

New Factors of Population Ethnic Structure Formation

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Abstract

The most significant changes in the population ethnic structure of Russia in the recent decades are the results of significant fertility decline, scale-down of ethnic emigration, and growing immigration of other peoples. Up to the present the main sources of ethnic structure formation were the demographic ones. They include differentiation of fertility and mortality rates by ethnicity, as well as diverse direction and age-sex profiles of migration. Russia is a multiethnic country with the 80-per-cent majority of the Russians. The total number of ethnicities accounted in the 2002 census exceeds 190. The following five parts may be distinguished among them: 1) Bashkirs, Tatars, Chechens, Mordvins, Chuvashs, and other peoples living on the territory of Russia during the centuries, many of them live compactly in the national republics: Dagestan, Tuva, etc.; 2) peoples of the ex-USSR countries: Ukrainians, Tadjiks, Azerbaijanians, etc.; 3) growing group of peoples intensively migrating to Russia: Turks, Vietnamese, Chinese, etc.; 4) the Germans and Jews; 5) a rather small part of ethnicities with the European origin: Serbs, Bulgarians, etc. Peoples and ethnic groups in Russia significantly vary by the demographic behavior. However in the era of demographic processes convergence in various ethnic groups and population replacement approaching to the zero rate quite new factors come to action. They may change both the direction and the degree of shifts of the population ethnic composition. The paper deals with the processes on the borders between the ethnicities – mixed marriages and assimilation. The attempts are made to estimate the measures of them – prevalence, sex asymmetry, ethnic preferences. The sources of this study are population censuses in the USSR and Russia, the 1994 microcensus, annual and monthly statistics of Rosstat (Federal agency of state statistics).

1. Data and methods

Statistical data as a result of census tabulation were used as the main source on the ethnic structure of the population of the Russian Federation. For more detailed analysis of some other processes defining the changes in the composition of the population were utilized

the database of the 1994 microcensus as well as current vital and migration statistics. Some other sources providing the analysis of trends in Russia's population were used.

The first question: Where can be found the census data on ethnic composition? The basic collection is in [Population of Russia within 100 years, 1998]. The previous 2002 census was completely published in 14-volume books and on the official Internet site <http://www.perepis2002.ru>. The last 2010 census is not completely processed yet. Currently only its preliminary results are published at http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/perepis_itogi2106.htm. The main sources are available in the electronic format on the web at the pages of demographic newspaper Demoscope Weekly (<http://demoscope.ru>). A special section named Annex contains different statistical indicators for Russia, its regions, industrially developed countries of the world, as well as CIS countries in various formats (HTML, XLS, maps, graphs, etc.). Significant part of this section includes USSR and Russia censuses. The ethnic structure there is given for the period covering more than 100 years. During the last several years the data on ethnic composition remains one of the most popular pages interesting for dozens of visitors a day.

What are the main factors of changes in the ethnic composition? From the general point of view, some of them are rather clear and evident, including ethnic differentiation of fertility and mortality, territorial heterogeneity of distribution of various ethnicities. Another reason – different participation of peoples of Russia in migration processes. However some components remain blind spots in the research of trends in ethnic structure. One of them is assimilation. According to [Barbara A. Anderson and Brian D. Silver. Demographic Sources of the Changing Ethnic Composition of the Soviet Union / *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Dec., 1989), pp. 609-656, 1989: 611] "no official data or estimates of assimilation have been published in the USSR, nor have Soviet researchers published such estimates. Soviet censuses gather information on the self-identified nationality of the population on the census date but do not ask whether individuals previously identified themselves with a different nationality or whether their parents belong to another nationality." This remains valid for the 2002 census too. However some very interesting results may be obtained on assimilation basing on the 1994 microcensus individual database.

2. Current ethnic composition of Russia's population

The main sources for analysis of ethnic structure are the censuses conducted in the USSR in the 20 century and in Russia in 2002. These data are presented in Table 1. The list

of peoples included is restricted to those accounted both in 1970 and 2002, sized at least 10 thousand of persons in the last one.

Table 1. Ethnic composition of population in Russia according to the censuses, thousands.

Ethnicity	Year						
	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979	1989	2002
All population	100623	108262	117534	130079	137410	147022	145167
Abasins	14	15	19	25	29	33	38
Abkhasians	0.1	0.6	1.4	2.4	4.1	7.2	11
Adigeys	65	86	79	98	107	123	129
Afghans	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.9	10
Aguls	7.7	...	6.5	8.8	12	18	28
Altaians	44	46	45	55	59	68	67
Arabs	1	0.1	0.6	2.6	2.3	2.7	11
Armenians	195	205	256	299	365	532	1130
Assyrians	2.8	7.4	7.6	8.1	8.7	9.6	14
Avarlar	178	236	250	362	438	544	814
Azerbaijanians	28	43	71	96	152	336	622
Balkars	33	42	35	53	62	78	108
Bashkirs	712	825	954	1181	1291	1345	1673
Belorussians	638	452	844	964	1052	1206	808
Bulgarians	19	8.3	25	27	25	33	32
Buryats	237	221	252	313	350	417	445
Chechens	318	400	261	572	712	899	1360
Cherkes	29	38	45	51	61
Chinese	9.1	22	19	8	5.7	5.2	35
Chukchis	12	14	12	14	14	15	16
Chuvashs	1115	1346	1436	1637	1690	1774	1637
Darghins	126	152	153	224	280	353	510
Estonians	150	130	79	63	56	46	28
Evenks	39	30	24	25	27	30	36
Evens	2	9.7	9	12	12	17	19
Finns	134	139	72	62	56	47	34
Gagauz	0.8	...	3	3.7	4.2	10	12
Georgians	21	44	58	69	89	131	198
Germans	806	811	820	762	791	842	597
Greeks	51	66	47	58	70	92	98
Ingushs	72	91	56	137	166	215	413
Jews	567	891	855	792	692	537	230
Kabardinians	140	161	201	277	319	386	520
Kalmyks	132	130	101	131	140	166	174
Karachays	55	74	71	107	126	150	192
Karelians	248	250	164	141	133	125	93
Kazakhhs	3852	356	382	478	518	636	654
Khakasians	46	52	56	65	69	79	76
Khanty	22	18	19	21	21	22	29
Komi-Permyaks	149	...	143	150	146	147	125
Komis	226	415	283	315	320	336	293
Koreans	87	11	91	101	98	107	149
Koumyks	95	110	133	187	226	277	422
Kurds	0.2	0.4	0.9	1	1.6	4.7	20
Kyrgyz	672	6.3	4.7	9.1	15	42	32

Laks	40	54	58	79	91	106	157
Latgalians	117	105	75	60	67	47	29
Lezghins	93	100	114	170	203	257	412
Lithuanians	27	21	109	77	67	70	46
Mansis	5.8	6.3	6.3	7.6	7.4	8.3	11
Maris	428	476	498	581	600	644	604
Moldavians	21	22	62	88	102	173	172
Mordvins	1335	1375	1211	1177	1111	1073	843
Nanais	5.9	8.4	7.9	9.9	10	12	12
Nenets	18	25	23	28	29	34	41
Nogais	36	36	38	51	59	74	91
Ossetians	157	196	248	313	352	402	515
peoples of the North	156	145	145	168	170	199	229
Poles	198	142	118	107	100	95	73
Roma	41	59	72	98	121	153	183
Russians	74072	89740	97864	107748	113522	119866	115889
Rutuls	10	...	6.7	12	15	20	30
Sakhas	241	242	233	295	327	380	444
Shors	13	16	15	16	15	16	14
Tabasarans	32	33	34	54	73	94	132
Tadjiks	10	3.3	7	14	18	38	120
Tatars	3241	3683	4074	4755	5006	5522	5558
Tsakhurs	3.5	...	4.4	4.7	4.8	6.5	10
Turkmens	18	13	12	20	23	40	33
Turks	2.1	2.7	1.4	1.6	3.6	9.9	92
Tuvinians	0.2	0.8	100	139	165	206	243
Udmourts	514	600	616	678	686	715	637
Ukrainians	7873	3204	3359	3346	3658	4363	2943
Uzbeks	325	16	30	62	72	127	123
Vietnamese	0.8	6.3	0.7	2.1	26

Sources: Население России за 100 лет (1897-1997): Статистический сборник. Госкомстат России. Москва, Госкомстат РФ, 1998; Итоги Всероссийской переписи населения 2002 года в 14 томах. Том 4 - "Национальный состав и владение языками, гражданство" Москва, ИИЦ "Статистика России", 2004.

3. Russians and 5 groups of ethnicities

Russia is a multiethnic country the majority of which are the Russians. They are currently about 80 per cent, but gradually depopulating. The percentage of the Russians is now by 3.4 less than 40 years ago.

The total number of ethnicities accounted in the 2002 census exceeds 190. Currently seven peoples have population size more than one million: Russians, Tatars, Ukrainians, Bashkirs, Chuvashs, Chechens, and Armenians.

Various ethnic groups may significantly differ by their history, factors and trends of formation. Since it is rather wasteful to examine each of the peoples in the present Russia, it is reasonable to distinguish the following five blocks:

The first part is the peoples who live during centuries on the territory of Russia: Bashkirs, Mordvins, Tatars, Chechens, Chuvashs, Lezghins, Darghins, Avarlar, Koumyks,

Kabardinians, Tuvinians. This list is not full and it encloses also many other ethnicities. Many of these live rather compactly, form their national republics or other territorial units at the level of subject of the Russian Federation. This is so called titular ethnos and it gives the name of its territory: Republic of Tuva, Sakha (Yakutiya), Maryi El, Chuvashia, Karelia, etc. Some of them are often referred to as the Peoples of the North. Now 18 of them total 229 thousand. The most populated (more than 10 thousand) are: Nenets, Evenks, Khanty, Evens, Chukchis, Shors, Nanais, and Mansis.

The second part is the peoples of the former USSR republics: Ukrainians, Armenians, Belorussians, Kazakhs, Azerbaijanians, Georgians, Moldavians, Uzbeks, Tadjiks, Lithuanians, Turkmen, Kyrgyz, Letts, Abkhasians, Karakalpaks, Gagauz. These peoples total 7 million.

Group 3 is a gradually growing group of peoples intensively migrating to Russia who live outside the former USSR: Vietnamese, Chinese, Turks, Kurds, Afghans, Arabs. The size of these ethnicities is relatively small totaling about 200 thousand. However the rate of growth of them is very high. Thus the percentage of Turks in 2002 was 50-fold compared with 1970, Chinese – by four times.

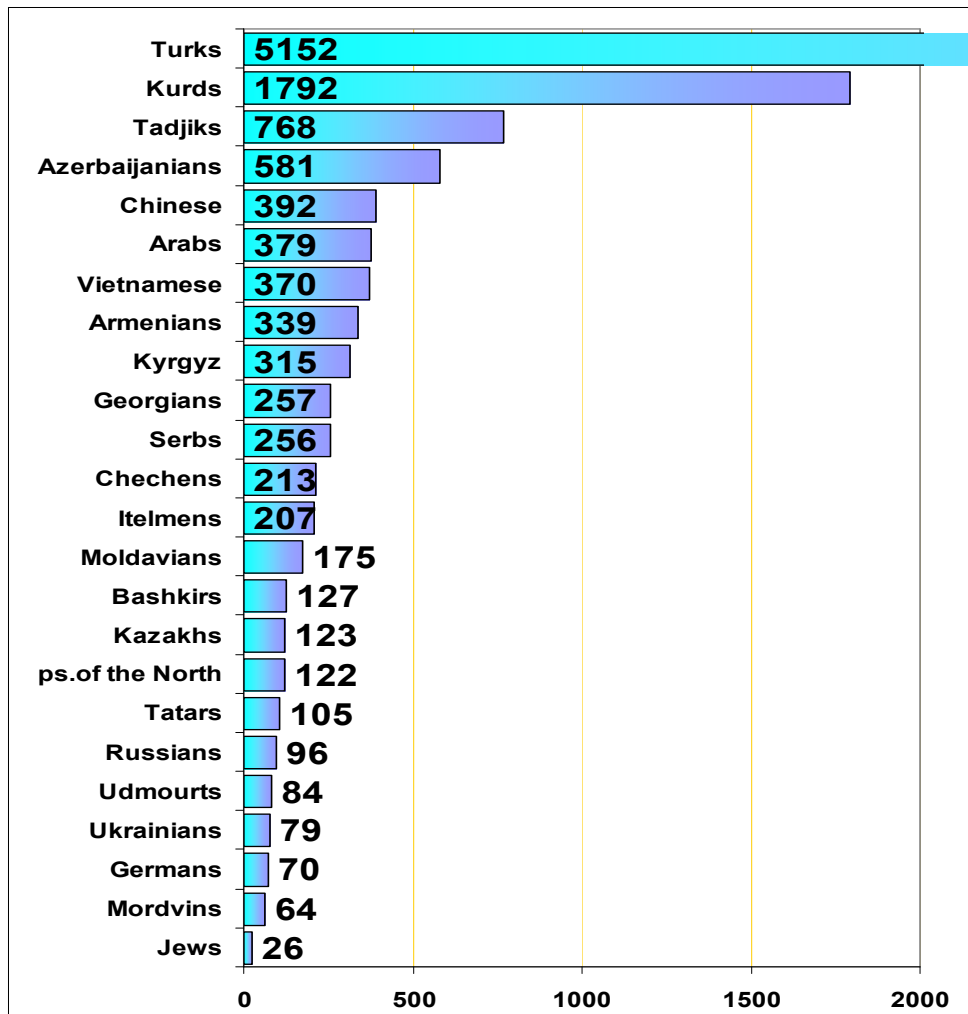
Group 4 is the Germans and Jews living in Russia for a long time. The size of each of these ethnicities was more than 800 thousand in 1939 and 1959. However due to the significant emigration to their ethnic origin at the end of the 20 century, their number became much less. The most significant decrease took place for the Jews. Compared with 1970 they are now about a quarter. These two nations show significant scale-down in the last several years of migration to their ethnic origin.

Group 5. It is a rather small part of ethnicities with the European origin: Serbs, Croatians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Spaniards, Poles, Hungarians, Finns, Czechs, Austrians. They are currently about 160 thousand and gradually depopulating.

4. The most significant changes

What are the most significant changes in the ethnic composition in the recent decades? Proportion of ethnic groups within the 32-year period from 1970 to 2002 is shown on Figure 1. It should be mentioned that eleven first places include only the nations that live outside Russia (Turks, Kurds, Tadjiks, Azerbadjanians, Chinese, Arabs, Vietnamese, Armenians, Kyrgyz, Georgians, Serbs). Of this list only five belong to the peoples of the former USSR.

Figure 1. Change in the proportion of ethnic groups between 1970 and 2002, per cent.



5. Assimilation

No regular data and estimates are available on the process of assimilation now. Some attempts to study this process were initiated by Andrei Volkov with the study of ethnically mixed families. The following table may be used as an illustration of opportunities appearing at utilizing the individual data from the 1994 microcensus. It covers a group of four ethnic groups in three regions located almost in the Russia's center: republic of Bashkortostan, Orenburg and Chelyabinsk regions.

Table 2. Ethnically mixed marital pairs with children by ethnicity of children. 1994 microcensus. Bashkortostan, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk regions, 4 ethnicities.

Combination of husband's and wife's ethnicity *	All marital pairs		Including marital pairs in which							
			all children have equal ethnicity						Children have various or another ethnicity	
			Total		Father's		Mother's			
	pairs	their children	pairs	their children	pairs	their children	pairs	their children	pairs	their children
All marital pairs	16760	28885	15740	26555	10007	17116	5733	9439	1020	2330
Of them combining:										
A and B	633	1092	583	975	526	893	57	82	50	117
B and A	544	953	493	828	262	441	231	387	51	125
Total (Russians and Bashkirs)	1177	2045	1076	1803	788	1334	288	469	101	242
A and C	440	812	431	791	424	779	7	12	9	21
C and A	532	911	515	870	37	64	478	806	17	41
Total (Russians and Mordovians)	972	1723	946	1661	461	843	485	818	26	62
A and D	1663	2828	1577	2616	1460	2447	117	169	86	212
D and A	1629	2707	1527	2467	645	1041	882	1426	102	240
Total (Russians and Tatars)	3292	5535	3104	5083	2105	3488	999	1595	188	452
B and C	10	15	6	8	6	8	0	0	4	7
C and B	11	21	5	7	2	3	3	4	6	14
Total (Bashkirs and Mordovians)	21	36	11	15	8	11	3	4	10	21
B and D	1991	3566	1873	3298	1333	2378	540	920	118	268
D and B	1988	3568	1863	3280	1433	2543	430	737	125	288
Total (Bashkirs and Tatars)	3979	7134	3736	6578	2766	4921	970	1657	243	556
C and D	30	58	22	44	16	30	6	14	8	14
D and C	28	51	21	36	16	28	5	8	7	15
Total (Mordovians and Tatars)	58	109	43	80	32	58	11	22	15	29

*) A - Russians, B - Bashkirs, C - Mordovians, Mokshas, Erzyas, D - Tatars

One can notice that in Russian-Bashkir (husband-wife) mixed families the number of Russian children with Russian father is 11-fold more compared with Bashkir children. However in Bashkir-Russian families these numbers as well as the numbers of such marital pairs are rather close to each other. Contrary, in case of Tatar-Bashkir mixed families the choice of ethnicity of children may be called more close not to ethno-oriented but to father-oriented. Almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of these families have children having father's ethnic membership.

Table 3 covers another group of four ethnicities in Russia.

Table 3. Ethnically mixed marital pairs with children by ethnicity of children. 1994 microcensus. Russia, 4 ethnicities.

Combination of husband's and wife's ethnicity *	All marital pairs		Including marital pairs in which							
			all children have equal ethnicity						Children have various or another ethnicity	
			Total		Father's		Mother's			
	pairs	their children	pairs	their children	pairs	their children	pairs	their children	pairs	their children
A and B	20841	33087	19360	30509	874	1150	93	92	4	3
B and A	26422	41608	2748	3993	22897	35819	10	10	87	86
Total (Russians and Ukrainians)	47263	74695	22108	34502	23771	36969	47	46	50	49

A and C	9490	15837	8384	13846	681	968	88	87	7	6
C and A	9521	15759	2685	4303	6333	10281	28	27	67	65
Total (Russians and Tatars)	19011	31596	11069	18149	7014	11249	58	57	37	36
A and D	904	1409	828	1261	51	77	92	89	6	5
D and A	2643	4273	1058	1734	1457	2230	40	41	55	52
Total (Russians and Armenians)	3547	5682	1886	2995	1508	2307	53	53	43	41
B and C	412	693	212	331	44	66	51	48	11	10
C and B	388	636	183	284	64	88	47	45	16	14
Total (Ukrainians and Tatars)	800	1329	395	615	108	154	49	46	14	12
B and D	46	71	29	47	6	8	63	66	13	11
D and B	131	197	83	122	19	25	63	62	15	13
Total (Ukrainians and Armenians)	177	268	112	169	25	33	63	63	14	12
C and D	19	29	10	13	4	6	53	45	21	21
D and C	45	72	33	50	2	2	73	69	4	3
Total (Tatars and Armenians)	64	101	43	63	6	8	67	62	9	8

*) A - Russians, B - Ukrainians, C - Tatars, D - Armenians

It is also well seen from the Table 3 the different proportions of men and women of various ethnicities in formation of mixed families. In order to measure the propensity to enter a mixed marriage for males and females the next Table 4 is displayed.

**Table 4. Marital pairs of various ethnicities by ethnic homogeneity.
Russia, 1994 microcensus.**

Ethnicity	Marital pairs, total	Including the number of marital pairs in which are of a given ethnicity, per cent			
		Both spouses	Only one of the spouses	Including:	
				Only husband	Only wife
Uzbeks	1355	7.9	92.1	65.5	26.6
Georgians	2630	18.3	81.7	64.2	17.5
Azerbaijanians	4648	36.6	63.4	54.2	9.2
Jews	8460	29.5	70.5	49.1	21.5
Ukrainians	94952	13.9	86.1	48.3	37.8
Germans	18624	20.8	79.2	43.9	35.3
Mordovians	14884	25.7	74.3	37.8	36.5
Armenians	11647	49.2	50.8	37.4	13.4
Bashkirs	21816	50.5	49.5	24.5	25.0
Chuvashs	27779	55.1	44.9	21.8	23.2
Tatars	85988	57.9	42.1	21.1	21.0
Kazakhs	7435	66.9	33.1	19.8	13.4
Ossetians	5693	72.3	27.7	18.2	9.5
Yakuts	4556	79.9	20.1	9.4	10.7
Ps of Dagestan	20054	88.3	11.7	8.6	3.1
Russians	1539359	86.5	13.5	5.9	7.6
Tuvinians	1896	92.8	7.2	2.8	4.4

Total 1749906

Ethnicities are placed in descending order of percentage of mixed marital pairs in which only husband has a given ethnicity

Those ethnicities located at the first and the last places have opposite ratios of mono- and multiethnic marital pairs (1:13 for Uzbeks vs. 13:1 for Tuvinians). Besides, a remarkable difference between males and females should be mentioned. For example, Tatars have no sex difference, the same is valid for Mordovians, but very few Azerbaijanian and Armenian women enter ethnically mixed marriages compared with men. Thus different ethnic propensity for assimilation becomes visible already at the stage of mixed marriage formation. More detailed analysis of various combinations of ethnicities becomes available from the table 5. It covers 28 selected of them that belong to groups 1 and 4. This matrix of mixed family formation has a well seen diagonal responsible for ethnically homogeneous pairs. All the cells outside it are the mixed ones. One can conclude that there are a lot of interesting regularities in mixed families. Some of them are the following:

Many combinations of ethnic groups display more closeness to each other compared to the other and have no or rather small sex asymmetry. Here is some examples: Tatar-Bashkir (Bashkir-Tatar), Cherkes-Adygei, Karel-Belorussian, Ingush-Chechen, Balkar-Karachay, Kabardinian-Balkar, etc. This case may be explained by short geographical, language, cultural "distance" between these ethnicities.

Presence of mixed families that show significant sex asymmetry. For instance, male from the peoples of Dagestan form much more pairs with Chechen females than the inverse combination, Altaian-Tuvinian (there are no Tuvinian-Altaian families), Karachai-Russian, etc. The possible explanation of this phenomenon is cultural and religious diversity.

Many ethnic groups like Russians display that females are often ready to enter a marriage with other ethnicities, but males much more rarely do this with Karachai, Balkar females as well as peoples of Dagestan.

Table 5. Marital pairs by ethnicity of spouse. Russia, 1994 microcensus, selected ethnicities.

(to be continued)

Ethnicity of husband	Ethnicity of wife																		
	Russian	Ukrainian	Tatar	Belorussian	German	Chuvash	Mordvin	Bashkir	Jew	Udmourt	Mari	Komi	People of Dagestan	Karel	Ossetian	Yakut	Burayt	Kabardinian	
Russian	1331017	31867	11958	10004	5607	5184	4636	1665	1539	2654	1632	1565	300	813	316	197	302	213	
Ukrainian	41997	13186	552	864	418	240	245	99	100	72	60	243	26	75	20	26	18	10	
Tatar	12572	536	49786	134	104	341	136	3289	22	191	184	34	35	4	17	13	43	6	
Belorussian	12035	787	181	2870	87	80	60	29	12	27	20	65	7	101	5	12	4	1	
German	7175	444	113	84	3874	47	39	14	17	18	21	50	1	4	1	1	3		
Chuvash	4966	208	324	82	27	15300	156	60	4	28	66	22		5	1	4	2	1	
Mordvin	4864	209	121	57	28	200	3827	19	7	24	11	10		4				1	
Bashkir	1578	76	3394	27	16	46	16	11019	4	28	41	6			3		10		
Jew	3752	173	35	60	12	9	9	5	2493	2	3	3	10	3	5		1	2	
Udmourt	2306	77	166	24	12	25	23	19	2	6085	39	6	1			1	1		
Mari	1142	40	122	18	14	63	14	31	1	27	5324	9			2				
Komi	1133	106	14	37	35	14	2	3		11	2	2408	3	3				2	
People of Dagestan	1152	103	67	16	7	11	7	15	8	2	4	4	17701		23	3	1	22	
Karel	776	32	6	95	1	7	4			1		2		568					
Ossetian	790	48	23	10	3	3	5	5	3	1		2	12	1	4116			29	
Yakut	164	11	6	3	1	4	1	1	1	1			1			3642	14		
Burayt	348	8	27	4	2	1		4	2	1	1					15	3798		
Kabardinian	320	16	10	5	4	3	2	1	1			1	4		30		2	4010	
Chechen	262	12	9	1	4	3		2		1	1		29		3			2	
Kkhakassian	169	3	1	1	7	3	2									2	1		
Kalmyk	149	6	7	1	8	5	4						2		1	1	3		
Cherkes	57	7	3	1	2								13		4			5	
Adygei	159	10	3	1				1	1				3		2			3	
Altaiian	99	4	2		4											1	1		
Karachay	94	5	4	3	1				2	1			11		5		1	4	
Balkar	53	1	5		2			1							4			31	
Ingush	90	7	1	2			1			1	1				3	1		1	
Tuvinian	42									1						2	2		
All selected	1429261	47982	66940	14404	10280	21589	9189	16282	4219	9177	7410	4430	18159	1581	4561	3921	4207	4343	
Another	18770	1079	880	372	174	145	74	199	90	81	59	90	168	86	96	209	37	34	
Marital pairs, total	1448031	49061	67820	14776	10454	21734	9263	16481	4309	9258	7469	4520	18327	1667	4657	4130	4244	4377	
of them ethnicity of husband																			
the same	1331017	13186	49786	2870	3874	15300	3827	11019	2493	6085	5324	2408	17701	568	4116	3642	3798	4010	
Another, total	117014	35875	18034	11906	6580	6434	5436	5462	1816	3173	2145	2112	626	1099	541	488	446	367	
Another, selected	98244	34796	17154	11534	6406	6289	5362	5263	1726	3092	2086	2022	458	1013	445	279	409	333	
of them ethnicity of husband, per cent																			
the same	91,9	26,9	73,4	19,4	37,1	70,4	41,3	66,9	57,9	65,7	71,3	53,3	96,6	34,1	88,4	88,2	89,5	91,6	
Another, total	8,1	73,1	26,6	80,6	62,9	29,6	58,7	33,1	42,1	34,3	28,7	46,7	3,4	65,9	11,6	11,8	10,5	8,4	
Another, selected	6,8	70,9	25,3	78,1	61,3	28,9	57,9	31,9	40,1	33,4	27,9	44,7	2,5	60,8	9,6	6,8	9,6	7,6	

Table 5. Marital pairs by ethnicity of spouse. Russia, 1994 microcensus, selected ethnicities.

(continuation)

Ethnicity of husband	Ethnicity of wife										Marital pairs, total	Of them ethnicity of wife			Of them ethnicity of wife, per cent		
	Kalmyk	Cherkes	Adygei	Altaiian	Karachay	Balkar	Ingush	Tuvinian	All selected	Another		the same	Another, total	Another, selected	the same	Another, total	Another, selected
Russian	92	27	71	95	21	14	10	45	1412069	10276	1422345	1331017	91328	81052	93,6	6,4	5,7
Ukrainian	11	4	1	5	1	2	1	4	58285	792	59077	13186	45891	45099	22,3	77,7	76,3
Tatar	3	2	2	5	4	2		1	67478	476	67954	49786	18168	17692	73,3	26,7	26,0
Belorussian	3	1		2			1	3	16399	256	16655	2870	13785	13529	17,2	82,8	81,2
German	1			4	2				11919	125	12044	3874	8170	8045	32,2	67,8	66,8
Chuvash	1			2					21267	78	21345	15300	6045	5967	71,7	28,3	28,0
Mordvin				2		2		1	9387	61	9448	3827	5621	5560	40,5	59,5	58,8
Bashkir	2			2				2	16273	81	16354	11019	5335	5254	67,4	32,6	32,1
Jew	1	1			1				6582	62	6644	2493	4151	4089	37,5	62,5	61,5
Udmourt				1					8791	44	8835	6085	2750	2706	68,9	31,1	30,6
Mari			1						6811	26	6837	5324	1513	1487	77,9	22,1	21,7
Komi									3774	33	3807	2408	1399	1366	63,3	36,7	35,9
People of Dagestan	3	9	4	1	9	5	1		19262	166	19428	17701	1727	1561	91,1	8,9	8,0
Karel									1492	44	1536	568	968	924	37,0	63,0	60,2
Ossetian		1	1		1	6	1		5061	91	5152	4116	1036	945	79,9	20,1	18,3
Yakut	1								3852	216	4068	3642	426	210	89,5	10,5	5,2
Burayt	1			1				8	4224	27	4251	3798	453	426	89,3	10,7	10,0
Kabardinian		2	4		4	19	3		4445	32	4477	4010	467	435	89,6	10,4	9,7
Chechen			1		1		5		1068	15	1083	732	351	336	67,6	32,4	31,0
Kkhakassian								6	710	11	721	514	207	196	71,3	28,7	27,2
Kalmyk	1668							1	1858	29	1887	1668	219	190	88,4	11,6	10,1
Cherkes		582	11		7				692	99	791	582	209	110	73,6	26,4	13,9
Adygei		14	1514						1711	11	1722	1514	208	197	87,9	12,1	11,4
Altaiian			1	530				1	643	11	654	530	124	113	81,0	19,0	17,3
Karachay		9			1458	11			1612	22	1634	1458	176	154	89,2	10,8	9,4
Balkar			1		8	643			751	10	761	643	118	108	84,5	15,5	14,2
Ingush							1716		1830	3	1833	1716	117	114	93,6	6,4	6,2
Tuvinian								1759	1811	2	1813	1759	54	52	97,0	3,0	2,9
All selected	1787	652	1612	650	1517	704	1738	1831	1690057	13099	1703156	1492140	2E+05	2E+05	87,6	12,4	11,6
Another	29	60	14	21	18	12	2	11	22841	23909	46750	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marital pairs, total	1816	712	1626	671	1535	716	1740	1842	1712898	37008	1749906	-	-	-	-	-	-
of them ethnicity of husband																	
the same	1668	582	1514	530	1458	643	1716	1759	1492140	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Another, total	148	130	112	141	77	73	24	83	220758	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Another, selected	119	70	98	120	59	61	22	72	197917	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
of them ethnicity of husband, per cent																	
the same	91,9	81,7	93,1	79,0	95,0	89,8	98,6	95,5	87,1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Another, total	8,1	18,3	6,9	21,0	5,0	10,2	1,4	4,5	12,9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Another, selected	6,6	9,8	6,0	17,9	3,8	8,5	1,3	3,9	11,6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The following two tables show the extent of sex asymmetry and variety of ethnicity inheritance in mixed families with their different combinations that is the different direction and degree of the assimilation processes.

Table 6. Ethnically mixed marital pairs with children by ethnicity of children in Bashkortostan, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk regions. Selected ethnicities

Ethnicity of husband-wife	Pairs with children of equal ethnicity				Ratio (3:5)
	Father's		Mother's		
	pairs	their children	pairs	their children	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Russian - Bashkir	526	893	57	82	10,9
Bashkir - Russian	262	441	231	387	1,1
Russian - Tatar	1460	2447	117	169	14,5
Tatar - Russian	645	1041	882	1426	0,7

Table 7. Ethnically mixed marital pairs with children by ethnicity of children. Russia, 1994, selected ethnicities

Ethnicity of husband-wife	Pairs with children of equal ethnicity				Ratio (3:5)
	Father's		Mother's		
	pairs	their children	pairs	their children	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Russian - Ukrainian	19360	30509	874	1150	26,5
Ukrainian - Russian	2748	3993	22897	35819	0,1
Russian - Armenian	828	1261	51	77	16,4
Armenian - Russian	1058	1734	1457	2230	0,8
Ukrainian - Tatar	212	331	44	66	5,0
Tatar - Ukrainian	183	284	64	88	3,2

6. Conclusions

1. In a multiethnic country in the era of low fertility the influence of mixed families upon the ethnic profile becomes rather significant.

2. Analysis of these families in Russia shows a definite sex and ethnic asymmetry both at the stage of formation and in the process of assimilation.

3. Along with ethnic differentiation of fertility, mortality, migration these processes lead to some shifts in country's ethnic profile and should be taken into account in the projections of future population structure.

4. The details of these processes are not well studied yet and need more in-depth investigation, including utilizing of micro-data of the censuses.

7. Any remarks?

The author will really appreciate any remarks and feedback dealing with the topic of the paper. Use please email address esoroko@hse.ru.