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Spatial Patterns in the Transformation of the Ethnic Structure of the Russian Population Between the 1959 and 2010 Censuses

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Abstract—Presented are the results from analyzing the dynamics of the ethnic mosaic index of the Russian regions between the population censuses of 1959 and 2010, with a division into two periods: the late Soviet period (until 1989) and the post-Soviet era. In the late Soviet period, the growth of polyethnicity embraced 55% of the regions of the RSFSR. They were mostly Russian regions that experienced an influx of migrants mainly from Ukraine and Belarus as well as from other Union Republics and a number of national autonomies of Russia. Already then most of the autonomous republics showed a tendency for an increase in the share of the population of titular enthnicity. In the post-Soviet period, in spite of the ongoing decline in the Russian population in Russia, most regions of the country (71%) experienced a decree of the degree of homogeneity of the ethnic composition of the population. This category included many "Russian" regions where a markedly reduced share of the Russian and Belarusian population was never compensated for by the influx of migrants from North Caucasus and the Baltics and the CIS. From the previously extensive territorial massif with increasing polyethnicity in the center of the European part of the country there were only a few regions left in the post-Soviet period, which formed a ring around Moscow. In this situation, Moscow itself began to play the assimilation function with respect to foreign-language-speaking migrants of the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. Most of the national republics showed a steady increase in the share of titular ethnic groups, including the indrawal of a given ethnic group to within the boundaries of the autonomy accompanied by an outflow of Russians. Only in a few republics (Karelia, Komi, Udmurtia and Khakassia) and a number of autonomous okrugs) did the proportion of the Russian population increase.

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Keywords: population census, ethnic mosaic index, ethnic composition, titular ethnicity, share of Russians.

FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM

Study into the ethnic processes occurring in Russia will always remain relevant. From a scientific perspective, transformation of the ethnic structure of this country's population has both a temporal and a spatial dimension. The indicators traditionally used in the analysis of the population natural structure include the absolute number of representatives of different ethnoses, their relative weight (share) in the population of particular territories, and the number and share of people using definite languages as mother tongues, everyday languages, languages of inter-ethnic communication, etc. In carrying out a comparative analysis, it is more customary to use relative indicators which are considered in their dynamics. The cartographic method is most convenient for identifying spatial differences in the value of these indicators. Drawing on cartographic analysis, it is possible not only to study ethnic space for a particular period but also switch over to the analysis of the spatio-temporal dynamics of ethnic processes. To accomplish this, it is desirable to use integral indicators in order to assess the complexity of the ethnic composition of the population without listing the proportions of the individual ethnoses. The ethnic mosaic index (EMI) refers precisely to such indicators.

The objective of this paper is to identify spatial patterns in the ethnic composition of Russia's population by analyzing the EMI dynamics for the country's regions between the 1959 and 2010 population censuses, subdivided into two periods: late-soviet (1959–1989) and post-soviet (1989–2010).

The EMI index was suggested by B.M. Ekkel' [1]; it is fairly often used in the study of the ethnic structure of the population living in multiethnic territories. This may be exemplified by investigations devote to multiethnic regions of Russia, such as the North Caucasus [2, 3] as well as Dagestan [4], Stavropol [5] and Krasnodar [6] krais, the Republic of Crimea [7], Orenburg oblast [8], Asian republics: Buryatia [9], Yakutia [10], and others.

The most common choices in such investigations are the schematic maps summarizing results from calculating the index at the level of administrative units. The EMI is usually regarded as a static characteristic, because additional calculations and further comments are necessary for the analysis of the dynamics of ethnic groups. Nevertheless, it was suggested by A.G. Manakov [11] that the EMI be used for the analysis of the general tendencies in the transformation of the ethnic structure of the population in the North-West of Russia (at the level of the lower administrative units) for a long period, from 1897 to 2010 [11], although those efforts were preceded by an in-depth analysis of the dynamics of separate ethnic groups [12, 13].

There are relatively rare publications in which the EMI is used in analyzing the dynamics of the ethnic composition of the Russian Federation at the level of its constituent entities. Particularly noteworthy are two of them. A.Yu. Orlov [14] outlined his experience of studying the dynamics of the ethnic structure of the population in the regions of Russia for the time interval 1959–2010. Schematic maps displaying the EMI for 1959 and 2010 were used to carry out the typology of the country's regions according to the degree of polyetnicity. A brief analysis of the EMI dynamics for the time interval under investigation was also made. However, the EMI dynamics was not considered separately for the late-soviet and post-soviet period. The point is that the dynamics at those periods showed opposite tendencies in different regions of Russia, especially in so-called Russian regions.

Next comes a paper of S.G. Safronov [15] dealing with the transformation of the ethnic structure of the population of Russia during the post-soviet period. The author pays special attention to the change of the ethnicity paradigm in post-soviet Russia and uses, therefore, such characteristics as the share of the population who dodged the question concerning their ethnicity, the "degree of urbanization" of the ethnoses, etc. The author tries to objectively assess the outcome of the 2002 and 2010 censuses by considering them through the lens of a complication of ethnic identity of a significant part of Russia's population. His paper also presents a schematic map with the EMI of Russia's regions for the year 2010; in this case, however, the index apparently has a different meaning, namely the theoretical probability that the ethnic groups can make interethnic contacts.

METHODS AND NOVELTY

The ethnic mosaic index at any territorial level can be calculated by the formula: $EMI = 1 - \Sigma(P_i)^2$, where P_i – is the share of the i th ethnicity (i = 1, 2…) in the study region [1]. The most significant "milestone" values correspond to EMI = 0.2 (when the share of the main ethnicity of a particular territory makes up less than 90%), and EMI = 0.4 (when every fourth inhabitant of the territory refers to the non-core ethnicity). In an earlier publication, we proposed to identify, on the basis of the EMI, ethnocontact zones of two classes: clearly pronounced (EMI higher than 0.4), and not clearly pronounced (EMI from 0.2 to 0.4) [11]. As an intermediate "milestone" value characterizing the degree of monoethnicity of a territory, we also use the EMI = 0.1, when the share of the population belonging to the main ethnicity makes up about 95%. The most polyethnic regions are those where the EMI index exceeds 0.6. And, finally, the next EMI logical "milestone" value is 0.8. This indicator, however, exceeds only one subject of the Russian Federation, the Republic of Dagestan.

The aforementioned EMI "milestone" values were used in generating schematic maps at the level of Russia's regions from the results of the 1959, 1989 and 2010 population censuses (acc [16–18]). A comparative analysis of the schematic maps suggests important conclusions about the transformation of Russia's ethnic space for the periods between the censuses as demonstrated in [14]. This paper considers only one of these schematic maps that was compiled according to the results of the 1959 census. In our view, however, a more thorough analysis is possible if the research technique is extended to calculating the EMI dynamics indicators for the aforementioned time intervals. We produced schematic maps to display the EMI dynamics for the regions of Russia covering the periods of 1959–1989 and 1989–2010 as well as the entire period from 1959 to 2010.

Furthermore, a classification was developed for the regions of Russia taking into account simultaneously the EMI dynamics for the late-soviet period (between the 1959 and 1989 censuses) and the post-Soviet period (based on the results of the 1989 and 2010 censuses). Also, a brief characteristic is given to the identified groups of regions (and, in some instances, to separate regions) according to the nature of the ethnic processes, i. e. having regard to the dynamics of the Russian population and separate ethnic groups.

RESULTS

The schematic map displaying the EMI index for the regions of Russia as of 1959, i. e. for the initial date of analysis, is presented in Fig. 1. For oblasts and krais (these latter including autonomous okrugs and oblasts) the EMI index was calculated separately for the ethnic and the "Russian" parts.

Analysis of this schematic map reveals two key components of Russia's ethnic space: 1) the "Russian megacore" (EMI up to 0.4) which, according to [19], corresponded to the boundaries of a continuous

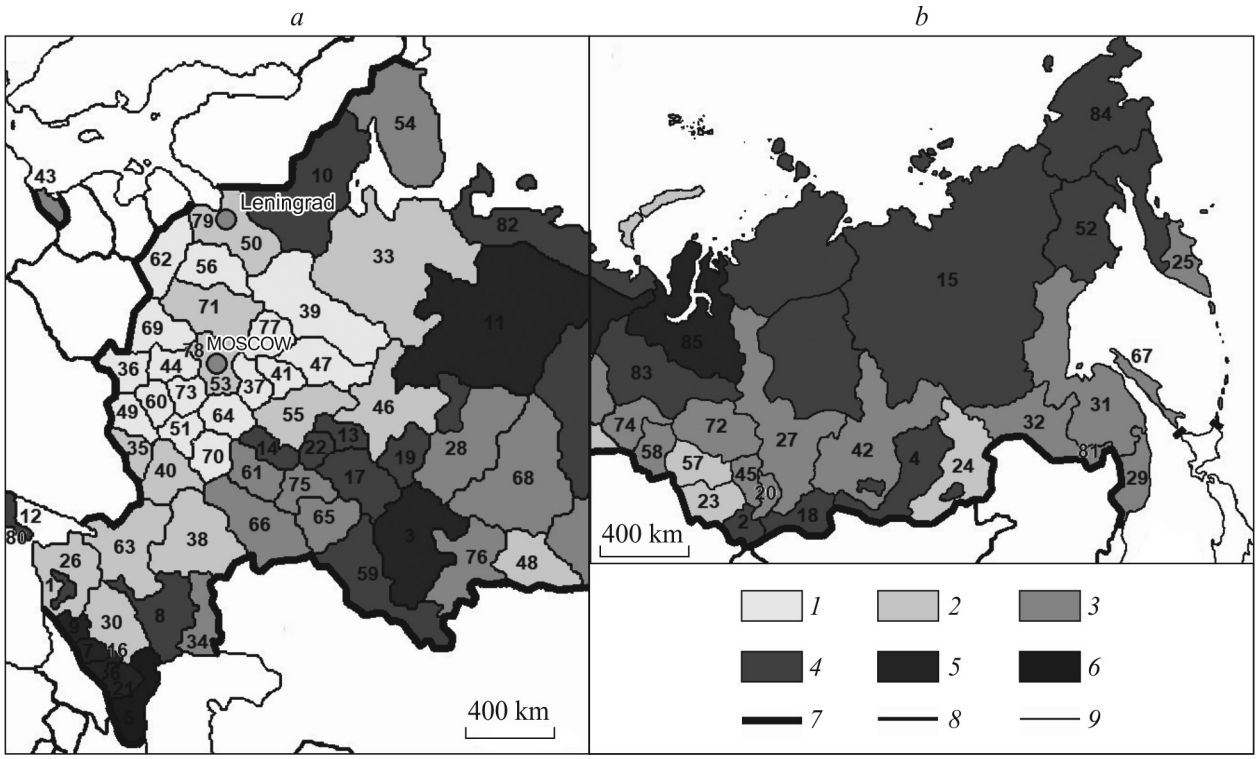

Fig. 1. Ethnic mosaic index for regions of Russia in 1959 (numbering and modern names of regions are given in the table).
Here and in Figs. 2–4: *a* – schematic map of the European part of Russia, *b* – Asian part. Value of the ethnic mosaic index: *1* – less than 0.1; *2* – from 0.1 to 0.199; *3* – from 0.2 to 0.399; *4* – from 0.4 to 0.599; *5* – from 0.6 to 0.799; *6* – 0.8 and higher. Boundaries in 1959: *7* – RSFSR, *8* – other USSR republics and foreign States, *9* – ASSR, krais, autonomous oblasts, oblasts and autonomous okrugs.

territorial massif of the "Russian" oblasts and krais, and 2) national regions where the EMI index usually exceeds 0.4 (with the exception of the "Russian" Crimean, Orenburg and Magadan oblasts with the EMI index higher than 0.4 and, on the other hand, Khakass and Jewish Autonomous Oblasts with the EMI index below 0.4).

On the edge of the "Russian megacore", it is possible to identify an additional component, transitional ethnocontact zones [20], with the EMI varying from 0.2 to 0.4. In 1959, this "megacore" included two oblasts of the North-West (Murmansk and Kaliningrad oblasts), and most of the oblasts of the Ural-Volga region, Siberia and the Far East (except for Kurgan, Novosibirsk and Chita oblasts and Altai krai). According to the EMI, this category also included the country's two largest cities: Moscow and Leningrad.

Fig. 2 shows how the EMI index changed in the regions of Russia for the entire period under investigation (from 1959 to 2010). In the first place, there is a clearly pronounced increase in EMI in the central part of the "Russian megacore", mostly in the regions surrounding the capital city. The EMI index also increased substantially in the southern part of the "megacore" (especially in Stavropol krai). A slight increase in EMI was observed in some national autonomies and in the "Russian" regions of Siberia and the Far East (the Sakha (Yakutia" Republic, the Republic of Buryatia, the Altai Republic, Chukotka and Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrugs, Zabaikalskii krai, and Tyumen oblast).

In the overwhelming majority of the national autonomies in the European part of the country as well as of the "Russian" regions in the Asian part, the EMI index decreased. While an incre1ase in EMI is most often explained by the migration inflow of the non-Russian population to traditional "Russian" regions, a decrease in EMI was due to a number of factors to be considered below. In Moscow and Leningrad (St. Petersburg), the ethnic mosaic pattern from 1959 to 2010 decreased markedly, i. e. at that time it had the function of a melting pot in the very heart of the "Russian megacore", intensely assimilating the non-Russian migrants arriving there. However, S.G. Safronov [15] cast doubt about the results of the 2010 census claiming that they indicate incomplete coverage of the actual population of Moscow by the census. Nevertheless, the official results of the 2010 census refute an increase in heterogenization of the population of the country's major cities as shown by the 2002 census.

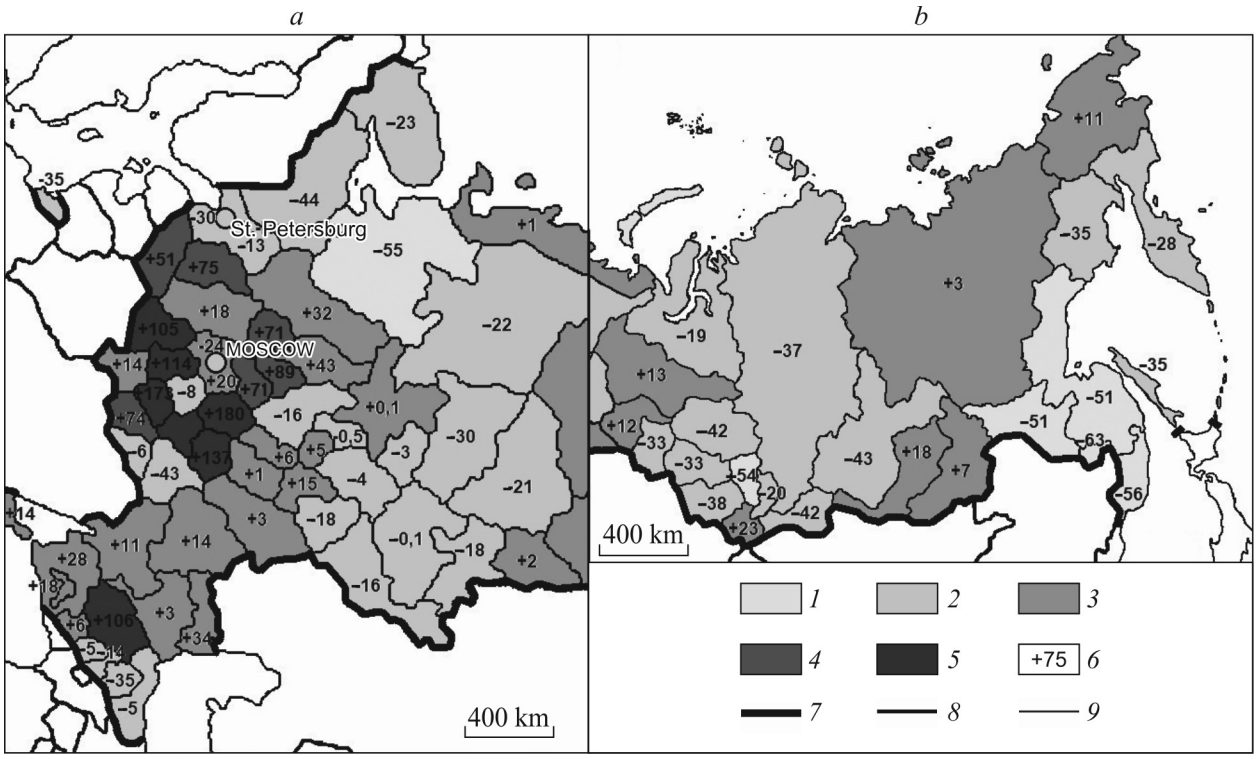

Fig. 2. Changes of the ethnic mosaic index for regions of Russia from 1959 to 2010 (in the Republic of Crimea: from 1959 to 2014). Decrease of the value of ethnic mosaic index, %: *1* – over 50 (by more than a factor of 1.5), *2* – less than 50 (by a factor of up to 1.5). Increase of the value of ethnic mosaic index, %: *3* – up to 50 (by a factor of up to 1.5), *4* – from 50 to 100 (from a factor of 1.5 to 2), *5* – over 100 (by a factor of more than 2). *6* – dynamics of the ethnic mosaic index from 1959 to 2010 (in the Republic of Crimea: from 1989 to 2014). Modern borders: *7* – Russian Federation, *8* – foreign States, *9* – subjects of the Russian Federation.

Fig. 3 presents the EMI dynamics for the regions of Russia from 1959 to 1989. An analysis of the schematic map reveals that the EMI dynamics of the country's regions for the entire period of under investigation was largely caused precisely by the ethnic processes occurring in the late-soviet era. In general, from 1959 to 1989, the EMI index of Russia increased from 0.3044 to 0.3328 (the share of Russians decreased from 83.3 to 81.5%), and the proportion of the regions that experienced an increase in EMI at that time constituted 55% of all regions of the RSFSR.

Compared to the EMI dynamics in late-soviet times, changes in the ethnic mosaic pattern of the subjects of the Russian Federation during the post-soviet period is fundamentally different. From 1989 to 2010, the EMI index increased from 0.3328 to 0.3436 (the share of Russians decreased to 80.9%). Furthermore, most of the country's regions (71%) experienced a decrease in the ethnic patterns rather than an increase (Fig. 4).

In post-soviet times, an increase in EMI was observed mainly in the very heart of the "Russian megacore', and this area decreased greatly (in fact, to the size of the Moscow region) against the previous period. The regions located at larger distances from the capital city began to rapidly do away with the polyethnic trend that emerged in the preceding period. To ease the analysis of the ongoing ethnic processes, the table is presented, where the regions of Russia are distributed in groups according to the EMI dynamics during the late-soviet and post-soviet periods.

Group 1 includes regions of Russia that experienced the largest growth in EMI during the late-soviet period. They are represented largely by territories comprising the heart of the "Russian megacore", except for two "Russian" North Caucasus regions: Stavropol and Krasnodar krais. A hypertrophied increased in the mosaic pattern of these regions in soviet times is explained by the initially high share of the Russian population and, hence, by an extremely low EMI. The EMI dynamics in them changed slightly during the post-soviet period. These regions in soviet times experienced a significant inflow of the Ukrainian and Belarusian population; the post-soviet period, however, showed a decline in their share (because of their assimilation and a partial return to their homeland).

Subgroup 1A, including regions with the initially highest share of Russians (98% or higher) retained a slight increase in EMI during the post-soviet period as well. This same subgroup involved Stavropol krai with a similar EMI dynamics but with a relatively

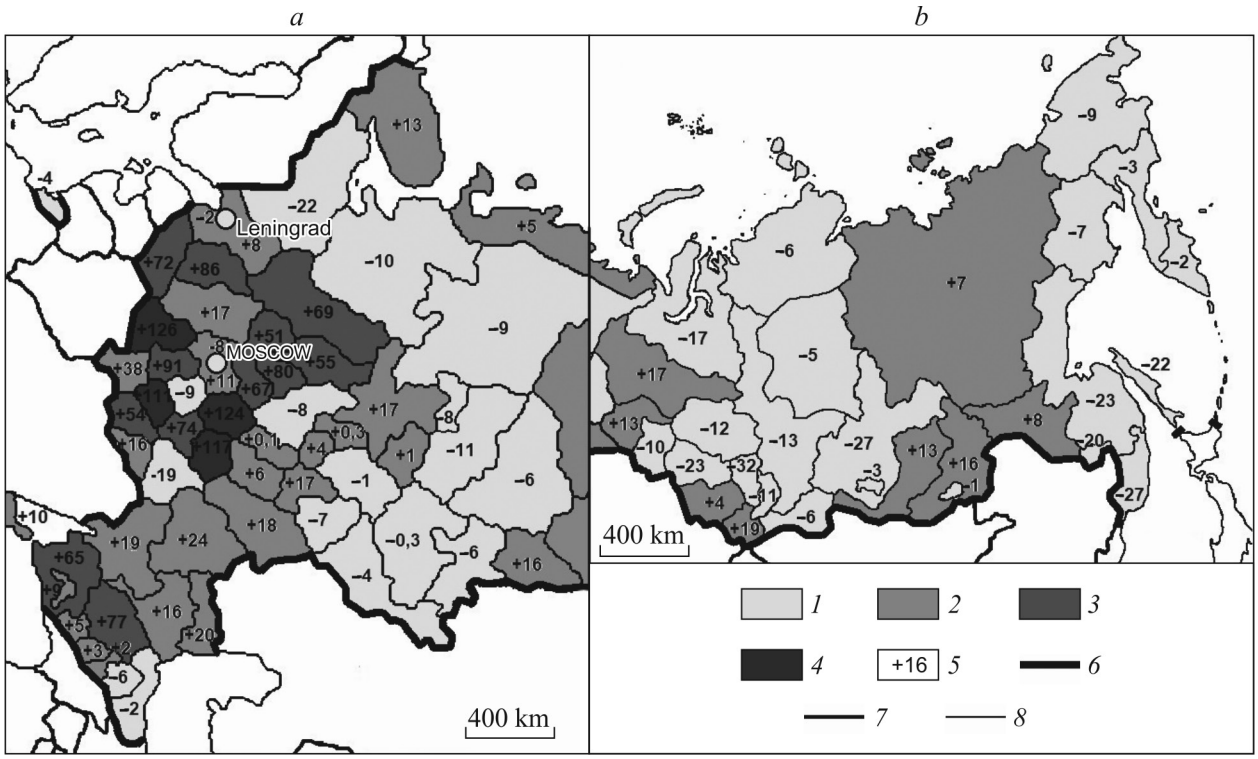

Fig. 3. Changes of the ethnic mosaic index for regions of Russia from 1959 to 1989.
1 – decrease of the value of ethnic mosaic index. Increase of the value of ethnic mosaic index, %: *2* – up to 50 (by a factor of up to 1.5), *3* – from 50 to 100 (from a factor of 1.5 to 2), *4* – over 100 (by a factor of more than 2). *5* – dynamics of the ethnic mosaic index from 1959 to 1989. Borders in 1989: *6* – RSFSR, *7* – other USSR republics and foreign States, *8* – ASSR, krais, autonomous oblasts, oblasts and autonomous okrugs.

low share of Russians in 1959 (91.3%). An increase in EMI in these regions during the post-soviet period was maintained due to the inflow of non-Russian migrants (Armenians, Azerbaijani, and others) which completely compensated for the decrease in the share of the Ukrainian and Belarusian population. Before 2010, the share of Russians in these regions decreased to 93–97% (and to 80.1% in Stavropol krai).

Subgroup 1B encompassed two oblasts: Ivanovo and Vladimir oblasts, where the share of the Russian population in post-soviet times remained almost unchanged (95–96%).

Subgroup 1C is composed of five oblasts of the Nonblack Soil Zone (with the share of Russians making up 97–98% in 1959) and Krasnodar krai (91.3% in 1959). In these regions in the post-Soviet period, the monoethnicity was increasing, i. e. the share of the Russian population began to increase again. The inflow of non-Russian migrants was not able to compensate for the decrease in the share of the Ukrainian and Belarusian population. The share of Russians in these regions in 2010 constituted 95–97% (88.3% in Krasnodar krai).

Group 2 includes the regions of Russia that experienced the highest increase in EMI in the late-soviet period. The regions with an increase in EMI during the post-soviet period are included in subgroup 2A. That growth was due to an increase in the share of the titular ethnoses in the Republic of Adygea and the Karachai-Cherkess Republic, he Kazakhs in Astrakhan oblast, and the non-Russian migrants in Tver and Moscow oblasts. The last two regions could also be included in group 1 but already in 1959 they showed a low share of the Russian population (94–94.5%, including due to the Tver Karelians in Kalinin oblast).

A significant part of subgroup 2B is composed of the national autonomies (republics) with a relatively high share of the Russian population but with a marked decrease in this share and an increase in the proportion of the titular ethnoses throughout the entire period being analyzed. The exception is the Chuvash Republic where, with a relatively high share of the titular ethnos, there was taking place a minor increase in the proportion of Russians. The share of Tatars was increasing in Penza, Ulyanovsk and Tyumen oblast over the course of the entire period. Nevertheless, the share of Russians increased, i. e. there occurred a slight decline in EMI, in these three "Russian" regions and in Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug in the post-Soviet period.

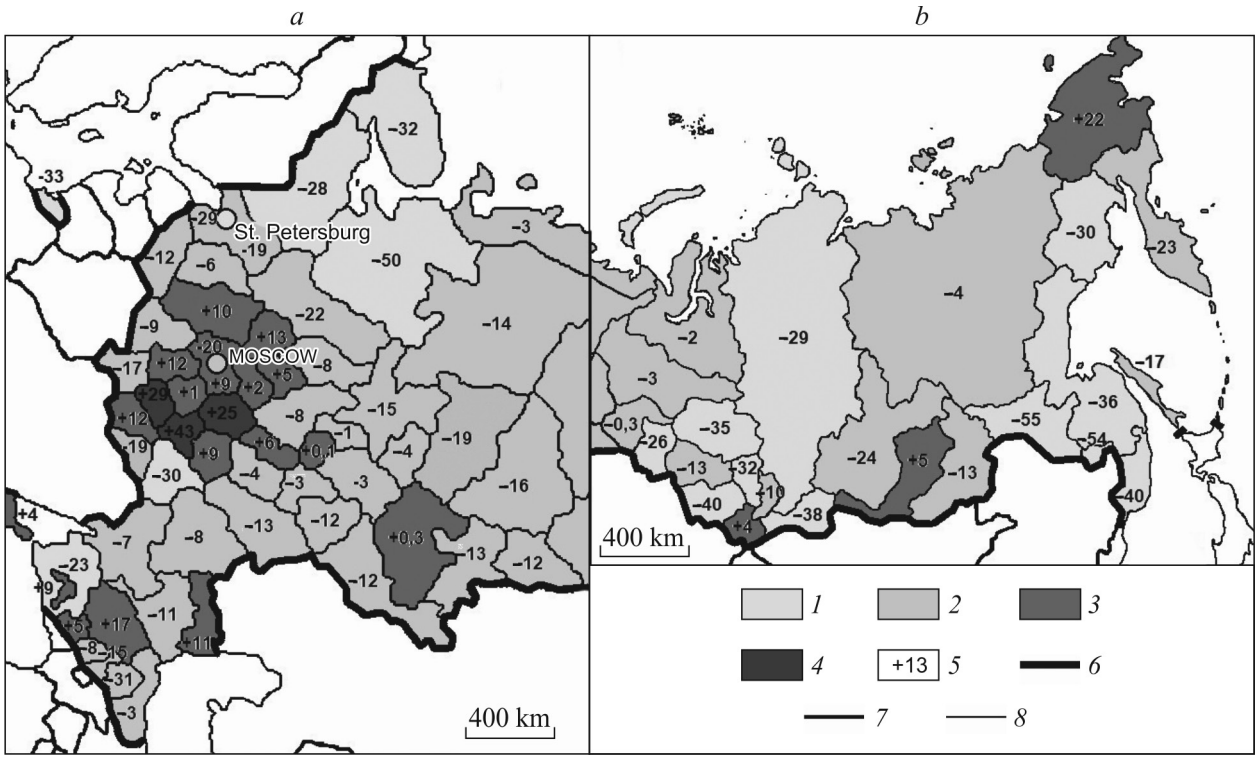

Fig. 4. Changes of the ethnic mosaic index for regions of Russia from 1989 to 2010 (in the Republic of Crimea – from 1989 to 2014) Decrease of the value of ethnic mosaic index, %: *1* – 25 and higher, *2* – less than 25. Increase of the value of ethnic mosaic index, %: *3* – up to 25, *4* – 25 and higher. *5* – Dynamics of the ethnic mosaic index from 1989 to 2010 (in the Republic of Crimea: from 1989 to 2014). Modern borders: *6* – Russian Federation, *7* – foreign States, *8* – subjects of the Russian Federation (exception: the Chechen Republic and the Republic of Ingooshetia which are considered within the common boundaries).

Subgroups 2C and 2D include the "Russian" regions (except for the Republic of Kalmykia) that lie mainly in the southern part of the country and experienced a decrease in the share of Russians in late-soviet times and its increase in the post-soviet period. They differ from group 1 by a relatively low share of Russians in 1959 (88–97%) and an almost complete return to this same value in 2010 (or a significant growth of the share of Russians in subgroup 2D, i. e. in Amur and Murmansk oblasts). The sole exception in this group is the Republic of Kalmykia where the share of the titular ethnos was increasing with a proportionate decrease in the share of Russians.

Group 3 covers mainly national autonomies which, because of the initially high polyethnicity, experienced only some minor fluctuations of the EMI index for the entire period used in the analysis. In the first place, this characterizes subgroups 3A and 3B, and partly subgroup 3C. In almost all republics that were included in this group, the share of the Russian population was decreasing with an increase in the proportion of the titular ethnoses. This was associated with the natural growth of the titular population of the republics as well as with the migration attraction of the titular ethnoses to within the republics [15]. The sole exception was provided by the Udmurt Republic where the reverse process was taking place: the share of the Russian population was increasing with a decrease in the proportion of the titular ethnos.

The "Russian" regions in group 3 (Orenburg oblast in subgroup 3C, and Altai krai, Kaliningrad oblast and St. Petersburg in subgroup 3D) experienced a constant growth of the share of the Russian population (primarily due to the assimilation processes) over the course of the entire period and, especially, during the soviet period, which makes their dynamics similar to the regions of group 4.

Group 4 includes mostly "Russian" regions or national autonomies with a very high share of the Russian population. The first exception is provided by Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (subgroup 4A) where the share of Russians was increasing till 1989 and then began to decrease because of a significant migration outflow of the Russian population. In the regions of subgroup 4B, an increase in the share of Russians in the late-soviet period was followed by a stabilization of their proportion in the post-soviet period. A stable growth of the share of the Russian population is characteristic for the regions forming part of subgroups 4C and 4D. Such a characteristic

Classification of regions of Russia according to the dynamics of the ethnic mosaic index for 1959–1989 and 1989–2010

Changes of ethnic mosaic index from 1989 to 2010	Changes of the ethnic mosaic index from 1959 to 1989 г.			
	1. Most significant growth (by more than a factor of 1.5)	2. Significant growth (from 5% to a factor of 1.5)	3. Least significant changes (from –5 to 5%)	4. Significant decrease (by more than 5%)
A. Significant growth (by more than 5%)	Stavropol krai (30), Kaluga (44), Kursk (49), Lipetsk (51), Orel (60), Ryazan (64), Tambov (70) and Yaroslavl (77) oblasts	**Republic of Adygea** (1) and **Karachai-Cherkess Republic** (9); Astrakhan (34), Moscow (53) and Tver (71) oblasts	**Mari El Republic** (13)	**Chukotka Autonomous Okrug** (84)
B. Least significant changes (from –5 to 5%)	Vladimir (37) and Ivanovo (41) oblasts	**Altai Republic** (2), **Buryatia** (4), **Crimea** (12) and city of Sevastopol (80), **Sakha (Yakutia)** (15), **Chuvashia** (22); Penza (61), Tyumen (74), Ulyanovsk (75) oblasts; **Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Yugra** (83)	**Republic of Bashkortostan** (3), **Dagestan** (5), **Ingooshetia** (6) **and Chechen Republic** (21) **(within the boundaries of Checheno-Ingoosh ASSR)**, **North Ossetia – Alania** (16), **Tatarstan** (17), **Udmurtia** (19); **Nenets Autonomous Okrug** (82)	Tula oblast (73); **Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug** (85)
C. Significant decrease (from 5 to 25%)	Krasnodar krai (26), Vologda (39), Kostromая (47), Novgorod (56), Pskov (62) and Smolensk (69) oblasts	**Republic of Kalmykia** (8); *Zabaikalskii krai* (24); Belgorod (35), Bryansk (36), Volgograd (38), Kirov (46), Kurgan (48), Leningrad (50), Rostov (63) and Saratov (66) oblasts	**Kabardino-Balkar Republic** (7), **Republic of Mordovia** (14); Orenburg oblast (59)	**Komi Republic** (11), **Republic of Khakassia** (20); *Kamchatka krai* (25), *Perm krai* (28)*; Irkutsk oblast* (42); Nizhnii Novgorod (55), Novosibirsk (57), Samara (65), Sakhalin (67), Sverdlovsk (68) and Chelyabinsk (76) oblasts; city of Moscow (78)
D. Largest decrease (by more than 25%)		Amur (32) and Murmansk (54) oblasts	Altai krai (23), Kaliningrad oblast (43), city of St. Petersburg (79)	**Republic of Karelia** (10), **Tyva Republic(Tuva)** (18); *Krasnoyarsk krai* (27); Primorskii krai (29), Khabarovsk krai (31); Arkhangelsk (33), Voronezh (40), Kemerovo (45), Magadan (52), Omsk (58) and Tomsk (72) oblasts; **Jewish Autonomous Oblast** (81)

Note. Current names of subjects of the Russian Federation are used. Bold indicates national autonomies, and subjects of RF which incorporated autonomous okrugs in the post-Soviet period are shown in italics. Numbering in brackets corresponds to Fig. 1.

also applies for national autonomies: the Republic of Khakassia, the Komi Republic and the Republic of Karelia. The proportion of the titular ethnoses in these republics in 2010 made up 12.5, 23.7 and 7.4%, respectively.

On the whole, subgroups 4C and 4D differ by the growth rates of monoethnicity, and they are highest in subgroup 4D. The regions in these subgroups mostly lie in the eastern part of European Russia, on Ural, in Siberia, and in the Far East. In post-Soviet times

these regions were experiencing the largest migration outflow of the population toward the center of the "Russian megacore" or even to other countries. The share of Ukrainians, Belarusians, Jews and Tatars was diminishing most intensely in these regions. The outflow was also accompanied by an intense assimilation of the non-Russian population remaining there. A similar ethnic dynamics was also shown by Moscow. In this case, the capital city looks like a funnel attracting the population from the entire territory of the country and the near abroad and, at the same time, as a melting pot where the non-Russian population is intensely assimilated.

There is one further exception in subgroup 4D, Tyva Republic, which entered this category also because of an increase in monoethnicity, and not due to an increase in the share of the Russian population but due to its gradual transformation to a region with an obvious predominance of a titular ethnicity (57% in 1959 and 82% in 2010).

CONCLUSIONS

In the period between the 1959 and 2010 censuses the share of Russians in the population of the Russian Federation decreased from 83.3 to 80.9% and, accordingly, the EMI slightly increased throughout the entire country. However, the dynamics of this index at the level of Russia's regions did not always follow this trend. In the late Soviet era (between the 1959 and 1989 censuses), an increase in polyethnicity encompassed 55% of the regions of the RSFSR. And they were largely "Russian" regions that experienced the inflow of immigrants from Ukraine and Belarus and, to a lesser extent, from the other union republics and from the more demographically successful national autonomies of Russia. Furthermore, most of the autonomous republics already then showed a tendency for an increase in the share of the population of a titular ethnicity.

In the post-soviet period (according to the outcome of the 1989 and 2010 censuses), in spite of a decrease in the share of the Russian population going on in Russia, most of the country's regions (71%) continued along the path of an increase in monoethnicity. This category included many regions of the "Russian megacore" (not only in the European part but also in the Asian part of the country) where the markedly reduced share of the Ukrainian and Belarusian population was never compensated by the inflow of migrants from the republics of the North Caucasus and the near abroad countries. Furthermore, a course to monoethnicity was also set by most of the ethnic autonomies of Russia. They showed a steady increase in the share of titular ethnoses, which is only partly explained by the difference in the natural increase. An important factor also implies drawing a relevant ethnos within the boundaries of the autonomy accompanied by the outflow of the Russian population. An increase in the specific weight of Russians was observed only in a number of autonomous okrugs.

Only a few regions circling Moscow remained of the previously vast territorial massif in the center of the European part of the country in the post-soviet period. Being unsuccessful demographically, they most actively received non-Russian migrants of the new wave. In the midst of these regions, the capital city itself served as a melting pot with an intense process of assimilating non-Russian migrants of the Soviet and post-Soviet periods.

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