

# Migration as a driver for development of society

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### Abstract

Industrial, economic, scientific and cultural development was spread over the whole country, including distant rural areas. Self-contained, independent Soviet economy called for a differentiation in industry and education. To provide for the new demands new educational establishments were being built, new specialists in various fields of industry and science were being prepared. Women were encouraged to work in the system of science and higher education. Along with educating local qualified specialists – the process that went extremely slowly and painfully due to a variety of reasons – scientists from the centre were sent to the provinces. In the republics professional cultures grew into a symbiosis of various subcultures which co-existed and co-operated, thus affecting gender stereotypes. That was a powerful factor of cultural progress. In the scientific institutions none of the national cultures could claim for the domineering role – mutual integration could not allow for that.

Right before the deconstruction of the USSR and soon after that there started contrasting processes. Under the effect of the centrifugal forces women-scientists and their families began to return to their motherland. Several years have passed since a decrease in the influx of migrants from the former Soviet Union to the Russia. Now it is high time to find out, to what degree the rights of migrated women-scientists have been violated both in everyday life and in the professional sphere.

The project is aimed at the solution of the research problem – contemporary forms of discrimination against women-scientists, having experienced migrations to the Soviet Union republics and then from NIS to Russia.

Methods of research: generalization of official documents, literature; analysis of statistical data; biographical interview with women-scientists – representatives of migration streams, illustrating cases of discrimination, connected with the life of women in the republics, with the preservation and loss of their own ethnos' spiritual life objects and phenomena, other ethnic cultural traditions acquisition.

**Keywords:** migration processes, qualified specialists, gender stereotypes

Industrial, economic, scientific and cultural development was spread over the whole country, including distant rural areas. Self-contained, independent Soviet economy called for a differentiation in industry and education. To provide for the new demands new educational establishments were being built, new specialists in various fields of industry and science were being prepared. Women were encouraged to work in the system of science and higher education. The greatest influx of women to Russian science occurred soon after World War II.

During the war women occupied the "male" positions, and after the return of their husbands from the front they didn't want to get back to the domestic sphere – on the contrary, they were determined to continue their education, to get degrees. The formation of a new, self-conscious

female personality was under way. The Soviet state was in need of women's hands and wits to realize the economic modernization. Still, the involvement of women in the public sphere was violently authoritarian, devoid of freedom of choice (either family and children or professional career). At the same time the Soviet power could not free the women-scientists from the household responsibilities and delegate these functions to the state.

For the Soviet women – representatives of the scientific community – the cultural revolution was associated with the complex process of reevaluation of their identity, rights, possibilities and responsibilities. A considerable raise in their self-consciousness and self-esteem, an acquisition of new roles occurred due to their participation in the social-political and cultural life. In all the Soviet republics the involvement of women into those spheres was accompanied by the processes of destruction of the patriarchal family sex-role models and the traditional models of a woman's behavior. At the same time the interests of women were far from being a priority since it was the scientific-technological development of the country that counted. Women-scientists were often well ahead of their husbands in the level of culture, education, position and salary. "By law women received all the rights, but in practice they continued to live under the old yoke, unequal in family life and enslaved by thousands of household chores" (Успенская В.И., 2003, p. 24). The reality of life for Soviet women were desperate – they were overloaded with professional activities, looking after the house and the children, doing extra earnings and, to crown it all, doing the house-farming.

Along with educating local qualified specialists – the process that went extremely slowly and painfully due to a variety of reasons – scientists from the centre were sent to the provinces. In the republics professional cultures grew into a symbiosis of various subcultures which co-existed and co-operated, thus affecting gender stereotypes. That was a powerful factor of cultural progress. In the scientific institutions none of the national cultures could claim for the domineering role – mutual integration could not allow for that.

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To date, in a small Russian town (Balashov), there were interviewed fifteen women-scientists who were sent to the distribution of professionals from Russia in various republics of

the USSR and returned back after the 80's. XX century. Interviews can draw some preliminary findings.

Ethnic and professional discrimination of the scientific intelligentsia used to be minimal in the USSR. Those women allocated to the republics from Moscow and central regions, unlike the women residing there, didn't suffer from discrimination. Moreover, they were greatly respected by colleagues at work and by people in informal situations (M. P., Cand. Sc. (History): "There was quite a small number of women in that enormous institute. All were graduates of Russian universities. When there happened to be a celebration, someone from the local inhabitants used to invite the colleagues to his or her home. The first time we came to such a house their women attended to us immediately and took us to the room where all the other women were. They had a separate table for themselves. We could find absolutely no subject to talk to them about. The difference was too evident. But as soon as the men saw that, they led us to the other room, where the men were, and said: "These are our women and they'll sit with us". They treated us with great respect. If, for example, I entered the rector's office, he would stand up at once, greet me, offer a chair and only after that would he himself sit down"). Hospitality in traditional cultures spread over the migrated women-scientists. In the unified Soviet the migrated specialists, both men and women, were treated with great respect, which was accentuated by the hospitality of the local residents (V. I., Cand. Sc. (Philosophy): "When you come for a visit, you can't think of a more hospitable people. They would offer you the most honorable place in the house, the aksakal<sup>18</sup> would cut a ram's head – who'd like an eye? (impossible to eat, but one can't refuse").

Immigration and integration of women-scientists in the more traditional cultures resulted in the blurring of patriarchal ways of life among the local population. (T. P., Cand. Sc. (History): "The mother, as a rule, is closer to the children, because there, according to Muslim laws, the father earns the living, he has more freedom. The woman is more restricted by the family. But in the time I happened to live there, it gradually blurred"). F. i., an Uzbek woman had absolutely no place in the pre-revolutionary industry of Uzbekistan.

All the specialists allocated to the republics were provided with a living-space (L. I., Cand. Sc. (Pedagogy): «In Kazakhstan we rented an accommodation first, but then he (the husband) was given a flat. Later I myself got a one-room flat from the school. And we had a hope and a firm feeling that, if you work well, you are sure to get all that you need in life").

In the centre of the Russian Federation those women who found themselves in the sphere of management or science were occupied not so much with creative work but rather with some sort of routine, red-tape – making files, describing archives, etc. (Пушкарева Н.Л., 2004, p. 41). The transition of scientists to the developing republican research centers practically erased gender differences and opened prospects for professional growth (E. M., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "When working in the Scientific Institute of Botany I hadn't had any obstacles in doing my research. Though there were some national minorities, we were not conscious of them, because we had will and diligence – we could achieve more in life than we can now. It was much easier to get to Moscow, or to Leningrad, or to any place in Russia than now").

The professionalism of women was highly valued in the former republics of the USSR (L. I.,

<sup>18</sup> A paskha – mixture of sweetened curds, butter and raisins eaten at Easter.

Cand. Sc. (Education): “I got a lot of awards there – of an honored worker of the enlightenment of Kazakhstan and of the USSR, and a rare medal of Altynsarin (mine is number eighty-nine). You were valued anyway”).

Education, multiplying the options for a professional employment, was actually leading to a better social position of women. Good education and high skills allowed women working in the republican research centers and educational institutions to occupy top positions and to earn more than their husbands (L. V., Cand. Sc. (Biology): “I was working in the clinic where doctors were raising their qualification. I raised my qualification in pediatrics, I worked as the head of a department, and I worked in the adults’ department also”; L. I., Cand. Sc. (Education): “Well, and so I worked in that institute since 1964 till 1999, I went through all the stages from an assistant to an assistant professor, to the Chair and finally to the vice-rector”; N. V., Cand. Sc. (Mathematics): “It was a good job and the salary was good. My husband was also quite happy with his job. I worked as a vice-director in the Institute of Nutrition. While my husband got three hundred sixty rubles (per month) I got a thousand – it hurt him a little”).

Traditionally a woman with a degree in higher education continued to regard her family as a primary concern, which could not but hold up the career (G. S., Cand. Sc. (Biology): “I was a good student and I didn’t work during my studies, but in the third year I got married and the family became a priority for me”; L. I., Cand. Sc. (Biology): “And in 1961 I got married. My husband was an officer, he served in Semipalatinsk. And I followed him to Semipalatinsk, of course. When we moved I started all anew. No national problems ever existed. The fact was it was the year I had planned to start my post-graduate studies. But instead I followed my husband”).

The social infrastructure of the republics was imperfect which made the women resort to traditional ways of bringing up their children, relying on the help of their parents (G. S., Cand. Sc. (Biology): “I had my own family when I was a third-year student. We had a son. His father went to some expedition for half a year when I was doing my post-graduate course. My son lived with my mother, we saw him only at the weekends”).

Migrant scientists respected the local traditions and customs. They tried to adopt the elements of the culture that appealed most to them (E. M., Cand. Sc. (Biology): “I should admit in those Central-Asian republics, like nowhere else in Russia, the older people were treated with greatest respect and the children were given greatest love. The oldest member of the family, the mother, the father are enjoying utmost respect and the children – utmost love. They say, mother, father and children are given by God, and thus they’re sacred. That’s why there were a lot of children in each family, and they were so kind to each other”). The migrant women enjoyed the local cuisine, especially (A. E., Cand. Sc. (Education): “I love different cuisines: the Ossetic, the Georgian. We had a lot of friends in Georgia. I preserved my culture, but I preserved theirs, too – I love their pilaf, manty...”; B.M., Cand. Sc. (Philosophy): “I remember their food mostly, the 24th of March – Navruz holiday”; O. I., Cand. Sc. (Education): “When they say on TV that the month of Ramadan or the Ramazan holiday began, something tickles within me. The food was different there. Here the food is somewhat insipid. Here I changed my diet. There we cooked manty, pilaf, we made dimlyamā and kesmē. It’s like home-made noodles with meat”; E.M., Cand. Sc. (Biology): “Well, living and working in the republic of Tajikistan we acquired part of the culture.

First of all, it's respect to people, it's the hospitality absolutely amazing for the country that poor, and, of course, respect to the elder. We still keep to their customs, traditions, and their cuisine. Even now that we have lived here for fifteen years the dishes from the Tadjik cuisine prevail in our menu. We love pilaf, manty, shurpa – an oriental soup – and other things"; L. V., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "After the working day we used to visit our neighbors. If it were the Tatars made a dish, the Uzbeks would bring theirs as a treat. On the New Year day all the people whose flats were in one staircase would treat each other and invite each other to their homes. Students of different nationalities were in one group: Tadjiks, Russians, Ossets, other... The locals congratulated us with Easter and we treated them to kulichi (Easter cakes), paskha<sup>19</sup>, and we congratulated them with their national holidays"). The interviewees connected the national food with the national holidays (E. M., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "Living in Tadjikistan we followed the traditions. We celebrated their holidays along with the official ones"). Living in the republics influenced the choice of clothes (E. M., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "Our clothes still bear that sunny brightness, me and my husband, we like bright and light clothes. And of course we have some items of that culture – tea-trays, vases, even dresses of their fabric and in their style"). There were cases, though, when Russian specialists were demanded by the locals to follow their social status, in clothes too (V. S., Dr. Sc. (Philology): "The income was scarce and once there was an incident – I wore an unpretentious cotton dress and the local ladies, my colleagues, told me it was indecent for a professor not to look the part. Oppressions were quite frequent").

Professional and social environment was generally devoid of nationalism, anyway (A. E., Cand. Sc. (Education): "We were quite happy then. No national issues ever arose. We had lived there for twenty five years – the larger part of life, actually. Our daughter was born there. It was the time when internationalism was on the rise, we were supposed to work for the motherland. I mean, we believed we must do anything for the motherland. All the working people were making their contribution to the development of the country"; U. N., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "We lived very well in the republic. Were it not for that coup we would have never thought of moving to Russia. The republic was well provided for, we had never had any problems with food products, there was no deficit in the stores. And we lived in the capital. There was a cardio-clinic, an oncology clinic, there were lots of high-skilled pediatricians – Jews and German resettlers among them. It was a great bonus. Despite the multinationalism, all the people were friendly, all lived placidly, calmly, no one threatened anyone. Then all of a sudden things turned upside down and life became very difficult"; M. A., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "I worked at the Tadjik University, at the chair of biochemistry. I worked with inspiration, the relations among the colleagues were really warm, we all were friends, even outside work, we went on holidays together, often made outings to the mountains"; L. V., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "There were no problems there, all were friends. Everybody had a flat and a good job"; G. S., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "German resettlers, Kazakhs, Russians – over sixty nationalities – we were together in joy and in grief").

In the course of the deconstruction of the USSR the national issue aggravated, which negatively affected the professional relations among people of different nationalities (N. V., Cand. Sc. (Medicine): "I had never witnessed any conflicts at work. Just once, when I and our boss,

<sup>19</sup> A paskha – mixture of sweetened curds, butter and raisins eaten at Easter.

a Kyrgyz, went to the Academy of Sciences, I felt really out of place, because the only phrase in Russian I heard was the one of introduction. The rest of the meeting was in the Kyrgyz language, which I understood scarcely, only thanks to some agricultural practice I had had"; L. I., Cand. Sc. (Education): "When perestroika began and especially when it came to the fall of the USSR ... And then in 1991 the Soviet Union collapsed. There it all began. And it was then that that very nationalism, of which we hardly ever knew, came to the surface. I was a vice-rector at the Institute then. And in 1992 there comes the rector, he was Russian, too, absolutely out of his mind. He had been invited to the Party Committee and there they declared to him, right straightforwardly, that two Russian-speakers can no longer stay in the positions of first managers. And sure I said: "You are a graduate of this Institute, you grew up here, here's your motherland, and you've done so much for this Institute. You'll stay, I'll go". And I left my position").

When the Russian language was no longer recognized as the official language of international communication, the national language became a barrier for professional communication (O. I., Cand. Sc. (Education): "In Kyrgyzia the situation eventually grew rather difficult. Here I came for the sake of the children. I would have stayed there until retirement. I had worked in the Academy for twenty four years. I had my communicative environment there, I knew who to talk to in case... Here all is quite new. Rumors were circulating that everybody was to take up the Kyrgyz language. As to me, they'd rather not expire the Russians, but assess their professional skills").

National conflicts were also the cause for making greater demands to the Russian specialists' professional consistency (M. A., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "I was called up to the dean many times, the management would express dissatisfaction with my work, though I had worked as an assistant professor many years and had managed with my duties").

Children remained to be the main value for women-specialists (A.E., Cand. Sc. (Education): "If there's a danger for your child, when they shoot and kill in the streets – you just grab your possessions and fly wherever to save the child. There, unlike in other republics, was a war. Some five hundred thousand people left, and those who stayed were destined to be beggars. Neither these, nor those authorities ever needed them").

Women-scientists and their families had two ways of choosing a place in Russia to return to: 1) professional connections (O. I., Cand. Sc. (Education): "A colleague from our Chair moved here sixteen years ago and has been constantly in contact. And he invited me here, too"); 2) family ties (E. M., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "Here in Balashov my sister, Ludmila, lives with her children. We were searching for bread and peace, and we moved to Balashov where we found shelter, food and friendliness"; L. I., Cand. Sc. (Education): "Our choice fell on Balashov because our son married a girl from Balashov").

Administrations of educational establishments supported the migrants by offering employment (E.M., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "I am very thankful to the Balashov Institute administration, who helped me a lot by advancing my salary and by accommodating us in the hostel. Well, and by now we're quite comfortable here and can't imagine living in another Russian city"). As to the living conditions it was the neighbors who would give a hand (E.M., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "The first years were really strenuous. We had neither a cup, nor a spoon, nor furniture. But the people around us were so kind. I am thankful to them for the food they gave us when we first came

here"; O. I., Cand. Sc. (Pedagogy): "As soon as we arrived we were given two rooms in the hostel. People always helped me with the documents, the registration, anything. My acquaintances helped me with the repair. At the Chair the staff consisted of men, mostly, which was unusual, but I'm getting used to it. Anyway, I don't feel any discrimination").

The forceful character of the migration produced a number of extra problems concerning adaptation. The narratives prove that the lack of free will in the migration was reinforced by the lack of a perspective (V. I., Cand. Sc. (Philosophy): "We were forced to migrate. We lost the comfortable flat where we had lived for five years. Now we have to face the music – no prospects any longer. Life is destroyed. To change oneself when one is forty, to change one's circumstances – it's practically impossible. It was certainly better there"; L. I., Cand. Sc. (Education): "If it comes to the migrants' psychological state, it's a great trial when you move to another place and start your life from a clean page"). The necessity of starting their life anew was connected by the migrants with the adaptive possibilities (V. I., Cand. Sc. (Philosophy): "The problem of adaptation. All the changes were accepted without a word, it's mere psychology. The man is ripped out of his environment. But here we were received well. The circle of communication is limited by profession. Parents lived and died there. The present times are hard. All is left behind. We have found ourselves on the brink of a black precipice"); T. P., Cand. Sc. (History): "I can't say I've had any particular problems. But now that I am summing up my life, I think it is the ability of man to tune in to what he is expecting to confront, to see. I mean, I didn't expect my new ways to be easy and that's why I think I haven't had any hard problems, though I have worked hard creating a new Chair"; E.M., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "The first time, for almost eight years, we, five people – my mother, me, my husband and our two children – lived in the hostel. The years of adaptation were most difficult but at the same time most interesting. Coming to know a new country, coming to know new customs and natural, climatic conditions. From the warm climate we moved right to the snow"). An exaggerated nostalgia was another negative factor for a successful adaptation (O. I., Cand. Sc. (Education): "We had many friends among the Kirghiz. As soon as I arrived there I started work, I had lived there forty three years. All my life. I worked in the Academy twenty four years. Of course, I am missing all that"). Nevertheless, understanding the equality of the situation for the migrants assigned to the republics of the USSR and for the forced migrants of Russian Federation served as a stimulus for a positive comprehension. Both in the case of the professional migration of assigned specialists and of the outflow of the population from the former republics to the Russian Federation, the migrants demonstrated a readiness to accept the situation as a "reality", as a fact that concerned thousands (V. I., Cand. Sc. (Philosophy): "No particular changes were evident, we lived like people live anywhere in the Soviet Union").

The experience the women-specialists had acquired in a foreign environment before their second, forced migration, made a positive influence on their adaptive and integrative qualities. (N. K., Cand. Sc. (Education): "Why I am patient, you ask? So much had it been to come through before we decided to move. We had teenage children. We had seen and heard so many outrageous things. The aborigines themselves were not that aggressive, and alcohol is not welcome there. But there emerged as if from nowhere drunk and stoned companies of the local youths.

They were very aggressive in the attitude, absolutely out of their minds. But it was impossible to imagine they could get the money for alcohol from their parents. But the alcohol, the money and other stuff did come up somehow. Yes, I have to suffer injustice here at my work. Yes, that is so. But I am confident about my children and that in itself makes me happy"; M.A., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "I hope and believe that the worse times for our family are over").

The migration floods in the Soviet and Post-Soviet environment were characterized by a re-inforcement of the family, a growth of mutual understanding and help (E.M., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "I met my husband who worked after a technical college in a military organization, and then came to work in our Academy of Sciences. He turned to be a kind, easy-going, caring man. And he never was a course for trouble, we never thought of divorce. It's soon going to be thirty years since we married"; N. V., Cand. Sc. (Mathematics): "I am often discontented with my husband's temper, I know he's a choleric. And I tell him: "You are not just a choleric, you are an ill-bred choleric". And he tells me: "What is it you don't like?" I say, I don't like this, and this ... and my mother tells me: "If he didn't yell and swear, he would not be yours". The main thing is that I can count on him in any situation"; G. S., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "I have a husband. We worked together in a national park. He took photographs and made stuffed animals. All the photos in my dissertation were made by him"). Those husbands of migrant-scientists who had no degrees had greater difficulties with employment. Quite naturally, it was easier to find a job for a man with a higher level of education (T. P., Cand. Sc. (History): "My husband found a job. He had had much more problems, he's an engineer, a very skilled engineer, he had worked in most responsible top positions. He didn't find such a position here in Balashov and he retired early. Started all sorts of work around the house, repair works, the construction of the garage. I haven't had problems like his, my professionalism happened to be in greater demand"). A number of the interviewees said, their husbands had a learned degree which facilitated their employment. There were a few cases when international marriages collapsed, which look rather as exceptions (L. V., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "My husband served in special forces of the Ministry of Federal Intelligence. His mother is Russian, his father a Tadjik who worked in the Ministry of Culture there. Well, my husband decided to stay").

The issue of convertibility of the diploma, extremely urgent in the CIS of the XXI century, was non-existent in the USSR (O.I., Cand. Sc. (Education): "When I arrived here, the Kirghiz associate professor was not regarded as an associate professor. I mean, here I was given a lower skill-category and I have to go through the same procedure again"). Migrants faced difficulties with job placement caused by the complicated and prolonged procedure of acquiring citizenship (O. I., Cand. Sc. (Education): "This is my second year here. Last year I was unemployed because I had to wait till I acquire citizenship. Nine months is rather a long period without a job. It's really hard").

The republics (or regions) suffering from massive outflows of high-skilled specialists also suffer from a decrease in their potential for advancement in science, culture, education and industry (N.V., Cand. Sc. (Medicine): "I do not regret that we have moved, because it's impossible to get that life we had there back. And I worked at the Academy of Science there.... Our whole laboratory have left for different parts. And we still keep in touch with each other. Some of us are in Ulyanovsk, some are abroad, others are wherever. What good is there about being homesick?



If things there were going the way they used to go, I would be homesick of course. But I know things have grown different there and so – why regret? And besides, our relatives moved here eventually, too. And now we have no blood relatives left there. All my relatives are here by now, and so are my husband's"; L.I., Cand. Sc. (Education): "The first people to tear away were those who hoped to put down roots in a new place, to avoid turning into street people. That's why the Chair I was making with incredible effort, has gone higher than a kite. Just two Russians with no candidate degrees stayed – all the rest are the Kazakhs. And all the others just dashed wherever they chose"; M.A., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "I still keep in touch with my friends, but they are already not there either"; O.I., Cand. Sc. (Education): "There used to be a lot of sport schools. With the collapse of the USSR, there is just one field-and-track school left. And the financial problems are severe").

One of the basic factors for the labour migration has always been a possibility to find a dwelling. It was the financial problems that forced the interviewees and their families to leave the metropolises of the former Soviet republics for Balashov and to settle in a rural area. One of the consequences of the forced migration is a deterioration of living conditions for women-migrants and their families (T.P., Cand. Sc. (History): "We had a nice flat, and then we had to sell it to buy instead a worse, four-room one here. Ours was a five-room flat";

V.I., Cand. Sc. (Philosophy): "There we used to have a nice four-room flat that we lost. At first we didn't have the right to sell it and they gave us warrants"; Ju. N., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "When we came here, we had no relatives and no friends. And we were to get a job this way or the other. There were certain difficulties about that, too. It was difficult to buy a flat. Our former flat was a dozen times as good as the one here. Having bought a flat, we got into debt and then we had to pay off the debt for quite a while"; N.V., Cand. Sc. (Medicine): "The money we got for our flat was just enough to buy a TV-set and a fridge here"; G.S., Cand. Sc. (Biology): "Before Balashov we tried another city where we were accommodated in a dormitory room, without conveniences").

Private libraries were ranked as the most valuable among the migrants' possessions. Despite numerous difficulties of removing the property, all the women-migrants have brought their libraries with them to new places (V.I., Cand. Sc. (Philosophy): "We've brought a large library with us, about five thousand books, and who knows how many we left neglected"; "We were offered a Volga<sup>20</sup> for our library"; L.I., Cand. Sc. (Education): "And that was how I found myself here with all my books, horribly vast in number, and with all sorts of extra troubles").

The problems of employment, preserving the new job and promoting the career have been aggravated for women-scientists and their families by discrimination on the account of their having no permanent residence in the city under survey (G.V., Cand. of Sc. (Philosophy): "I know pretty well I am no less competent than she. Nothing of the kind! I'm ten times as competent, one needn't compare. It's just her long-standing connections here that count. Our director used to be her late father's friend and he promised him to take care of his daughter in case it would be necessary. Well, here you are. No one needs knowledge, a desire to work, to do something new, something useful. The problem is I am not a native and she has spent her whole life here,

<sup>20</sup> Volga – a trade mark of an automobile, prestigious in the former Soviet Union

as well as her parents. And now I don't take that problem as mine and no one else's but me. It goes much deeper").

This is very much an exception rather than the rule, but still today the attitudes of some men – directors of higher education institutes – occasionally remain to be gender discriminating within the scientific and educational environments in small towns. The tacit consent on the part of the subjects, both women and me, involved in the discriminating process, does not make the situation any better (O.B., Cand. Sc. (Education): "I took part in a panel discussion in one of the local universities in November. It dealt with educational issues. Over ten headmasters were present. Both women and men. After the formal meeting the participants were supposed to have an informal talk. Men-headmasters were invited into the director's office and the women had their tea in a classroom. No one looked indignant. I have never seen anything like that before. It was disgusting").

Today, regardless of research trends, the consequences of the labour migrations are usually analyzed within the bounds of the "triangle": the effect of the specialists' runoff on the native country – the effect of the drift of labour on the host country – the simultaneous effect of both the runoff and the drift of labour on the world market of high-skilled specialists. The consequences of intellectual migration for an individual are rather a rare subject of research. Though within the last two decades decisions to emigrate have been made on this very level. When a phenomenon becomes widespread, the consequences of intellectual migration of women cannot be assessed simply as positive or negative. Attempts to reduce all the possible consequences of emigration to a common denominator are doomed. Thus it would be expedient to divide the consequences of women-scientists migration into a number of groups.

1. Economic effects of Russian women-scientists migrations.
2. Social consequences of Russian migrations of women-scientists.
3. Cultural consequences of Russian migrations of women-scientists.
4. Knowledge-based aspects of the consequences of migration of Soviet/Russian women-scientists.

As a result there were three basic variants of the forced brainpower migration to the Soviet republics:

1. Temporary work off. Young specialists were temporarily sent to a republic after they had graduated. They were to work there for a certain period of time. Later they could come back to Russia and settle wherever they wanted to. It was also possible to come back to a region that assigned a future scientist to get a degree.
2. Migration for permanent residence. Being assigned to a republic, young scientists were provided with public housing. There they got married and had children.
3. Constant territorial-professional migrations within the USSR. In a state need a specialist and his family could migrate voluntary or be forced to migrate to other research and educational organizations over the territory of the huge country. The number of such migrations could be unlimited.

In the very end of the XXth and the beginning of the XXIst century the optimistic assess-

ments of the intellectual emigration resemble the conception of “exchange of knowledge” and the pessimistic ones resemble the conception of “brain drain”. On the one hand, intellectual emigration is the factor of global socio-economical advancement and it corresponds with the consistent movement of “the human capital” on the world market. On the other hand, the donor states miss the opportunity of the national socio-economic advancement and weaken their position in the international market of science because of migration.

The Soviet era was marked by an obsession with the idea to move scientists both male and female in compliance with the needs of national economy. In the CIS the decision to emigrate was made mainly on the microlevel that is by the individuals or their families. But in both cases these were forced migrations.

In the former case the process of adaptation and acculturation was followed by minimal negative consequences because scientists were placed on a job with the support of the state and because of such attractive factors as public accommodation and job placement, the use of the Russian language in the professional activity. Public policy aimed at establishing equal rights for women in the professional environment was of great importance. In the latter case, repulsive factors such as menace to safety, nationalization of the professional language and changes in the personnel based on ethnic criteria prevailed. In the host country representatives of scientific intelligentsia and their families have always had a minimal support on the part of the state.

The basic conclusion of the research. On the one hand, having lived in more traditional cultures in the Soviet past, the interviewed migrants acquired and kept more patriarchal views on the family that are not typical of the majority of the Russian women-scientists’ and lecturers’ families. On the other hand, having worked in major research and educational centers of the republics, women-scientists acquired valuable professional skills that can not be in great demand in a Russian town. In spite of the high skills and the most valuable work experience in the spheres of management, science and education, female migrants have been discriminated in the Russian regional educational organizations. Nevertheless, having left the republics, female scientists display a sound professional identity, despite discrimination.

## Conclusion

An increasing demand for high-skilled specialists all over the world on the one hand and an extension of international educational and job placement opportunities on the other hand have inevitable influence on the world market of science. We might expect an expansion of the consequences of the intellectual migration, female migrations including, later on. Hereupon there arises the need to improve the migration policies, both for the countries losing human resources and in those using them (Martin P., Abella M., Kuptsch C., 2006, p. 23). Women-migrants representing intelligentsia are high welcome in the host countries because they are bear a great demographical and scientific potential.

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