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HISTORICAL RETROSPECTIVE OF LABOR MIGRATION IN THE USA: CASE FOR RUSSIA

**[Л.К. Гуриева, Д. Израелсен. Историческая ретроспектива
трудовой миграции в США: кейс для России¹]**

The article presents a historical analysis of the use of foreign experience of migration policy in the USA for innovative development of the economy and the development of the US intellectual capacity. Authors believe that in the conditions of the demographic recession predicted in Russia, the labor potential of migrants is the important factor capable to render both positive, and negative influence on innovative development of the country and its regions.

Key words: migration policy of the USA, innovative development of economy, attraction of intellectual elite.

Realization of modernization priorities of Russia and its regions is possible when providing conditions for innovative development of economy. Modernization of economy, technological improvement of production, informatization of society lead to change the nature of the population labor activity. The nature of reproduction of human potential assuming at all stages of a reproduction cycle high-quality development of individuals, improvement of

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public norms, the relations and the institutes reproducing them, and also branches of the social and production spheres becomes the defining factor of competitiveness of the countries and regions.

In the conditions of strengthening of globalization processes problems of the international migration of labor, the movement of the capitals are staticized. According to the available forecasts of Rosstat [1], the UN [2] and to authoritative expert estimates [3], during the next period the able-bodied population of Russia will decrease by 8-10 million people. Respectively, the flow of labor migrants will increase. However, it is inadmissible to keep the developed tendencies and to fill labor market with mainly low-qualified foreign workers. It is necessary to create conditions for attraction of highly qualified personnel which are capable to participate effectively in process of innovative development of national economy, and also – more organically assimilate with the Russian society, without creating additional social tension.

Innovative development of economy assumes high concentration of intellectual potential in the concrete territory. For this reason creation of innovatively focused territorial complexes and systems became the general regularity of the present stage of development of the world leading economies [4].

Many years in the Soviet Union a certain policy of science development was conducted, especially science which worked for creation of advanced technologies and their introduction in production. By the end of the XX century in the country there was a peculiar system of scientific centers placement: establishments of science concentrated in the certain cities. Often these cities were under construction from scratch, purposefully for creation of special scientific centers. Round these cities – scientific centers – profile educational institutions and the corresponding pilot productions, and sometimes and the large enterprises which are engaged in a mass production began to develop.

On the basis of this experience already in new Russia 14 science cities of Russia the most known of which are Dubna, Zhukovsky, Queens, Koltsovo, Obninsk, Fryazino, Chernologovk were created.

The law on science cities was adopted on April 7, 1999. According to this law the municipality with the status of the city district having high scientific and technical potential with city-forming scientific-industrial complex is called as the science city. Legal regulation of the status of the science city is carried out

according to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, federal laws on the general principles of the organization of local government, on science and state scientifically - technical policy, other federal laws, the Federal law "About the status of the science city of the Russian Federation", constitutions, charters and laws of subjects of the Russian Federation [5].

In 2005 adoption of the Federal Law «About special economic zones» laid the foundation to creation of SEZ which are understood as part of the territory of the Russian Federation which is defined by the Government of the Russian Federation and on which the specific mode of implementation of business activity acts, and also can be applied the customs procedure of a free customs area [6].

Now in Russia work six zones of industrial production type and five technical innovation type zones. However creation in 2010 of the innovation center Skolkovo – the domestic modern technological center for an example of the Silicon Valley (USA) became the largest Russian project of the last time. Its construction cost 15 billion rubles. 170 billion rubles will be spent for the project of the innovation center Skolkovo the next 20 years – approximately 9 billion rubles a year that in 15 times more, than annually allocates the budget for all science cities of the country [7].

However, despite enormous efforts of the Russian authorities and serious financial investments science cities, neither special economic zones, nor Skolkovo don't give expected return yet and Russia continues to remain the country outsider in the world market of the knowledge-intensive production: the share of the Russian Federation makes about 0,5% [8] while China occupies 24% in the world market of hi-tech production, the USA – 27%, Japan – 19%, Germany – 16% [9]. One of the obstacles to achievement the competitiveness of the Russian territories of innovative development, in our opinion, is insufficient intellectual elite concentration there [10]. In this regard studying, generalization, the analysis and adaptation of foreign experience of systematic innovative development of territories by realization of purposeful involvement of highly intellectual migrants on constant and temporary accommodation on the practical level is very useful.

The United States as the country of traditional immigration have long traditions and well fulfilled mechanisms for attraction and selection of intellectual elite from other countries. Immigration plays very important role here and as factor that increases population, and also as a stimulator of economic activity, providing feed

of economy with low-paid labor and highly qualified specialists that means considerable economy of funds for their preparation. For example, by the beginning of the XXI century Chinese and Indian engineers controlled about a quarter of hi-tech businesses in the Californian Silicon Valley with annual sales volume of 17,8 billion dollars. Thus in half of the new businesses opened now in the Silicon Valley, at least, one of founders is either the immigrant, or the American in the first generation. In 2000 there were 300 000 experts in high-tech industries and 35 000 doctors of the Indian origin in the country [11, p.23]. However intellectual immigration isn't limited to developing countries. In the USA more than 400 thousand qualified specialists came from Western Europe, and only 50 thousand from them express intention to return to their countries [11, p.37].

The modern system of attraction and selection of foreign experts was created in the USA in four stages. With adoption in 1947 of the plan of Marshall Americans began to invite in large quantities people from around the world to study at the universities: the best in a result were left in America.

Americans faced a curious problem: diasporas of highly educated foreigners began to work as the lobbies protecting interests of their mother countries. This aspect of intellectual immigration was especially important as it provided expansion of political, economic and cultural influence of the USA in the countries of emigration. In the first stage of implementation of the plan of Marshall thousands of young Europeans invited in the American universities remained in the USA. Those who came back home, quite often became carriers of new political culture, expanding potential of American "soft power" (so, J. Nye characterizes this concept as ability "to cause in others desire of the same that you wish" [12]). They were followed by new waves of intellectual migration – at first from countries of Western Europe and Japan, then – from South Korea, Taiwan and other countries of Asia and Latin America.

In the 1970-1980th years the turn of China, and then and countries of Eastern Europe and Post-Soviet states came. Thus the continuous feed of the American intellectual elite which made possible selection of experts from the countries with advanced schools of sciences in certain areas was provided. Today employees-immigrants make about a half of the academic personnel in the sphere of natural sciences, and foreign students receive nearly three quarters of academic degrees of the doctor of science in natural sciences.

The third stage – creation of the Silicon Valley with a special tax regime with minimal state intervention. At last, at the fourth stage, after 1965, the USA completely changed migration policy, having opened borders for natives of Third World countries and qualified specialists [13].

Being important part of population policy, attraction of a manpower in the USA is set quotas. Quoting as a method of regulation of temporary labor immigration, is applied to immigrants for the purpose of temporary residence, or for resettlement on permanent residence. And migratory quotas are the quantitative restriction of number of the migrants arriving to the country established by authorities of the host country in the form of the absolute or relative size (a percentage share) about the country in general, to certain territories, types of economic activity (branches), countries of origin, professional groups [14].

On the basis of employment prospects there are 5 categories of foreign workers in the USA (The general quota for 2010 – 140 thousand visas, for 2012 – 123 thousand visas. Quotas are established as a percentage):

1. «Priority workers» (28,6%), including:
 - having an extraordinary abilities in art, science, business, education and sport;
 - the scientists and teachers recognized at the international level (with experience not less than 3 years);
 - top managers of the multinational companies who worked in them not less than a year for the last three;
2. The workers having higher education or an academic degree, and also workers, possessing outstanding abilities in art, science, business (28,6%).
3. The workers having the bachelor's degree, qualified and the unskilled workers having experience not less than 2 years or similar training, workers for the occupations which aren't demanding experience or training. The period of expectation for visa is less, than qualification is higher (28,6%).
4. Employees of the religious organizations and other categories which aren't relating to listed above (7,1%).
5. The individual investors that are ready to invest not less than 1 million dollars in economy of the USA, or of 0,5 million dollars – to economically depressive or rural territories (there is a special program) (a quota about 10 thousand green cards or 7,1%). Thus:

- new business has to create not less than 10 workplaces on the terms of a full employment (excepting the investor and dependent persons);
- in case of investments in already existing business of investment have to increase own capital of the organization or number occupied to 140%, or to keep all existing workplaces in the business which lost more than 20 percent of own capital for the period from 1 to 2 years [4].

Thus, from the point of view of the American policy of stimulation of intellectual immigration, two of its aspects are especially important:

- stimulation of the inflow of highly qualified specialists facilitating load of educational system of the USA and reducing costs of their preparation;
- large-scale training of foreign students in the American higher education institutions which allows to carry out, on the one hand, selection of the best shots for providing to them work and a residence in the USA, with another – to stimulate formation of the pro-American groups capable to be carriers of new political culture and ideology, from those who will return to the countries subsequently.

If to speak specifically about the Russian academic diaspora in the USA, it can be grouped in three categories. The first of them includes scientists who left as constant emigrants. As it was already mentioned, the share of this category in the general stream is quickly reduced. The second category includes those who left as temporary employees or students, but got permanent job. The third category unites left according to temporary visas as students, graduate students protected authors of dissertation. This category isn't so large as sometimes represent. The foreigners who are learning in the West in general about 3 million people, from them the Russian students – from 35 thousand to 50 thousand, i.e. only one and a half percent [15, p.8-9].

In addition, the qualified migrants differ on a field of activity in two relations: whether they could find the work corresponding to their academic qualification or were compelled to go to other fields of activity; what their status and level of the income in general and concerning their previous and potential situation in Russia.

However, the most important is the qualification and status classification according to which stand out:

- elite of intellectual emigration – the professorate having the constant guaranteed tenure at universities and also owners or highly paid employees of hi-tech businesses or similar state-owned firms;

- the persons which remained abroad and working on a temporary basis (recipients of grants, hourly workers, etc.);
- the persons having temporary visas to work or training abroad;
- the students and graduate students having temporary visas to study abroad.

Probability of that representatives of rather small group of scientists who possess the highest qualification, will return to Russia, is small.

Attraction to Russia or cooperation with experts of the last three categories would allow to increase considerably the level of science and education in our country on the basis of the western methodologies and to expand an involvement of the Russian scientists and educational institutions into the international projects. However in a pursuit to absolutist idea of return of elite to Russia there is a serious danger to leave a top of intellectual elite behind a board, having sharply reduced efficiency of policy of "the academic repatriation". Thus, in the plan of government actions various parameters and the differentiated measures directed on attraction to the country (or to cooperation with it) concrete groups of intellectual elite have to be put.

Surveys conducted with assistance of the Eurasian network of political researches showed that, despite existence at many migrants of a strong emotional binding to Russia (most of respondents indicated isolation from a family, friends and the native cultural environment as the important circumstance complicating their life abroad), three blocks of the factors interfering their return remain:

- socio-economic factors – instability of an economic situation in Russia, lack of social guarantees, especially at a retirement age, mistrust to the state with domination of bureaucracy and corruption;
- the academic factors – enormous lag of Russia from the West on technical and material security of scientific researches, on a salary and level of social security of scientists, isolation from world academic community, corruption and bureaucracy of the academic administrative personnel (we will note that to a beginning of the century the share of Russia in production of world hi-tech production made less than 1% in comparison with a share of the USA (27%) and China (24%). Costs of researches and development counting on one researcher in Russia were 10 times lower, than in the USA [16, p. 20, 17]);
- political factors – the amplifying authoritative tendencies, weakness of civil society, lack of a freedom of expression (the last is especially important for the people who are engaged in creative activity), high crime rate [18, p. 127].

In addition to these circumstances many Russian scientists working abroad specify on natural (complexity of repeated accustoming to severe Russian climate) and ecological (a deplorable condition of environment, an air gas contamination, infinite traffic jams, first of all, in Moscow – the main center of gravity of potential intellectual migrants) factors.

Thus, probability of that representatives of rather small group of scientists who possess the highest qualification, important and useful communications in the sphere of business and policy, have access to the best equipment, are renowned in the scientific world, will return to Russia, is small. Their attraction is most desirable, however it demands search of special forms of cooperation with them which would allow them to work in Russia (with official recognition of their special high status), without coming back to a constant residence, to give short courses, to direct research projects, to take doctoral candidates and graduate students. Also their potential role as the mechanism of «the soft force», agents of the Russian influence in the USA and other host countries is important [19, p. 43].

Return of another, less «advanced» scientists is theoretically possible, but all the same demands formation of the compensation packages directed on creation for them equivalent western working conditions and life.

Therefore the success of work with the Russian intellectual diaspora will depend abroad on allocation of adequate means and effective control behind their expenditure. Without financing any researches, any introduction of innovations are impossible. Huge role will play public climate in Russia, gravity of intentions of the country leaders to revive the Russian science enduring the depression period.

The sense of responsibility for revival of Russia in general and the Russian science in particular is inherent in noticeable part of the Russian intellectual diaspora. In our opinion, during an era of globalization has no basic value, on what continent there will live representatives of Russia and to work for its benefit.

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