007	2008
Working migrants departed	4502	7335	6204
Working migrants arrived	922	1496	2463
Labour migration balance	-3580	-5839	-3741

There was a regular population census in October 2009 but we do not have synthetic data about ethnic and migrant composition of the country yet. But we have general information about population size indicating that the population of the Republic of Belarus has decreased by 565 thousand people over a period between two population censuses (1999 and 2009) [Collection of statistics 2009, p. 13, 9, 62]. Moreover, 530 thousand people are the share of natural loss and 35 thousand are the share to migration outflow.

According to statistics, Belarus has had a positive migration balance for the whole inter-census period; the 2009 population census states a negative migration balance. This fact begs the question: what has happened. It is interesting that the population size differed in 178.7 thousand people comparing to the beginning of 2009, which is caused by labour migration, in our opinion. Labour migration is just a sore point for Belarus.

The World Bank experts conducted labour migration research with a view to money transfers in the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union as of the year 2000 and estimated Belarusian labour migration (it is considered illegal by these specialists) at the rate of 50-150 thousand people. In the judgment of the World Bank experts, its share is 11.68 % of the total size of Belarusian migrants, i.e. every ninth migrant in Western Europe is considered as a working migrant [Ali Mansoor and Bryce Quillin 2009, 61].

Investigation of the age structure of migrant workers who have gone abroad shows predominance of young people aged up to 24 years old. The average age of entering foreign workers is 36-37. The gender composition of labour migration in the Republic of Belarus is characterized by male predominance (about 90% in the structure of workers entering the country and more than two-thirds of outgoing migration flows).

Analysis of the means of livelihood of the Belarusian labour migrants before going abroad shows that a significant portion of travelers, decide to migrate having paid job although it is related to a risk of losing stable earnings. This indicates dissatisfaction with the level of revenues in the home country and desire to increase wealth through labour migration and differentiation of wages between countries [Ali Mansoor and Bryce Quillin 2009].

Imperfection of educational market in Belarus is also reflected in the formation of labour migration flows. Namely, the disparities between the structure and quality of training and the needs of the economic system determine the fact that the average percentage of employment of university graduates is 54.9%, of graduates of secondary special institutions - 38,1%.

Consequently, according to summarizing statistical information of the Headquarters of Statistics of Gomel Region, 96-97 % of working migrants being dependent before going abroad were young people up to 24 years old, mainly educated and unemployed specialists and students who didn't get a scholarship.

Thus, the imbalance between training specialists and the needs of the national economy promotes the outgoing flow of labour migration, reducing the return on government investments in education and in fact subsidizing the economic development of host countries.

In the years 2006-2008, there was observed an outflow of highly qualified specialists in construction and production outside the region, as well as operators, machinery drivers, fitters.

In this case internal labour market suffers too, since the largest number of vacancies is for working careers. However, the average wage for these jobs is very low, which causes their constant "vacant" status.

Therefore, domestic jobs can hardly compete with those abroad, and a comparison of "price" characteristics of labour of the same complexity and level of proficiency in Belarus and abroad raises labour mobility, even despite attendant physical and psychological costs.

There is significant differentiation of wages in Belarus, a key determinant of the formation of relevant labour resources flows, in comparison with the majority of foreign countries. The high demand for labour in the construction industry in conjunction with the wages in Russia is 1.4 times larger than Belarusian builders' wages, predetermines their outflow to the Russian Federation, mainly to Moscow and Moscow region, where wage differences are even greater.

The existence of a unified labour market removes restrictions on the movement of labour, community of mentality, lack of linguistic and cultural barriers, facilitates access of Belarusian citizens to the Russian labour market, and forms labour migration flows precisely in this direction, rather than in more developed countries, where wage differentiation is even more evident.

In recent years, the scales of periodic migration, i.e. tourist migration, have changed in Belarus too. In general, an increase in the number of inhabitants of other countries, who visited Belarus on tourist visas - and above all from the area of the EU countries is observed (see Table 6). However, in recent years, the number of foreign tourists who have visited Belarus decreased by almost 45% probably through the global financial crisis. The number of tourists from Germany, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands reduced most of all.

The fact of reducing the scale of "circular" migration with neighbouring countries (Poland, Lithuania and Latvia) through tourism is the most worrying.

The growth of the number of tourists from Great Britain alone is observed.

Table 6: The number of foreign tourists having visited the Republic of Belarus (people) [Collection of statistics 2009, 263-264]

	1995	2000	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Number of tourists having visited Belarus – in total	16896	60224	64289	67517	90811	89524	105410	91587
including:								
- foreign countries	12518	48050	56600	54505	61980	62790	66523	38715
- CIS countries	4351	12174	7689	13012	28231	26734	38887	52872
Austria	119	534	593	723	508	387	345	586
Belgium	159	197	322	497	495	303	1830	239
Germany	1675	5669	7067	8542	7402	9973	7826	3027
Denmark	55	132	535	529	307	280	516	164
Spain	100	122	392	573	509	630	687	372
Italy	1356	1463	4225	4533	5090	4910	4183	2672
Cyprus	204	1101	2602	1179	940	956	1202	206
Latvia	7	6364	7665	4978	7409	8156	3855	1425
Lithuania	12	1949	7458	5317	8249	12481	9309	2600
The Netherlands	251	427	1347	954	868	611	971	386
Norway	70	77	153	222	1632	286	358	302
Poland	91	13464	10287	5563	2983	3329	3337	2832
United Kingdom	4603	6197	3282	5222	8208	3092	4413	7674
France	208	387	486	759	1176	1037	1154	1257
Switzerland	20	103	364	352	447	466	293	480
Sweden	55	380	415	1093	727	553	745	594
Estonia	11	953	727	840	732	1647	4288	1166

At the same time, we can observe the reduction of Belarusians going abroad through tourist migration. Thus, the largest scale of Belarusian seasonal (“circular”) migration on tourist visas was in 2000 – 1289034 people in number. This number reduced to 380349 people in 2008. (See Table 7), (or 3,4 times). The growth of tourist migration is observed to Greece, Spain and Italy alone. For most Belarusians visiting Poland was associated with “shuttle” business during the last decade of the XX century and the first years of the current decade. Thus, while the number of Belarusians’ trips to Poland went beyond one million in 2000, this rate was a bit more than 7 thousand people in 2008; the number is 150 times as small (!). As for visits to Lithuania, this rate reduced by 6 times; as for Latvia, by more than 5 times. New political situation in the countries that became the EU members is a barrier for normal migratory relationships through “circular” migration.

Table 7: The number of Belarusian tourists going abroad (people) [Collection of statistics 2009, p. 263, 265]

	1995	2000	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
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The number of Belarusian tourists going abroad – in total	625898	1289034	1108237	514593	572398	525430	516796	380349
including:								
- to foreign countries	570899	1181570	837199	208126	268043	278271	283680	212974
- to CIS countries	54999	107464	271038	306467	304355	247159	233111	167375
Austria	22	499	852	856	1038	461	353	402
Bulgaria	5938	10953	10098	10378	13832	19812	22636	19665
Hungary	4671	7385	2995	2415	2797	2279	1680	1412
Germany	3172	7816	2712	1762	2687	1877	1361	1071
Greece	1036	852	1441	317	491	1139	1456	1940
Egypt	238	2523	6112	9002	16580	16725	24791	44282
Spain	763	4746	3712	3559	2933	3470	3886	3534
Italy	170	3268	2523	1645	3684	4623	5677	6725
Cyprus	479	1603	957	588	949	1224	1360	1137
China	299	244	13	10	87	311	846	709
Latvia	37	814	852	1201	1251	3210	5982	1127
Lithuania	8687	11966	21893	19206	34670	49357	53375	8491
The Netherlands	779	748	504	222	194	601	497	544
UAE (United Arab Emirates)	1009	331	425	517	1230	792	1152	1694
Poland	534610	1092763	733186	97367	106347	87130	65240	7197
Romania	-	459	1763	5336	11223	14801	13833	7562
Serbia and Montenegro	-	232	1001	1626	2614	4105	5097	3625
Slovakia	683	1911	2448	1837	2148	2324	2015	1248
United Kingdom	48	674	1256	1628	1373	1265	861	747
Tunis	28	86	438	947	2220	1993	2278	2041
Turkey	4260	7555	15711	23689	32329	35126	43393	74730
Thailand	91	270	323	402	386	785	919	1083
France	380	2937	7810	6066	5263	4449	4520	6027
Croatia	-	2115	485	596	923	396	276	974
Czech Republic	3169	17514	15868	15310	18604	16419	17584	11108

- Recently, we could observe the refraction of the decrease trend in international migratory exchange within migratory movement in Belarus (primarily as a result of reducing the number of people arrived in the area for permanent residence);

- Migration relations within the CIS and the Baltic countries, and especially with Russia traditionally dominate, which is due to the lack of administrative obstacles to free movement of manpower resources, creation of institutional preconditions, including the legislative regulations ensuring equality of migrants and local population;
- The majority of migrations seeking for permanent residence in the Republic of Belarus resettle to their relatives; the structure of migration is changing along the lines of the proportion increase of those people who have resettled for education and employment from non-CIS countries, and of the proportion decrease of migrants having returned to their previous places of residence;
- The proportion of labour migration on the basis of officially concluded labour agreements and contracts is small, the number of people going to work abroad traditionally predominates over the inflow of migrant workers to the country;
- Belarusian population at the age below 30 years (mostly men) take the most active part in the process of labour migration, which is to some extent due to having an imbalance between training young professionals and the needs of the economy. It produces the problems of youth employment in the regional market;
- A considerable part of migrant workers traveling abroad have paid work, which indirectly reflects the weak international competition of "price" labour characteristics of the same complexity and proficiency level, and indicates the lack of effectiveness of migration exchange for the region's economy through departures of actually employed workers and non-inclusion of unemployed in labour migration (officially registered ones);
- Despite greater differentiation of wages in the Republic of Belarus and the countries of Western Europe and the U.S., the flow of labour migrants from Belarus is directed to Russia, which is, on the one hand, due to the lack of restrictions on free movement of manpower resources, common culture, mentality and language between Russia and Belarus, and on the other hand due to a selective policy of European states in respect of foreign workers, and inadequate infrastructure of employment assistance for Belarusian citizens in these countries.

Thus, the migration situation in the Republic of Belarus at the turn of the XX-XXI century is characterized by a significant increase in mass migration, which is characterized by the domination of people arrived, and by a positive balance of migration for the country as a whole in comparison with the migration of last decades.

The highest peak of the migratory movement was in the early nineties (until 1993), and subsequently there has been a constant downward trend in the migration turnover.

Extruding factors came to the place of attracting ones, indicating the forced nature of migration flows in contrast to previously prevailing free movement of population. Resettlement of Slavic people (primarily ethnic Belarusians) as well as people having close family ties with Belarus prevails in the process of migration exchange with the former Soviet republics. It characterizes the movement of people from former Soviet republics as a national kind of outcome.

Migration exchange between Belarus and Russia takes the largest share of migration process within migration movement, and Belarus acts as a host country.

Under contemporary demographic situation in Belarus migration processes, though having a relevant legal basis adequate to international law, there is a question put forward of working out policies aimed at stimulation of population inflow to Belarus.

The purpose of migration policy in Belarus should be focused on receiving a positive migration balance of migration that would exceed the rate of the natural population loss.

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