Ethnic Composition and Migration Status of Primary and Secondary School Students in Russia

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Abstract. Data on ethnic diversity and ethnicity/migration correlation among primary and secondary school students is presented in the article for the first time ever. The study is based on polls held among 21,320 school students in 365 schools of five regions of Russia (Moscow Oblast, Saint Petersburg, Leningrad Oblast, Tomsk, and Pskov). The most part of students speaking Russian as their second language attend schools of Moscow suburbs area (16%) with the least part attending schools of small towns and settlements of Leningrad Oblast (6.6%) and Pskov (8.5%). The sample covers 56 ethnic groups with some being rather small. In Saint Petersburg, Pskov and Tomsk there are 63–66% locals among children speaking Russian as their first language, whereas in Moscow suburbs area there are 44% only. Among ethnic minorities, the highest numbers of locals are in Tomsk and Pskov (38–39%). In Saint Petersburg there are more locals or second generation migrants among Ukrainians, Belarusians and Tatars, whereas "generation 1.5" migrants prevail in number among Tadzhiks and Uzbeks (46–49%). Generation 1.5 migrants prevail among all ethnic groups in Moscow suburbs area with Uzbeks and Tadzhiks being the most prevailing (62%). In Tomsk, most of the ethnic minorities' representatives are either locals or second-generation migrants. Statistics on ethnic and migration status of school students allows for assessment not only of the scale of migration flows but also of a retrospective time dynamics for various ethnic groups. Families from Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia were actively moving to Russia 15–20 years ago. Now there is massive migration going on among Tadzhiks, Uzbeks and Kyrgyz who bring their children of various ages. We believe that education management authorities should initiate prudent integration of school students with Russian as their second language irrelevant of their citizenship but with consideration of their families' migration background.

Keywords: schools, ethnic composition, migrant children, migration status, migration generations, ethnicity.

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Migration processes shape new multi-ethnic communities around the world, and Russia is no exception. Unlike Western Europe, which faced mass labor migration as early as in the 1960s-1970s, it was not until the Soviet Union collapsed that Russia came to know cross-border migration as an important phenomenon. Ethnic composition of Russian cities and towns has been changing visibly since the early 1990s [Vishnevsky, Gimpelson, 2013; Vishnevsky, 2014].

The number of immigrant workers with temporary residence permits is increasing mostly in major industry clusters offering a wide variety of jobs, with enterprises interested in exploiting cheap labor force. The process is characterized by the growing migration flow from former Soviet republics (CIS countries) and the intensifying mobility within Russia [Karachurina, Mkrtchyan, 2009; Karachurina, 2013]. Registering a child in the Russian Federation is associated with certain legal implications for cross-border migrant families [Alexandrov et al., 2012. P. 18–19], however many immigrants bring their families along. According to Yuliya Florinskaya, immigrant workers from Armenia and Azerbaijan bring their children more often than others [2012].

As labor migration flows were increasing, schools in large cities began to accept children who didn't speak Russian as their first language; their number was constantly growing through the 1990s—early 2000s. They have been a source of concerns for the best part of society, especially for parents of school-age children, which has been widely discussed my mass media. Despite the importance of the issue, there has been little empirical research devoted to adaptation of children from immigrant families to Russian school environment, although the number of studies increases every year. The main focus of such research is on how immigrant children adjust to new surroundings and integrate into school, on xenophobia and tolerance among peers, on challenges non-native school students deal with in learning, and on relevant teacher policies [Tyuryukanova, Ledenyova, 2005; Panova, Fyodorova, 2006; Barazgova, Vandyshev, Likhachyova, 2010; Makarov, 2010; Kashpur, Popravko, 2012; Mukomel, 2014]. Researchers usually work with small samples or school case studies, so there is no detailed picture of ethnic composition at schools of any region or even city. We only managed to find one publication on the e-library portal which is based on a large representative sample of schools and provides data on the number and ethnic composition of students—the study of schools in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug [Zborovsky, Shuklina, 2013].

Collecting data on the representativeness of certain ethnic groups at schools is a real challenge. Federal Migration Service authorities collecting statistics on arriving and departing migrants do not keep a separate record of children. Education committees are interested in this information and some of them try to have subordinate schools keep a count of non-Russian speaking children, but this data is frag-

mentary, unclassified, nontransparent and thus can't be used for research analysis. As for schools, they use most diverse classification criteria to keep a record of immigrant children: students with temporary residence permits, students with no Russian citizenship, non-native Russian speakers, etc., which also doesn't make it easier to consolidate the information.

As soon as neither national nor departmental statistics have access to information we needed for our analysis, we used the data from student surveys. A detailed description of the research methods and questionnaire items is given in the section that follows.

Empirical basis

Since 2010, the Laboratory of Sociology in Education and Science of St. Petersburg branch of the National Research University—Higher School of Economics (NRU HSE) has been conducting large-scale studies of Russian schools[1] devoted to social differentiation and ethnic segregation, school social environment and immigrant integration, emotional well-being of students, student socialization through extracurricular activities, etc. All the surveys have used large representative samples of schools.

Although the tool (questionnaire) had different objectives in each project, it always included a sociodemographic module asking about education, occupation, and mother tongue of each parent, places of birth of the student and his/her parents, and how long ago the family moved to the locality. Students were also asked questions about their mother tongue, home language, and the ethnicity/nationality they associated themselves with (ethnic self-identification). A kit of questions like that allows for setting diverse variables to describe student ethnicity and family migration history.

These studies allowed us to accumulate a vast empirical database (365 schools in various regions of the Russian Federation, over 20,000 student questionnaires) in 2010–2013. Analysis of this database sheds light on the ethnic composition of Russian schools and on migration history of immigrant families in a specific region.

Below we describe the sample, its scope, and the sampling method for each project. All surveys used general questioning techniques, i. e. covered all ninth-graders (plus eighth-graders and tenth-graders in some studies). The average age of respondents was 15 years.

1. The 2010 survey of St. Petersburg multi-ethnic schools. During sampling, all city schools were divided into general schools and

[1] The studies were conducted with the assistance of the NRU HSE Program of Fundamental Studies (2010–2012 grants) and as part of the 2020 Strategy program (project "Analyzing and Assessing the Potential Role Supplementary and Informal Educational Institutions Can Play in Solving Children Socialization Issues").

higher status schools including gymnasia, lyceums, and specialized schools. There are 732 public schools in the city, which made the total population. Sampling was performed in two stages. The first one used the stratified sampling technique: 30 general schools and 10 higher status schools were selected randomly. The second stage added small schools to the sample, as previous research had shown such schools were most likely to accept children from immigrant families in St. Petersburg. The total sample included 7,300 students from 104 schools. Knowing the proportion of small, general and higher status schools, were we able to introduce weighted coefficients to describe the total population. We will hereinafter use the weighted data of this survey combined with data of another survey of St. Petersburg school students (see below).

2. The 2011–2012 survey of Moscow Oblast multi-ethnic schools. The Moscow Oblast sample included 11 municipal formations adjoining the Moscow Ring Road (Leninsky, Mytishchinsky, Odintsovsky, Krasnogorsky and Lyuberetsky Districts, Korolyov, Kotelniki, Shcherbinka, Balashikha, Zheleznodorozhny and Khimki cities), which used to form the "outer ring" of Moscow before the city borders were extended. These municipal formations featured more students from ethnic minority groups than other regions of the Oblast[2]. Judging by the interview data we have, immigrants prefer to settle along the Moscow Ring Road, as housing there is less expensive than in Moscow, while the proximity to the city allows for commuting.

Out of the total population of 255 schools located in these municipal formations, we selected 99 for the study, using the stratified random sampling technique with proportional allocation of the two strata: general and higher status schools. 7,478 student questionnaires were collected during the survey.

3. The 2011 survey on extracurricular and extra academic activities of school students. The survey covered localities of various types in four regions of Russia: metropolises (St. Petersburg), cities (Tomsk and Pskov), towns (Vsevolozhsk, Kirishi, Asino), and villages in Leningrad and Tomsk Oblasts. For metropolises and cities, schools were selected using the stratified random sampling technique with proportional allocation of general and higher status schools. Thus, the proportion of higher status schools in the sample corresponded to the one in the total population of schools. The surveys in towns and villag-

[2] The data on the number of children—non-native Russian speakers in different regions of Moscow Oblast was provided to us by the Education Quality Center of the Social Management Academy (State budgetary educational institution of higher professional education in Moscow Oblast) ensuring scientific, methodological, organizational, and technological support in assessing the quality of education in the Moscow Oblast education system.

Table 1. **Sample description: total number of schools and questionnaires by locality**

Locality	Number of schools in the sample	Number of student questionnaires
St. Petersburg (2010)	104	7 191
St. Petersburg (2011)	100	3 631
Moscow Oblast	99	7 438
Tomsk	25	1 275
Pskov	15	772
Kirishi (Leningrad Oblast)	8	352
Vsevolozhsk (Leningrad Oblast)	6	378
Asino (Tomsk Oblast)	4	140
Village 1 (Tomsk Oblast)	1	33
Village 2 (Leningrad Oblast)	1	55
Village 3 (Leningrad Oblast)	1	17
Village 4 (Leningrad Oblast)	1	38
TOTAL	365	21 320

es were based on general questioning. The total survey sample embraced 162 schools, with 6,992 questionnaires collected.

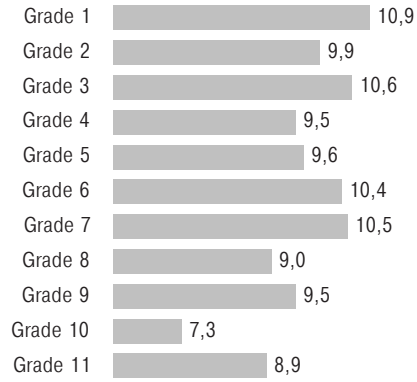
Total number of schools and students covered by the abovementioned surveys is given in Table 1.

The survey respondents were upperclassmen (eighth- to tenth-graders). With a view to make sure survey data reflected the situation for the whole school, we interviewed school administrators and elementary teachers in each sampled school of Moscow Oblast to collect information on the number of non-native Russian speakers in all grades. Ultimately, we collected data on grades 1–11 in 50 schools, the results are shown in Figure 1.

As can be seen in Figure 1, although the proportion of immigrant children is slightly higher in elementary school, it changes little from grade to grade and doesn't exceed 2% up to the ninth one, followed by mass exodus to colleges and training schools. Therefore, we believe the data on the number of ethnic minority children obtained in ninth-grade student surveys can be extrapolated to the whole school.

The data we collected makes it possible to measure the number of students from specific ethnic groups at schools and to figure out the proportion of immigrant children among school students of different ethnic groups. The first part of the article will describe the ethnic composition of schools in the regions of Russia surveyed, and the second one will focus on the migration status of students.

Figure 1. **The proportion of non-native Russian speakers in different grades of Moscow Oblast schools** (%)



Ethnic composition of schools

We considered language identity to be the most convenient proxy variable to denote ethnicity of school students in this study. We took into account native languages of father, mother, and respondents themselves. Without getting into language classification, we used the names of languages used by students, e. g. Yazidi/Kurdish.

If mother's and father's native languages were different (1.5% of families in the sample), priority was given to father's ethnicity, as father gives his child a name and a patronymic, which may serve as a powerful ethnic group indicator for others[3]. We will hereinafter use the terms "ethnic minority" and "non-native Russian speakers" as referring to the same thing.

Table 2 provides data on the proportion of non-native Russian speakers among school students in different regions.

Russian children account for 85–93% of school students in the regions surveyed, only 7–16% being represented by other ethnic groups. At the same time, the proportion of non-native Russian speakers at school differs considerably across regions. The highest proportion falls on the Moscow Oblast (16.2%), and the lowest for towns and Leningrad Oblast villages. The research covered the part of Moscow Oblast adjacent to the Moscow Ring Road, i. e. to Moscow itself. The capital attracts immigrant workers like a magnet, many of them are commuters—this explains the high proportion of non-native Russian

[3] Migration researchers do not agree on which category children of cross-cultural marriages should be classified to. Thus, Belgian researchers determine ethnicity by maternal grandmother [Agirdag, Van Houtte, Van Avermaet, 2011]; American studies usually identify ethnicity or race of a mixed marriage child by the parent who's non-white or belongs to an ethnic minority [Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, Haller, 2005]; if both parents are non-native speakers, the child is assigned the ethnicity of their mother [Rumbaut, 2004].

Table 2. **The proportion of ethnic minority students in** regions **of Russia**

Region	Number of student questionnaires	Proportion of ethnic minority students
St. Petersburg	10 822	12,8
Leningrad Oblast	802	6,6
Moscow Oblast	7 438	16,2
Pskov	729	8,5
Toms and Tomsk Oblast	1 431	10,1

speakers in schools. Conversely, towns and villages are less attractive for immigrant workers due to less numerous and diverse jobs.

The terms "ethnic minority" and "non-native Russian speakers" cover a huge variety of ethnic groups that differ not only in their language but also in the religion and cultural practices that affect inevitably the relationship between children in these groups and school. While encoding, we classified each student into an ethnic group. The number of individual groups turned out to be very high; thus, the Moscow Oblast sample included representatives of 56 ethnic groups, from Ukrainians to Afghans (Table 3).

As some groups were very small and only accounted for fractions of a per cent in the sample, we were not able to analyze each of them individually. To make the statistics more workable, we classified the ethnic groups into categories based on their territorial distribution (Table 4): immigrants from Central Asia (Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmens, and Kyrgyz people), Transcaucasia (Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and Georgians), the North Caucasus (Ossetians, Ingush people, Chechens, and multiple Dagestan ethnicities[4]), Volga and Ural regions (Tatars, Bashkirs, Chuvash people, Mordvins, etc.), and the Baltic states (Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians). The "others" category included immigrants from small ethnic groups and speakers of non-CIS foreign languages.

As Table 4 illustrates, schools in different regions of Russia differ significantly in their ethnic composition. For instance, the proportion of immigrants from Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova is higher in St. Petersburg, Leningrad Oblast and Pskov than in Tomsk. Speakers of Baltic languages (Estonian, Lithuanian, and Latvian) are much more

[4] As a rule, students specified the exact language of a Dagestan ethnicity, e. g. Avar, Dargin, Kumyk, or Lak. However, some respondents just put "Dagestani", although there is no such language. These students were also referred to the "North Caucasian ethnicities" category.

Table 3. **Native languages of students in Moscow Oblast schools** (N=7,395) (number of language speakers and their proportion in the sample)

Student's native language	Number of students	Proportion in the sample (%)
Russian	6233	83,8
Armenian	318	4,3
Ukrainian	212	2,9
Azerbaijani	112	1,5
Tatar	62	0,8
Moldovan	61	0,8
Georgian	48	0,6
Belarusian	31	0,4
Uzbek	31	0,4
Chechen	23	0,3
Tajik	20	0,3
Ossetian	20	0,3
Korean	18	0,2
Jewish	15	0,2
Chuvash	15	0,2
Mordvin	12	0,2
Kyrgyz	12	0,2
Lezgian	11	0,1
Yazidi	11	0,1
Gagauz	9	0,1
Bulgarian	9	0,1
Avar	8	0,1
Serbian	7	0,1
German	7	0,1
Ingush	7	0,1
Kazakh	7	0,1
Pashtun	6	0,1

Student's native language	Number of students	Proportion in the sample (%)
Romanian	5	0,1
Turkmen	5	0,1
Buryat	5	0,1
Polish	4	0,1
Kumyk	4	0,1
Kabardian	4	0,1
Mari	3	0,0
Bashkir	3	0,0
Cherkess	3	0,0
Turkish	3	0,0
Farsi	3	0,0
Dargin	2	0,0
Tabasaran	2	0,0
Aghul	2	0,0
Lak	2	0,0
Balkar	2	0,0
Digor	2	0,0
Abkhaz	2	0,0
Kurdish	2	0,0
Yakut	2	0,0
Kalmyk	2	0,0
Mongolian	2	0,0
Arabic	2	0,0
Mingrelian	1	0,0
Talysh	1	0,0
Chinese	1	0,0
Uyghur	1	0,0

numerous in Pskov than in any other region, which is probably explained by its territorial proximity to the Baltic states. However, geographical location is far not the only factor affecting the ethnic composition of a specific region.

Ethnic composition of every Russian city and region has its own history of development dating back to the multinational Russian Em-

Table 4. **Consolidated groups** (% of the total number of ethnic minority students in the sample)

	St. Petersburg	Leningrad Oblast	Moscow Oblast	Pskov	Tomsk and Tomsk Oblast
Ukrainians, Belarusians, Moldovans, Gagauz people	30,5	30,2	27,7	39,7	12,3
Transcaucasian ethnicities	37,1	26,4	42,7	25,4	28,1
Central Asian ethnicities	10,3	18,9	6,8	6,3	17,8
North Caucasian ethnicities	7,5	7,5	8,7	3,2	2,7
Volga and Ural region ethnicities	7,1	3,8	8,2	3,2	26,0
Baltic ethnicities	1,1	1,9	0,5	15,7	2,8
Others	6,5	11,3	5,4	6,5	10,3

pire. For example, St. Petersburg has traditionally been a multinational city; many ethnic communities developed here as early as in the 18th-19th centuries and have maintained their ethnic and cultural identity ever since, preserving their traditions and language, while having no problems with Russian [Yukhneva, 1984, 2004; Starovoytova, 1987].

Analyzing the representativeness of different ethnicities in schools of specific regions of Russia, we only took into account the ethnic groups that represented a noticeable majority in a region, classifying speakers of other languages as “others”. Table 5 provides cumulative data on each region. Proportions of ethnic groups were calculated in relation to the total number of students who didn’t speak Russian as their native language, which allowed us to assess representativeness of different ethnicities with respect to each other, without regard to Russian-speaking students.

Ukrainians account for almost 25% of ethnic minority students in schools of St. Petersburg. The proportions of Azerbaijanis and Armenians are also quite high (17.5% and 12.3%, respectively). Among other ethnicities, relatively significant proportions are shown by Georgians, Belarusians, Tatars, Uzbeks, and Tajiks, but all of them vary between 3% and 6% of all immigrant children. The rest of ethnic groups are too small, with proportions not exceeding 1–1.5%. Complete data based on two mass surveys confirm the previous findings on the multi-ethnic composition of St. Petersburg schools [Alexandrov, Baranova, Ivaniushina, 2011].

The Leningrad Oblast survey covered Vsevolozhsk and Kirishi towns, as well as some small villages with one school only. The total sample included 849 students from 18 schools, of whom 6.6% (56 students) didn’t speak Russian as their native language. The overall proportion of immigrant children in regional schools is almost twice as

Table 5. **The proportions of different ethnicities in schools**
(% of the number of students—non-native Russian speakers)

	St. Petersburg	Leningrad Oblast	Pskov	Moscow Oblast	Tomsk and Tomsk Oblast
Ukrainians	22,3	15,1	27,0	17,6	11,1
Azerbaijanis	17,5	9,4	6,3	9,3	18,1
Armenians	12,3	11,3	17,5	26,4	9,0
Belarusians	6,5	9,4	11,1	2,6	1,4
Georgians	6,3	5,7	1,6	4,0	0,0
Tatars	4,1	3,8	1,6	5,1	22,2
Uzbeks	4,0	3,8	3,2	2,6	6,3
Tajiks	3,0	2,0	1,6	1,7	2,8
Kyrgyz people	1,2	0,0	1,6	1,0	4,9
Moldovans	1,7	5,7	1,6	5,1	0,0
Kazakhs	1,7	4,0	0,0	0,6	3,5
Chuvash people	1,4	0,0	1,6	1,2	3,5
Estonians	0,4	0,0	6,3	0,1	0,0
Lithuanians	0,3	1,9	4,8	0,2	0,7
Latvians	0,3	0,0	3,2	0,2	0,7
Germans	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,6	8,3
Others	16,6	27,9	11,1	21,8	7,7

low as in St. Petersburg. However, results differ dramatically for some of the localities. Thus, the town of Kirishi situated rather far away from the city has a very small proportion of ethnic minority school students, while the proportion in Vsevolzhsk, which is virtually a suburb of St. Petersburg, is almost the same as in the city. Consequently, a number of locality characteristics should be considered when selecting a sample to describe the ethnic composition of a region.

The ethnic composition of schools in Leningrad Oblast is very close the one observed in St. Petersburg, with prevailing Ukrainians, Armenians, Belarusians and Azerbaijanis.

In Pskov schools, the largest group of ethnic minority students is represented by Ukrainians (27%); Armenians and Belarusians also account for a large proportion (17.5% and 11.1%, respectively). A distinctive feature of Pskov is the relatively high proportion of students speaking Baltic languages: Estonian, Lithuanian, and Latvian. Altogether, they make up 14.3% of all immigrant children, as compared to less than 1% in the other regions surveyed. Obviously, the reason lies in geographical proximity of Pskov and the Baltic states.

Of all regions we analyzed, Moscow Oblast has the highest proportion of immigrant children in schools. Our sample does not describe the whole Moscow Oblast, and one can hardly expect the ethnic composition of schools to be the same in the remote Taldomsky or Shatursky Districts as in Mytishchi or Odintsovsky District. Since we were interested in how immigrant children integrated into Russian schools, we focused on the part of Moscow Oblast with especially high proportions of ethnic minority students, i. e. on the municipal formations surrounding the Moscow Ring Road.

As seen in Table 5, Armenians account for 26.4% of non-Russian speakers in schools of these municipal formations, which makes them the largest ethnic group in the region. Meanwhile, Azerbaijanis are only 9.3% in Moscow Oblast schools. The proportional distribution of these groups is practically the inverse of what we observed for St. Petersburg. As in any other region of European Russia, Moscow Oblast schools are characterized by a high proportion of native Ukrainian speakers.

Tomsk was the only city outside European Russia in our research. Tatars were found to be the largest ethnic group represented in Tomsk schools (22.2%). Germans also accounted for a considerable proportion (8.3%). The proportion of Germans and Tatars among immigrant students in the other regions surveyed didn't exceed 0.5% and 5.1%, respectively. Ukrainians and Azerbaijanis are also quite numerous (11.1% and 18.1%, respectively). The specific ethnic composition of Tomsk is explained by the history of settlement and the evolution of migration flows changing each other. Germans were forced to settle there in 1941–1945 [Polyan, 2001]. Siberian Tatars had lived in the Siberian territory long before Tomsk was established, so they have been a part of Siberian population from the very beginning. Later, the Tatar population growth in Tomsk was fueled by Tatars arriving from Volga region [Korusenko, Tomilov, 2011].

Students who are non-native Russian speakers include children from families that have lived in a community since long ago. Thus, many Armenian and Tatar families have lived in St. Petersburg for five generations, preserving their ethnic identity. They are fluent Russian speakers fully integrated in the community life, and their children have no difficulties at school associated with non-native teaching language or cultural differences. Another dimension—time lived in the region, or migration history—should be introduced to discriminate between long-settled members of ethnic minorities and newly arrived immigrant workers.

Migration status of children in Russian schools

Migration researchers differentiate between external (cross-border) and internal migration. Cross-border immigrants come from other countries, which also include former Soviet republics for modern Russia. Internal migration suggests moving within one country.

They also discriminate between immigrant generations depending on how long ago a family moved to the receiving country. First-generation immigrants are born in one country and then move to another; second-generation immigrants are born from first-generation immigrants in the receiving country. This generation-based classification works fine for adults but appears to be rude when it comes to children.

The first years of growing up are crucial in terms of socialization. Ethnic and cultural self-identification, language skills, and the sense of belonging to the community depend on which country these years happen to pass in. That is why researchers of immigrant children offer more detailed classifications based on "fractionary generations". They widely use the category of "1.5 generation", where individuals often combine two identities (see [Mukomel, 2012] on application of this category in Russia).

The most elaborated classification of generations was proposed by American sociologist Ruben Rumbaut [Rumbaut, 2004]. He developed the following argumentation: preschooler, gradeschooler, and teenager are totally different phases of child development, and the specifics of assimilation processes depends on which of these periods migration falls on. Based on these theoretical assumptions and the empirical data obtained, Rumbaut suggested discriminating between three categories:

1) Preschooler immigrants—the "1.75 generation". Such children have almost no memories of their country of birth, speak the language of the receiving country without an accent, experience conditions similar to those of native speakers, and can be regarded as second-generation immigrants;
2) Gradeschooler immigrants (6–12 years old)—the "1.5 generation". These children can speak and sometimes read and write the language of their native country, they also have had some school experience there;
3) Teenager immigrants (13–17 years old)—the "1.25 generation". Their cultural and ethnic identity shapes in their native country; having immigrated, they go to high school or directly to the labor market, skipping the school. Their experience is closer to that of adult first-generation immigrants than to that of their junior siblings born in the receiving country.

As our questionnaire asked students about the migration history of their family and when they had immigrated, we are able to analyze immigrant generations individually. Following the Russian researchers of migration [Karachurina, Mkrtchyan, 2009], we use the "native-born" category for children whose families have lived for two or more generations in the region (at least one of the child's parents was born there). If the child's parents were not born in the region, such family is considered to be immigrant.

Table 6. **The proportional distribution of school students from immigrant families (living for less than two generations in the region) and native-born families (living for two or more generations in the region) across regions** (% of the number of children of relevant language category)

	Native-born	Immigrant
Children with Russian as their native language		
St. Petersburg	63,1	36,9
Leningrad Oblast	54,9	45,1
Pskov	66,4	33,6
Moscow Oblast	44,2	55,8
Tomsk and Tomsk Oblast	63,6	36,4
Children—non-native Russian speakers		
St. Petersburg	23,6	76,4
Leningrad Oblast	17,4	82,6
Pskov	37,7	62,3
Moscow Oblast	10,2	89,8
Tomsk and Tomsk Oblast	39,0	61,0

Using Rumbaut's classification, we identify the following categories of children: second-generation immigrants (children were born from immigrant parents in the receiving country), 1.75 generation immigrants (children who immigrated at preschool age), and 1.5 generation immigrants (children who immigrated when they were over 7 years). All tables have relevant explications below. Besides, we analyze Russian-speaking immigrants and non-native Russian speakers separately. Breaking into these categories allows us to see for how long members of different ethnicities have lived in specific regions and to describe the migration waves of the last 20 years.

Table 6 illustrates the proportion of immigrant children from relatively newly-arrived families and from families that have lived at least for two generations in the specific region (parents were born there).

The proportion of native-born Russian-speaking families varies between 55% and 65% for all regions except Moscow Oblast, where such families are only 44%, with 56% relatively new to the region. It means that these regions of Moscow Oblast (the Moscow Ring Road zone) have been actively populated by Russian-speaking families from other regions of Russia over the last 20 years. This data confirms the demographical conclusions about Moscow Oblast being the most attractive region for internal labor migration since the 1990s [Mkrtchyan, 2005].

As for families of non-native Russian speakers, the proportion of newly arrived (immigrants) is significantly higher than that of living for two or more generations in the region, for every region surveyed. The proportion of children from ethnic minority families is the highest in schools of Moscow and Leningrad Oblasts and the lowest in Tomsk and Pskov.

For St. Petersburg, we analyzed more closely the migration history of eight ethnicities, the proportion of each making up over 3% of the total number of immigrant students; together, these eight groups account for 75% of ethnic minority students in St. Petersburg schools. The data is presented in Table 7.

Members of many ethnic groups in St. Petersburg are locals, as some ethnic communities have been an integral part of the city population for centuries. Thus, a good part of Tatars, Belarusians and Ukrainians have a high residential status as they have lived for more than two generations in St. Petersburg; about the third of students belonging to these ethnic groups are second-generation immigrants who were born and grew up in the city. Transcaucasian ethnicities have a contrastingly different residential status with only a small proportion of students (13–17%) coming from native-born families, whereas the overwhelming majority is represented by second-generation or 1.75 generation immigrants (born in immigrant families or brought at their preschool age). A small proportion of children (12–18%) moved to St. Petersburg at the age of 7 or above (1.5 generation immigrants). Finally, ethnic minority students from Central Asia represented by Uzbeks and Tajiks most often tend to be 1.5 generation immigrants, i. e. those who immigrated to St. Petersburg at the age of 7 or above.

Table 8 shows migration status of ethnic minority students in Moscow Oblast schools.

Unlike in St. Petersburg, Moscow Oblast schools don't have too many students from ethnic minority families living for a long time (more than two generations) in the region. The proportion of native-born status families is somewhat higher among Ukrainians and Georgians but the difference is insignificant. The proportion of second-generation immigrant students varies from 14% to 30% in all ethnic groups, except for Central Asian ethnicities showing a much lower percentage (3%). The vast majority of immigrant children were brought to Moscow Oblast relatively recently, most at their school age. The migration status of children is pretty much the same across all ethnic groups, except for Uzbeks and Tajiks: these ethnicities show a higher proportion of children who immigrated at the age of 7 or above (recent immigrants). The sensible discrepancies in the migration status of ethnic minority students of St. Petersburg and Moscow Oblast arouse interest in the dynamics of migration: will these families settle in Moscow Oblast or be replaced by new migration flows?

Table 7. **The proportion of students with different migration status in St. Petersburg schools** (% of the total number of students of relevant ethnicity)

	Native-borns	Immigrants		
		Second-generation	1.75 generation	1.5 generation
Ukrainians	33,4	34,8	14,9	16,9
Belarusians	48,3	34,8	7,9	9,0
Tatars	44,6	28,6	7,1	19,6
Azerbaijanis	13,4	41,6	30,7	14,3
Armenians	11,4	39,5	31,1	18,0
Georgians	17,4	43,0	26,7	12,8
Uzbeks	9,1	23,6	18,2	49,1
Tajiks	17,1	7,3	29,3	46,3

Table 8. **The proportion of students with different migration status in Moscow Oblast schools** (% of the total number of students of relevant ethnicity)

	Native-borns	Immigrants		
		Second-generation	1.75 generation	1.5 generation
Ukrainians	10,6	14,1	32,9	42,4
Moldovans	4,1	20,4	28,6	46,9
Tatars	8,0	28,0	26,0	38,0
Azerbaijani	4,0	21,8	28,7	45,5
Armenians	2,2	20,1	37,2	40,5
Georgians	16,7	31,0	26,2	26,2
Uzbeks and Tajiks	2,9	2,9	32,4	61,8

Table 9 describes the migration status composition of schools in Tomsk and Tomsk Oblast, the region which is less attractive for immigrant workers than St. Petersburg or Moscow Oblast (see [Mkrtchyan, 2005] on the attractiveness of regions).

Most Ukrainians, Germans and Tatars have a high residential status in Tomsk and Tomsk Oblast, i. e. their families have lived there for over two generations; there are almost no recent (1.5 generation) immigrants among them. The migration status of Azerbaijani and Armenians is similar to the one in St. Petersburg, with most students being second- or 1.75 generation immigrants. Unlike in St. Petersburg,

Table 9. **The proportion of students with different migration status in Tomsk and Tomsk Oblast schools** (%of the total number of students of relevant ethnicity)

	Native-borns	Immigrants		
		Second-generation	1.75 generation	1.5 generation
Ukrainians	50,0	37,5	12,5	0
Germans	50,0	25,0	25,0	0
Tatars	68,8	18,8	6,3	6,3
Azerbaijanis	20,8	54,2	20,8	4,2
Armenians	7,7	38,5	46,2	7,7
Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Kyrgyz people	15,0	20,0	35,0	30,0

there are almost no Georgians in Tomsk. There are few members of Central Asian ethnicities, so we had to group them together. About one third of students from these ethnic groups moved to Tomsk recently, just as many as came there at preschool age.

Comparing the data on the migration composition of schools in the regions surveyed, we can conclude that Tomsk schools have the lowest proportion of 1.5 generation immigrant children, i. e. those who were brought to the region at their school age, while schools in Moscow Oblast areas closest to the city face this problem more than in any other region. Children—non-native Russian speakers immigrating to the new cultural and language environment in their mid-school years are the most likely to have difficulties in learning and may present a problem for schools [Alexandrov, Baranova, Ivaniushina, 2011; 2012; Alexandrov et al., 2012].

Conclusion

Children from non-indigenous ethnic groups who don't speak Russian as their native language can be found not only in metropolis schools but also in schools of small towns and villages of the Russian Federation. Yet, the proportion of ethnic minority students is much higher in St. Petersburg and Moscow Oblast.

External migration is the key factor in development of ethnic diversity of Russian schools. At the same time, internal migration of families is much more intense than external one. Ethnic composition of schools is affected by the following factors:

- attractiveness of the specific region for immigrants willing to obtain permanent residence permits;
- migration history of the specific locality or region, long-established ethnic communities;

- geographical location of the region, proximity to the country of origin.

Statistics on ethnic and migration status of school students allows us to assess not only the volume of migration flows associated with permanent residence immigration with children but also the retrospective temporal dynamics for different ethnicities. Ukrainian, Azerbaijani, and Georgian families immigrated heavily about 15–20 years ago. Today, Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Kyrgyz people are immigrating actively, bringing children of various ages with them.

The core mission or education authorities is to provide a good record of non-native Russian speakers in schools, regardless of their citizenship but with due account taken of their family migration history. We find it indispensable to specify native languages of parents (instead of their ethnic self-identification) and the period of living in the region. If a child is a native-born in a family of first-generation immigrants, they will most likely go to school with a good knowledge of Russian, however good their parents' language skills are, and their possible learning problems won't be different from those encountered by native-born children [Alexandrov, Baranova, Ivaniushina, 2011; 2012; Alexandrov et al., 2012]. The same is true for children who immigrated at their preschool age. Most often difficulties are encountered by ethnic minority students who immigrated to the new language environment when they were teenagers. Schools with a high concentration of such students need special support programs.

When determining the criteria for compulsory record-keeping, we need to find a balance between informative value and collection/recording convenience. When a child is enrolled to a school, it's hard to measure their Russian skills with due regard for their age using standard tools, let alone the assessment of acculturation. Yet, it's rather easy to record information about the native languages of parents or the period of living in the Russian-speaking environment. If we aggregate this data, it will make an adequate proxy to assess the load on schools and regional education systems—a fairly more precise and useful one than the number of children with no Russian citizenship.

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