

## **Moscow: economic changes and migration of population**

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**Abstract:** The paper deals with the changes in migration situation and modifications in economy of the capital city Moscow. The shifts in the scales and structure of migratory flows in Moscow are clear reflections of modification of the paradigm of city development during the 20th century. New tendencies appearing during recent reforms and increasing openness of the economy, have essentially changed the role, functions and forms of migrations. In its turn, the impact of migrations on the evolution of the capital city is ambiguous: migrations change not only the number of inhabitants, but also have very significant impacts on social, educational, professional and ethnic structure of the population.

**Key words:** capital city, economic structure, population migration, Moscow

### **1. Introduction**

The economic and social reasons that have caused urbanization processes and a concentration of the population in large cities, cause far reaching changes in population migration processes. The concentration of economic, social and cultural activity in cities is a main premise of migration determining its scales and efficiency. In its turn, the social and economic development of cities was determined by migrations and was ensured by inflow of a labour force from outside of the city. For the last half-century migration has supplied two thirds of the population growth in Moscow. The role of migrations in the development of Moscow is ambiguous: they change not only the number of inhabitants, but also the social, educational, professional and ethnic structure of the population. It is certainly reflected in the socio-economic and demographic development of the capital.

The paper is organised in three major parts. First, it outlines important historical trends in economic development and population changes in Moscow. Second, the paper provides an analysis of modern developments in the 1990s. Third, it gives some final remarks on impacts of migrations on the evolution of the capital city and the social structure of its population.

### **2. Some words on history**

From the beginning of the stable industrialisation period in the second half of XIX century the positive net migration was a major source of dynamics of number and structure of the population in Moscow with the exception of short periods of war and economic dislocation period in 1919–1921. At the end of XIX – beginning of XX centuries,

enterprises of the textile industry were the largest employers in Moscow – about 38 % of total number of the workers in 1913, but in machine-building and metal-working industry only 18%. The share of the textile industry in industrial production amounted to 28% in 1885, 34 % in 1908 and 26 % in 1913. The machine-building and metal-working industry produced 9.5 % in 1908, in 1913 9% of total production. Before the revolution, the food industry was also advanced in Moscow. So, the share of these enterprises in total industrial production in 1908 made 28%, in 1913 34 %, and the number of employed had the shares of 11 % and 15%. There was practically no construction industry in the city at that time. Consequently, the share of production of these enterprises in total industrial production in 1913 was less than 1%.

At that period among migrants in Moscow men predominated. The majority of migrants was formed by peasants who came as temporary workers (so called “otkhodnichestvo”) and then became migrants. The most stable sections of Moscow’s population considering migration were the highest and middle strata of the city’s population. Migration first of all significantly influenced the low-skill and unskilled labour markets. According to the 1902 census, the literacy level of Moscow natives was noticeably higher than the migrant’s level. No group of migrants varying life duration categories in Moscow reached this level. Migrants influenced parameters of birth rate and thus they essentially contributed to the urban population growth.

The political conditions at the end of 1920s and beginning of 1930s have changed tendencies of economic development and migration in Moscow. This was connected first of all with changes in functions in the city: returning to Moscow the status of the capital, development of industrial basis – especially mechanical engineering and metal-working industry. Just during the first five-years plans, the character of urban industry changed significantly. Moscow has become the centre of the mechanical engineering and metal-working industry: in 1932 the enterprise of the machine-building and metal-working industry made one third of all the industrial production in the city. Due to reconstruction of old and construction of new enterprises, Moscow has become the major technological industrial basis of the country, the city of factories-giants. Industry in this period developed mainly extensively at the expense of increase in manpower. From now on the role of Moscow in the shaping of the migration situation in the country increased sharply. Significance of migration in the development of the city increased even more. From the beginning of 1930s, the requirement of the city in additional labour force was covered mainly by labour migration. For the ten years period 1928/29–1939 due to significant migration the number of employed in Moscow had increased more than 2.5 times (from 822.3 thousand up to 2.3 million persons). The fast growth of the population in Moscow in 1920-s – 1930-s caused a counteraction of the authorities that expressed in the inhibition of constructing new industrial enterprises in Moscow “except servicing the population of capital and its municipal economy”. According to the Master plan of development of Moscow elaborated in 1935 the population in the capital had not to exceed in perspective 5 million people (in 1935, there were 3.66 million inhabitants in Moscow). The soviet passport system – introduced in 1932 – allowed administrative methods using obligatory registration on place of residence, to constrain the growth of the population in Moscow. Therefore, the important role in population growth in Moscow had migration of the rural

population in capital within the framework of the organised recruitment for work at the metropolitan industrial enterprises and constructions in the capital.

In the post-war period the extensive growth of the economy, slow rates of change of a branch structure in the economy of the city, required a constant inflow of new workers. The structure of an industry in the city continued to vary for the benefit of mechanical engineering and metal-working. By 1950, the shares of these enterprises in the total volume of production increased up to 54 %, and enterprises textile and food-processing industry decreased by 8%. Since 1960s and 1970s, the production of building materials increased due to the quick growth of housing construction. The share of the production of this branch in total production was 2%, and by the middle of 1990s it rose to about 9%.

As before, the production developed on the basis of traditional technologies and the changes of a branch structure of employed took place very slowly. Unlike European capitals, Moscow had the gap between the share of industry and tertiary sector, and this gap practically did not grow during decades. In Russian literature, this type of macro-structure shifts has received a title "uncertain tertiarization" (Trevish, Pandit and Bond, 1993). Till late 1980s the annual need of factories in additional workers amounted to 40–50 thousand people. Only after 1985, there started a tendency to reduction in growth rates of workers and employees in Moscow. In 1986 the need for additional labour force was 24.6 thousand people, in 1987 – 6.9 thousand, in 1989 – 11.9 thousand. To solve that shortage of labour force, some enterprises, institutions and organisations were allowed to attract a certain number of workers from outside of Moscow. This "limited" labour policy was widely used in particular by many enterprises in construction, urban transport, mechanical engineering.

Under the influence of the migration policy limiting the inflow in the city and the significant role of the "organized" forms of migration, there were significant effects on sex structure, age structure and vocational structure of migrants. The basis of migration inflow was made by two groups of youth, i.e. 16–19 and 20–24 age groups. Such a selectivity reflects combined influence of labour, conjugal and educational migration. The outflow of men in the age of 16–19 years caused by call-up for military service army, was compensated by the noticeable inflow of men in the age of 20–24 including migration with educational purposes. The women migration to Moscow in the age of 16–19 and 20–24 both on work "limit" basis and to study was significant. However, the movement of other groups of the population, especially of older age, was not significant due to strict registration rules. Taking into account that workers attracted from outside of Moscow mainly were to fill vacancies unclaimed by Muscovites, it is possible to draw the conclusion that their educational and professional level was lower than the one of Muscovites.

### **3. Modern situation in 1990s**

#### **3.1 Changing economic structure**

As a result of the reforms that began in 1992, the structural changes took place in Moscow much faster than in other territory of Russia. The fall in the industrial production in the capital city was greater than in Russia. The recession has mostly affected branches dominating in the metropolitan industrial complex, i.e. mechanical engineering,

production of household electrical engineering, electronics engineering and light industry. As a result of uneven recession in the different branches, there also appeared a reduction in the share in high-tech industry in Moscow. In the 1990s, necessary institutions and organisations of a market infrastructure developed at a high rate. As a result, in Moscow there is a share of 45 % in 1998 (in 1993 – 40 %) of banks and branches functioning in Russia through which passes about 70 % of money flows of the country. There developed other highly profitable activities in the capital city apart from the financial intermediary other conditions of economic instability types of activity such as trade and trade intermediary firms. The capital city also takes the leading place in retail trade in Russian Federation. In 1991–1994, it increased almost twice and in 1998 this sectors has a share of 28.7% (see Table 1). There is even a higher share in wholesale trade sector, about one third already in 1994.

**Table 1.** Share of Moscow in some sectors of Russian economy (%)

|   | 1991 | 1994 | 1998 |
|---|------|------|------|
| Population                                    | 6,1  | 5.9  | 5.8  |
| Industrial production                         | 6,5  | 5.3  | 7.5  |
| Paid services to the population               | 12.2 | 17.8 |      |
| Retail turnover, including public food supply | 11.6 | 19.6 | 28.7 |
| Turn-over of securities                       | –    | 75.0 |      |
| Exchange turn-over                            | –    | 94.0 |      |
| Profit of the enterprises and organisations   | 7.8  | 11.0 |      |

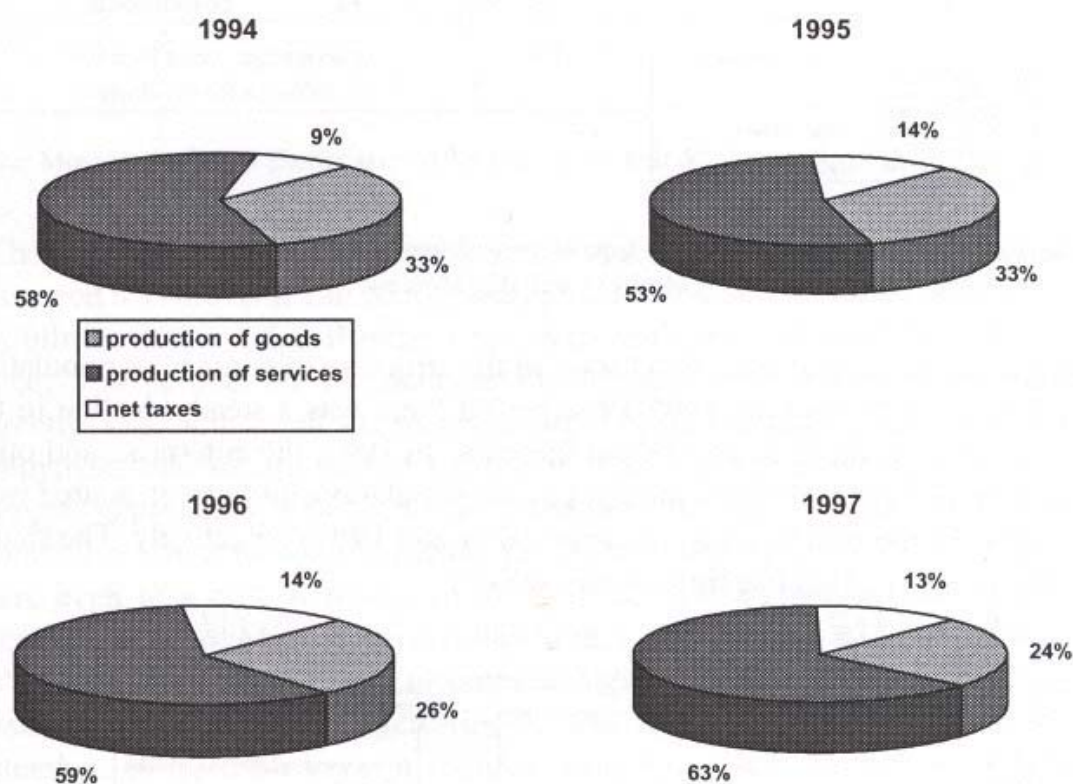
Sources: Goskomstat RF (1994) *Socialno-ekonomicheskoe polozhenie Rossii*. Moscow.  
 Moscow Statistical Commission (1999) *Moskva v tziifrah*. Moscow.

The capital city of Moscow has especially been dominating in exchange trade. In 1994 There were 20 % of Russian exchanges in Moscow, but they made more than 94 % of total exchange turnover of goods and securities. In 1998, there were 12 commodity and 5 stock exchanges and their turnover of sold securities made 89 % of total turnover of Russia.

Construction of buildings needed for a market infrastructure, such as office and shopping centres, hotels, storage rooms, is a fast growing sector of the metropolitan economy. In 1995, the investment into service-oriented sectors made 68 % of total investment. However, during the recent years there appeared a reduction in investment in these sectors: in 1997 they made 65 %, in 1998 only 56%. The structural changes in the economy of Moscow are illustrated by the changes in the structure of gross regional product (see Figure 1).

In 1994, 21 % of the budget income was received from banks and other financial institutions in comparison with 10 % in 1993. As a result of the structural changes in the economy of Moscow, the share of tertiary sector has reached the level of 70%. The transformation processes resulted in significant changes in the employment structure. In 1992, the greatest shares of employed were in industry and in science and scientific service (22 % and 17 %). In 1998, only 15 % and 10% of gainfully employed were engaged in these

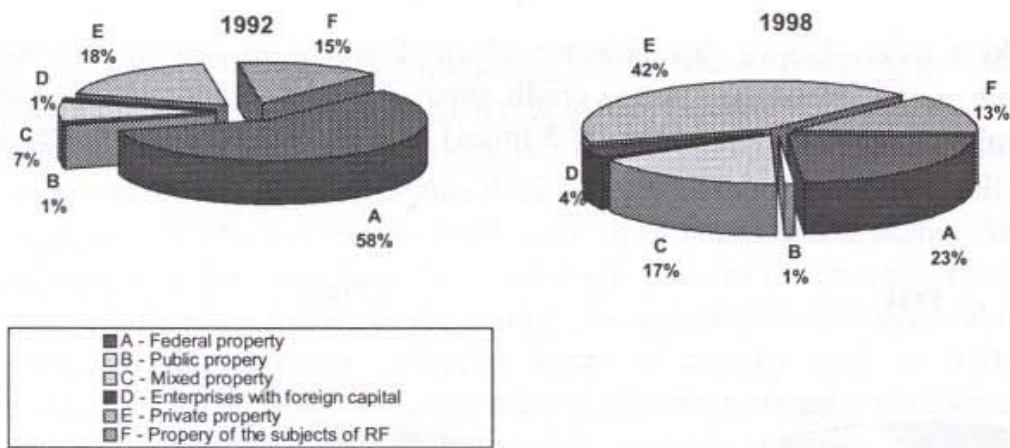
branches. There took place a fast increase of employment in commercial activities concerned with market relations (7 times), credit, financial and insurance activity (almost 4 times), information service (more than in 2 times), and in real estate activities (in 1.5 times).



**Figure 1.** Structure of the regional gross product

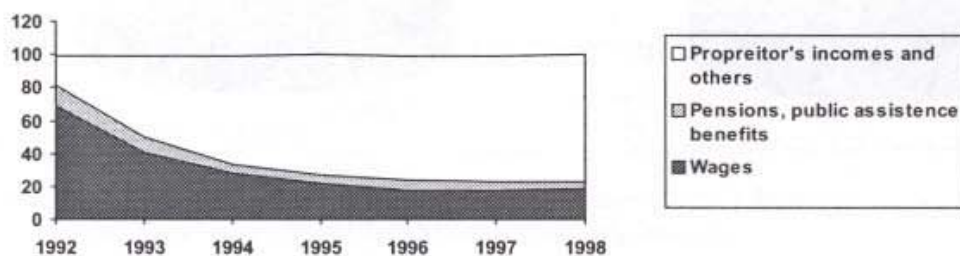
Source: Moscow Statistical Commission (1999) Moskva v tsifrakh. Moscow.

The redistribution of the state ownership between the federal government and the municipality of Moscow and the outcomes of privatisation and transfer to public sector have played major roles in these shifts. In 1992, more than two thirds of economically active population were employed in enterprises subordinated to the federal or municipal authorities (58 % and 15 %). By 1998, the share of employed at private enterprises, and also at the enterprises of the mixed ownership pattern increased more than twice and made 42 % and 17 % accordingly (see for more details Figure 2). In public sector, enterprises of small business with on average of 7 to 8 workers numerically prevail. They are mainly enterprises engaged in trade, public food, civil engineering firms, and also enterprises engaged in maintaining of general commercial activity.



**Figure 2.** Distribution of the occupied population by type of ownership of enterprises  
Source: Moscow Statistical Commission (1999) Moskva v tsifrakh. Moscow.

There took place even more dramatic change in the structure of sources of population incomes (see Figure 3). During the 1992-1998 period there was a steady decline in the significance of wages as source of population incomes. In 1992, the enterprise and other incomes made only 18 % of the money incomes of the population, and a main source were wages (69 %), in 1998 the structure was reversed: 77 % and 19 % respectively. The shares of pensions, allowances and scholarships decreased too.



**Figure 3.** Dynamics of shares of some income sources of the population  
Source: Moscow Statistical Commission (1999) Moskva v tsifrakh. Moscow.

The restructuring of employment led despite long and significant recession in production to a quite satisfactory level of unemployment in the labour market of Moscow. Since the beginning of reforms, the unemployment rate in Moscow gradually declined, while at the same time there was a steady growth of number of unemployed in Russia on the whole. In 1992, it made 5.8 % of all economically active population in Moscow, in 1995 – 5.4 %, in 1997 – 4.6 %, and in 1998 – 3.6% (see also Table 2). Even if one is taking into account those who worked part-time and or were on leaves by the initiative of administration the unemployed only increase to 7.0%. Taking into account this figure for Russia that 1998 was 11.5 %, one may draw the conclusion that the situation in Moscow seems to be much better (see also Ershova 1999).

**Table 2.** Economic activity of the population (%)

|  | 1992 | 1995 | 1997 | 1998 |
|--|------|------|------|------|
| Economically active population                   | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  |
| Including: occupied                              | 94.2 | 94.6 | 95.4 | 96.4 |
| unemployed                                       | 5.8  | 5.4  | 4.6  | 3.6  |
| out of them registered in<br>employment services | 0.3  | 0.4  | 0.8  | 0.7  |

Source: Moscow Statistical Commission (1999) Moskva v tsifrakh. Moscow.

The number of registered unemployed people in Moscow is much lower and also does not exceed 0.7–0.8%. It can be a consequence of the fact that in Moscow there are more possibilities than in other Russian regions to work without being registered as an unemployed. The number of vacancies at the Moscow labour market proves it, although indirectly. One fifth of all vacancies reported by the firms and organizations in Russian employment offices are in Moscow. The share of the capital city in the undeclared vacancies is probably even higher. It is necessary to note that a majority of the registered vacancies in Moscow is not attractive for Muscovites. About 40 % of offered jobs do not ensure even of a cost of living. In 62 % of cases there are workers needed, while the educational level of Muscovites is rather high. In 1998, about 43 % of the employed in the city's economy had higher and incomplete higher education. This is much higher than in Russian average. It is also interesting to note that in the peak of crisis, in August and September, 1998, a Moscow joint-stock company called "Salute" accepted work of 400 persons of whom significant part were highly-qualified workers from Byelorussia, Ukraine and some Russian regions.

### 3.2. Structure and impacts of migration

In consequence, it appears that a quite large number of vacancies can be filled in Moscow by labour migrants. At the same time, taking into account conditions of labour statistics, it is complicated to estimate possible changes in number and levels of employment and indicate needs of Moscow labour market and necessary labour inflow.

The changes in the property structure and the population employment entailed essential alterations in migration processes. At the first stage in 1991–1993, there appeared a reduction in arrival intensity and in numbers of net migration for the first time since the Second World War. In 1991, the negative net migration made 4051 people, in 1992 – 17118, in 1993 – 16740 people. The outflow of men (in 1991 – 3810 people, in 1993 – 11 668) was the most intensive in this period. There is an exception of the age group of 15–19. Positive parameters for this age group can be explained by Moscow's attractiveness as a centre of personnel training even during a crisis period. The serious socio-economic crisis also caused the outflow of the population abroad. In 1993 this emigration flow made 10541 people.

Since the middle of 1990s there began a slow increase in intensity of both arrivals and net migration. The intensity reached the level of the 1980s. In 1997, it made 56 per 10

thousand inhabitants and this figure was, however, lower than the intensity of migration growth of urban population in Moscow region (60 per 10 thousand inhabitants). In 1997, the net migration in Moscow made 50807 persons. The increase of net migration parameters reflects new socio-economic conditions formed by the changes in numbers and the employment structure, patterns of ownership, the position of Moscow in the whole system of Russian regions and also the CIS. It is necessary to note that the balance of migration with distant foreign countries still remains negative (negative figure of 4849 people). A special feature of migrant's structure is a high share of migrants in the middle-age group (30–44 years), and also a dominance of women (in 1997 – 56.9 %). At the same time, it is important to emphasise that the shares of those age groups of the population that can easily be integrated in the labour market of the capital city are most effectively low. Such ability has only each second migrant.

Another significant feature is the low share of young migrants. This in contrast to especially the 1960s and the 1980s, when an organized enrolment to Moscow was able managed inflows of tens of thousands of young workers. Currently, there are not enough reasons to expect that such a migration inflow will allow a rejuvenation of the population of the capital city.

**Table 3.** Age structure of migrants in Moscow in 1997 (%)

| Age groups:                                   | Net migration |
|---|---------------|
| in able-bodied age                            | 64.8          |
| older than able-bodied age                    | 14.8          |
| younger than able-bodied age                  | 20.4          |
| Economic burden on the able-bodied population | 0.35          |

Source: Moscow Statistical Commission (1999) Moskva v tsifrakh. Moscow.

Data in Table 3 show a high share of high-aged persons in migration flows. Therefore, there is a tendency in the migration inflow that contributes to ageing of the population of the capital city. Taking into account that the total birth rate index in Moscow is 1.19 (in Russia – 1.28), it is little surprising that some estimates claim in the capital city in 2045 to be twice more in post-active age persons than economic active age ones. In consequence, the economic burden in the capital city of Moscow will steadily be increasing. It is significant that educational level of immigrants is higher than of the Moscow's inhabitants. The immigration results in an increasing share of persons with high educational level in the population of the capital. In 1992, the share of employed persons with higher and unfinished higher education was 39 %, in 1998 this share was already 43%. Data for a sociological poll held in 1997 show that main reasons of migration are “personal, for domestic reasons” (58 %), “other” (20.1 %), «in connection with study» (16.6 %), while reasons “in connection with work” has made only 4.1% (see Moiseenko, Perevedentsev, Voronina, 1999). These results together with the high educational level of immigrants indicate the importance of the role of personal and family relationships in receiving information and in getting job place, but they also reflect the existence of a significant segment of illegal labour migration and employment.



The structure migrant's flows by age, sex, educational level, profession indicate a specificity of the transformation processes of the current socio-economic development. In Moscow in 1999, according to Moscow Statistics Committee data, the net migration was 60 thousand people. However, even the many thousands large migratory inflow cannot compensate the decreasing natural population change (see Table 4). Taking into account that in future decades the migratory inflow will be at the same level, the further decrease of the population of the capital city will take place. It is interesting to note that in the past the Master plan for development of Moscow assumed in 2020 a population of 11 million inhabitants, now it estimates much lower number of about 8.2–8.6 million inhabitants.

**Table 4.** Population development of Moscow

| Population of Moscow |                 | Natural growth |                 | Net migration |                 |
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Years                | Thousand people | Years          | Thousand people | Years         | Thousand people |
| 1897                 | 1038.6          | 1987           | 20.4            | 1930          | 512.9           |
| 1920                 | 1027.3          | 1988           | 10.0            | 1939          | 104.4           |
| 1926                 | 2101.2          | 1989           | -5.1            | 1940          | 11.0            |
| 1939                 | 4609.2          | 1990           | -20.5           | 1945          | 304.2           |
| 1959                 | 6133.1          | 1991           | -33.6           | 1959          | 44.9            |
| 1970                 | 7194.3          | 1992           | -53.4           | 1970          | 94.0            |
| 1979                 | 8142.2          | 1993           | -83.3           | 1979          | 94.4            |
| 1989                 | 8972.3          | 1994           | -86.9           | 1989          | 65.0            |
| 1999                 | 8538.2          | 1995           | -77.5           | 1992          | -17.1           |
| 2009                 | 8300.0          | 1996           | -61.4           | 1995          | 25.5            |
| 2020                 | 8200.0          | 1997           | -57.2           | 1996          | 35.6            |
|                      |                 | 1998           | -58.4           | 1999          | 60.0            |
|                      |                 | 1999           | -60.9           |               |                 |

Source: see Table 2 and 3.

The decreasing growth rate of the population in the capital city of Moscow in last decade is also connected with a growing involvement of the labour force from the larger metropolitan area of Moscow in the productions and business that is housed in Moscow and this leads to increasing intensity of so-called «pendulum» migration. Because the needs for labour force in the capital city cannot be satisfied by internal resources, a few thousands of foreign workers come each year to Moscow. The government of Moscow introduced a quota system with a limit of 50 thousand foreign persons. This quota is a modern updating of widely practised system in 1970–1980, based on so-called “limit” for enterprises. In 1997, there worked 54.5 thousand foreign workers in enterprises of Moscow. The labour market of foreigners is divided in two parts: (i) the citizens from the CIS countries (54 %) and (ii) workers from other foreign countries (46 %). The largest shares in foreign labour force are as follows: Turkey – 23.7 %, Ukraine – 19.1 %, China – 8.8 %, republics of former Yugoslavia – 7.5 %, Georgia – 6.4%, Moldova – 5 %, Vietnam –

4.6 %, Armenia – 2.6 %, India – 1.8 %, Poland – 1.8%. The workers and specialists from these 10 countries add up to 81.5 % of all foreign labour force in Moscow.

The largest numbers of foreigners have worked in branches that are unpopular among Muscovites: in construction (54.4%), trade and public board (14.7%), transport and communication (13.0%), and organisation of general commercial activity (10.2%). The share of foreign workers in the number of employed made only 1.10 %. It is higher in construction (4.24 %), in organisation of general commercial activity (2.27 %), in transport and communication (1.83 %), and very low in industry (0.12 %) and especially in science and scientific service (0.01%).

## 5. Final remarks

Finally, it must be noted, however, that the low official data do not indicate the scale of the impacts of foreign workers who often are not registered in the statistics. According to expert estimations, the number of the illegal workers-foreigners (from China, Vietnam, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia) can reach in the capital city a half million of persons. Illegal workers do not have official registration of necessary documents, and, therefore, they and their employers do avoid tax payment and other duties. In consequence, the illegal employment causes significant damage to the budget of the capital city. As a rule, the rights of the illegal employed person are obviously infringed.

The regulation of engaging of foreign labour in Moscow is assigned to Moscow government and the migratory service. The Interdepartmental commission on foreign labour monitors the priorities of Muscovites and the engaging of foreign workers in unpopular sectors of jobs opportunities. Since October 1, 1999 there are new rules of registration and a uniform system of the record-keeping of foreigners is introduced in Moscow. Only firms that are registered in Moscow and have a license of the Federal Migratory Service for engaging foreign labour from traditional foreign countries and Baltic states, are now allowed to grant jobs to foreigners and can also be engaging workers from CIS countries with a license of Moscow Migratory Service.

It is finally necessary to mention one more category of migrants. The group of the forced migrants and refugees. Their inflow is not caused by a modification of economic situation in Moscow, but the inflow emerged due to the disintegration the former USSR and the increase of interethnic conflicts in places in their former residential areas. By the beginning of 1998 in Moscow and Moscow area, there was registered 19.7 thousand forced migrants and refugees, i.e. only 13.5 % from their number in the larger Central region of Russia. There are now about 10 thousands persons having an officially confirmed refugee status in Moscow; status of forced migrants have about 5 thousand persons. But these figures do not reflect the real situation: there are many of them who live in Moscow without registration.

In sum, the general tendency observed during the period under discussion was the adaptation of demographic and migratory situation in Moscow to changing conditions. The shifts in the scales and structure of migratory flows in Moscow are clearly complex reflections of the changing paradigm of the capital city development during the 20th century. New tendencies appearing during recent reforms and increasing openness of the national and urban economy, have essentially changed the role, functions and forms of

migrations. In its turn, the impacts of migrations on the evolution of the capital city are ambiguous. The migrations change not only the number of inhabitants, but they are also having very significant impacts on social, educational, professional and ethnic structure of the population.

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### MOSKVA: EKONOMICKÉ ZMĚNY A MIGRACE OBYVATELSTVA

#### Résumé

Cílem studie je poskytnout rozbor vztahů mezi migrací a měnící se ekonomickou základnou hlavního města Moskvy. Posuny v kvantitativním rozsahu a struktuře migrace jasně odrážejí změny vývojového trendu města ve 20. století. Nové trendy se ukazují během současných reformních změn a otvírání národní ekonomiky a zásadně mění role, funkce a formy migrace. Tyto změny mají složité dopady na rozvoj města: migrace nemění pouze počet obyvatel, ale také mají velice důležité dopady na sociální, vzdělanostní, profesionální a etnickou strukturu populace. Závěr studie dokládá, že rozpad Sovětského svazu a otvírání se ruské ekonomiky také zvětšilo význam zahraniční imigrace, která jako ostatní komponenty migračních proudů rovněž úzce souvisí se současnou strukturou pracovního trhu Moskvy.