Vladimir Iontsev, Yulia Prokhorova

International migration and the formation of the "new population" in the context of the demographic transition theory

Globalization processes going hand-in-hand with impetuous changes in the global political and economical systems result in intensification of global migration. Now we can observe unprecedented growth of the international migration scale and formation of 'nation of migrants', annual number of which is about 1,3 billion people. So when we speak about global prospects of international migration of population, we can make a conclusion that 'the world came in motion' (Massey et al. 2005). And as a consequence, the importance of international migration for demographic development of sending and receiving countries is growing, especially in the situation of rapid ageing of population, fertility and mortality decline which we can see in some developed European countries.

The evolution of the role and place of international migration in the theory and concepts of the second and third of the demographic transition

The new role of immigration processes in demographic dynamics is reflected in a number of theoretical constructions, among which the demographic transition theory is the most widely recognized. Evolution of this theory is connected with the changing role and place of international migration: from the total elimination of migration component to its leading role in the third demographic transition concept. Initially the main emphasis in the theory was made on fertility processes. That's why it is reasonable to call it the concept of fertility transition or, after W. Zelinsky, "vital transition". It is not by chance that in 1971 two concepts (epidemiological transition concept by A. Omran and mobility transition concept by W. Zelinsky) appeared – they have enriched the initial demographic transition concept and developed it into the comprehensive and universal theory. It is quite clear now that future demographic development of almost all developed countries of the world will be affected by in-flow of international migrants. This gives grounds to a variety of scenarios of their further development.

Between 1830 and 1890 a lot of demographic studies tried to give an explanation for the phenomenon of declining fertility. Especially it characterizes works of French scientists because France was the first country to face stable decline of fertility since 1830. For example, A. Dumont believed that the beginning of this phenomenon is connected with failure of an individual to work for the society and with growing of individual needs over the collective ones (Dumont 1890: 130). Another French scientist P. Leroy-Beaulieu supposed that the main reason of fertility decline lies in changing of moral norms and traditions, which are related to each concrete person (Leroy-Beaulieu 1896: 614). It is interesting that despite their different perspectives, both authors have intuitively laid one of the principles ideas of the second demographic transition: transition from the bourgeois to the individualistic family model.

It is also interesting to note that around the same period of time (1929 - 1934), several scholars from different countries independently came to the formulation of relatively similar ideas regarding the classification of the population of various countries on the basis of combinations of fertility and mortality. For example, in 1929 two works were published. One of the works is belonged to the Polish scientist Leon Rabinovich, and the second – to the American sociologist, philosopher and demographer Warren Thompson.

The book of L. Rabinovich called "The Problem of the population in France" was published in 1929 in Paris Unfortunately, for a long time, the fundamental work of Rabinovich was in oblivion. But the well-known soviet demographer V. Borisov wrote that "it (the book) was quite on the level of science of his time and in any case, did not concede extremely popular book of A. Landry "The demographic revolution", and in some respects surpassed it".

It is believed that the term "demographic revolution" was first introduced by A. Landry. However, the book of Rabinovich refutes this assertion. In one of the chapters of his book contains an item called "demographic revolution" in which L. Rabinovich examines demographic changes in terms of the industrial revolution. And then he says that these changes are followed with a certain time lag, and gradually, that is, it turns out that in fact, he is not

talking about a revolution, but about a transition. That's probably originates from the confusion of the terms - the "demographic transition" and "demographic revolution", which has lasted to this day.

One of the main achievements of Rabinovich is a broad approach to the analysis of the demographic situation in France, as apart from the processes of fertility and mortality as he explores and migration processes. This is especially valuable because he was not a specialist in the field of demography, however, understood the importance of migration and its impact on demographic processes.

As we have already noted, in 1929 the American Journal of Sociology published an article by the American sociologist Warren Thompson called the "Population". In this article, the author gives the first formulation of demographic transition in the English literature. He identified three types of countries with different levels of natural population growth. It is surprising that Thompson's typology has not been taken into account in the demographic literature for over 15 years. This led to the fact that in 1934 A. Landry published his "classical" work of A. Landry "The demographic revolution" in which he developed similar ideas with Thompson, although he was not familiar with his work.

In this work he developed the theory, the main statement of which is rationalization of individual's behavior in fertility questions¹. This feature and the level of economic development were used by Landry to highlight the three stages of population development: primitive, intermediate and modern, which formed the basis of the first three-stage model of the demographic transition.

Landry's theory of demographic revolution and stages which he pointed were revised by the American scientists of the University of Pennsylvania after the Second World War. It was due to the discussion about a new demographic development of the post - World War (and thus the development of the theory of demographic transition has shifted from Europe to the United States). In this case the fact that changes in the population can have a significant impact on the development of countries became celebrated.

In 1945, the scientist from the Princeton University K. Davis published the article, where the term "demographic transition" was used in the headline^{2.} However, F.W. Notestein is regarded to be the author of the "classical" theory of demographic transition. Within the frames of this theory Notestein tried to explain dynamics of European nations. In a presentation made in 1946, Notestein declared that the theory, which he has constructed, is universal and applicable to any country in the world. However, after mid-1960s new demographic trends in European population (dropping of fertility levels below replacement level, conscious refusal from parenthood in favor of self-development, dropping role and value of family and children in society), made academic community to doubt universal character of the classical demographic transition construction. They tried to understand if the theory can shape the model of the future demographic development of European populations. The answer was negative. One of the reasons was that migration was eliminated by above-mentioned authors from their analysis.

In 1987, European demographers D. Van de Kaa and R. Lesthaege published the article 'The Second Demographic Transition?'. The article was not noticed by demographic community because it was published in Dutch. However, these authors were the first to introduce the terms 'the first demographic transition' and 'the second demographic transition', which outlined two different stages of demographical and social development of European countries.

The authors made a special emphasis on the changes in the causes of fertility decline. Earlier the main reason of fertility decline was rooted in higher responsibility for children, their health, education, etc. (i.e. altruistic reasons) while in the last quarter of the 20th century fertility decreased because of the new value of self-development of an individual and unwillingness to bear the burden of parenthood.

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¹ Landry, La Revolution Demographique, 186.

² Davis, "The world demographic transition".

The main shortcoming of this approach was eliminating of migration component of population growth, which made the second demographic transition concept over-simplified.

Already in 1987, Van de Kaa separately from Lesthaege in his monograph 'Europe's Second Demographic Transition' tried to correct this lack. When describing the first demographic transition theory he underlines a huge role of emigration in reducing population pressure, which arises from the gap between fertility and mortality levels at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries (Van de Kaa 1987: 38-46). Further, within the frames of the second demographic transition, Van de Kaa analyzes migration flows in historical context and their impact on sex and age structure, fertility levels and integration of migrants into the host society.

Yet, despite the rather extensive research by van de Kaa, in theory of the first and in the concept of the second demographic transition, migration is not a leading component of the demographic development. It became the main component in 2 scenarios of possible demographic development: the third demographic transition (D. Coleman) and the fourth demographic transition (V. Iontsev, Y. Prokhorova).

For the first time the term 'third demographic transition' was used by the British scientist D. Coleman in his article 'Immigration and ethnic change in low-fertility countries a third demographic transition'. In his further articles he has developed this concept on the example of the United Kingdom and several European countries. The main idea of hid concept that sooner or later European civilization will be replaced by the Asian civilization. Coleman offers some actions to prevent this future: (1) to raise fertility levels among native people, (2) to involve more and more women in economic activity, getting additional labor force. Moreover, some European countries (for example, France, where total fertility rate is 2.1 child per woman, or UK, where it is 1.9) already have reached this level. However, it is hardly possible for developed European countries to reach the level of extended replacement in the foreseen future. There is a number of reasons for this point of view, for example – changes in relation to children, which are described in the second demographic concept, development of such a phenomenon as 'childfree', which was born in 1993 in America and expanded in 2006 to Russia, spread of gay marriages etc.

If we speak about the statement about more active involvement of women in economic activity, an experience of the USSR shows that such involvement of women without taking into account their marital status and number of children will have exclusively negative impact on their reproductive behavior.

The concept of the fourth demographic transition

We have already noted that the third demographic transition is just one of the possible scenarios of demographic development according to which native people are to be replaced by migrants. This pessimistic view has pushed us to develop more optimistic scenario, which we call 'the fourth demographic transition'. When we called it that way, we would like to highlight continuity with the 'classical' theory of demographic transition and to show another favorable way of future demographic development for countries, which are now on the path of demographic transition.

The main idea of the proposed concept is that migration can be positive phenomenon for the future demographic development, which takes into account national and global interests through promotion marriages between native people and migrants. Here we would like to emphasize that we're not just talking about marriages between people of different nationalities, but namely about marriages between immigrants and the native population. The main criteria is that citizenship should be different.

During the development of this scenario in real life, the most important will be the question of the formation of a new population, by which we mean the population, formed and developed on the basis of demographic processes such as international migration and nuptiality. This new population should have high reproductive attitudes and relevant qualitative characteristics that meet all the requirements of the development in the XXI century.

Not having to appear, the concept of the fourth demographic transition immediately gave rise to several myths that we would like to identify. The first myth is that encouraging of marriages between migrants and the indigenous population led to ethnic tension and aggravation of interethnic relations. However, such effects have already taken place number of countries, but only in those cases where the state conducts the wrong policy of adaptation and integration and try to withdraw from the solutions to these problems (the police of creating enclaves). Secondly, when the society purposefully injects atmosphere of hostility, hatred, xenophobia against migrants. Third, as a result of ignorance, lack of understanding among the majority of people the essence of these problems. It should be emphasized that all these fears in society arise when not only rights of migrants but also the rights and freedoms of the indigenous population are violated.

A second spreading myth is that intermarriage between migrants and indigenous people are basically unstable and nonviable. However, according to the USSR historical experience in this field, this thesis is not confirmed. Thus, in the study of the USSR scientist A. Susokolov special place occupied by the question of stability of interethnic marriages in comparison with mononational marriages³. It should be noticed that this problem hasn't been studied enough. However, one of the conclusions of this study is that the stability of mixed marriages is determined by how close the culture of the people, whose representatives are married. Special interest is the question of children who are born in inter-ethnic marriages, regardless of their stability.

One of the conclusions of the above study was the conclusion that the number of children in interethnic families is a kind of "compromise" between the average number of children among the nations with different levels of fertility. These children carry 'cultural norms of both parent's nations'. They are more tolerant, less focused on cultural differences and more focused on similarities between different ethnic groups. That's why children from such marriages can be crucially important in terms of formation of the new type of population, which is more tolerant and free from prejudices. These children can be a sort of a basement for more healthy society where relations are built on tolerance and mutual respect.

During the discussion of the idea of the fourth demographic transition may be other myths that can appear more on misunderstanding and lack of knowledge in the subject of the study. As to reality, historical experience suggests that in fact the beginnings of the fourth demographic transition has had and still have a place in some countries (Russia, the USA, Canada, Australia, Germany etc.) and the idea of inter-ethnic marriages goes back to the ancient times. Alexander the Great considered mixing of nations like one of the main factors of saving and development of his Empire.

The experience of some countries shows that the share of so-called inter-ethnic marriages (marriages between natives and immigrants) in the past two decades, is constantly increasing. In France, for example, 51% of all marriages are mixed-marriages. In these marriages - 60% of men are married to French women.

According to the data of the German Bureau of Statistics, the percentage of mixed marriages in Germany by the end of the first decade of the XXI century has reached 11%. Meanwhile, the number of marriages between German women and men- migrants exceeded 18,000 families. While the number of marriages between German men and women- migrants was 23,000.

Thus, ethnic marriages have already become one of the instruments with the help of which countries can solve their problems within the existing negative demographic situation taking into account rising migration. In this way migration can play positive role and remove ethnic-based tension in society.

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³ Susokolov, "Inter-ethnic Marriages".