

Artículo de investigación

The specifics of modern educational migration in the countries of the Customs Union (Russia, Republic of Belarus, Kazakhstan)ОСОБЕННОСТИ СОВРЕМЕННОЙ ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНОЙ МИГРАЦИИ В СТРАНАХ
ТАМОЖЕННОГО СОЮЗАLos detalles de la migración educativa moderna en los países de la Unión Aduanera (Rusia, Republica de
Belarus, Kazakstan)

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The article describes the types of student migration and methodological approaches to its study. The global trends in educational migration and the development of this process in Belarus in the period 1999–2014 are analyzed. The countries of origin are highlighted, and factors that contribute to attracting educational migrants to the Republic of Belarus are indicated. One of the characteristic trends in the development of the modern education system is the rapid growth of student migration throughout the twentieth century. The scale of academic mobility and academic migration has steadily increased throughout the world. But it was at the turn of the XX and XXI centuries. this type of mobility is becoming a massive global phenomenon.

The Republic of Belarus clearly demonstrates the growing student mobility: there is an increase in both incoming and outgoing educational migration. In the period from 1999 to 2013 the rate of outgoing student mobility has increased by more than 5 times. The growth rate of incoming mobility is not as significant. The number of arriving school migrants is increasing year by year, but the rate of growth of incoming mobility over the past 8 years has been declining. From 2005 to 2014 In Belarus, more than 100 thousand foreign students were educated. In 2016, 100

Resumen

El artículo describe los tipos de migración estudiantil y los enfoques metodológicos para su estudio. Se analizan las tendencias mundiales de la migración educativa y el desarrollo de este proceso en Bielorrusia en el período 1999-2014. Se destacan los países de origen y se indican los factores que contribuyen a atraer migrantes educativos a la República de Bielorrusia. Una de las tendencias características en el desarrollo del sistema educativo moderno es el rápido crecimiento de la migración estudiantil a lo largo del siglo XX. La escala de la movilidad académica y la migración académica ha aumentado constantemente en todo el mundo. Pero fue a comienzos de los siglos XX y XXI. Este tipo de movilidad se está convirtiendo en un fenómeno global masivo.

La República de Bielorrusia demuestra claramente la creciente movilidad de los estudiantes: hay un aumento en la migración educativa entrante y saliente. En el período comprendido entre 1999 y 2013, la tasa de movilidad de estudiantes salientes ha aumentado más de 5 veces. La tasa de crecimiento de la movilidad entrante no es tan significativa. El número de migrantes escolares que llegan aumenta año tras año, pero la tasa de crecimiento de la movilidad entrante en los últimos 8 años ha

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thousand Kazakhstani students studied at foreign universities. In the 2018-2019 academic year, the number of foreign students has reached 23 thousand people, by 2020 it is planned to increase their number to 50 thousand people. For three years in a row, Russia has been accepting 15,000 foreigners for free tuition at several hundred universities in the country in 659 different areas and specialties. The British company QS recently placed Russia on the 26th place in the world for the quality of the higher education system. In 2016, the competition among foreigners was 4.5 people per Russian budget place, reports Rossotrudnichestvo.

Keywords: Customs Union, educational migration, incoming student mobility, outgoing student mobility.

ido disminuyendo. De 2005 a 2014 En Bielorrusia, se educaron más de 100 mil estudiantes extranjeros. En 2016, 100 mil kazajos estudiaron en universidades extranjeras. En el año académico 2018-2019, el número de estudiantes extranjeros ha llegado a 23 mil personas, para 2020 se planea aumentar su número a 50 mil personas. Durante tres años consecutivos, Rusia ha estado aceptando a 15,000 extranjeros para la enseñanza gratuita en varios cientos de universidades en el país en 659 áreas y especialidades diferentes. La compañía británica QS recientemente colocó a Rusia en el lugar 26 en el mundo por la calidad del sistema de educación superior. En 2016, la competencia entre extranjeros fue de 4,5 personas por presupuesto ruso, informa Rossotrudnichestvo.

Palabras claves: Unión aduanera, migración educativa, movilidad de estudiantes entrantes, movilidad de estudiantes salientes.

Аннотация:

В статье описаны виды студенческой миграции и методологические подходы к ее изучению. Проанализированы глобальные тенденции образовательной миграции и развитие этого процесса в Беларуси в период 1999-2014 гг. Выделены страны происхождения, указаны факторы, способствующие привлечению в Республику Беларусь образовательных мигрантов. Одной из характерных тенденций развития современной системы образования является быстрый рост студенческой миграции на протяжении всего XX века. Масштабы академической мобильности и академической миграции неуклонно возрастают во всем мире. Но это было на рубеже XX и XXI веков. Этот вид мобильности становится массовым глобальным явлением.

Республика Беларусь наглядно демонстрирует растущую мобильность студентов: увеличивается как входящая, так и исходящая образовательная миграция. За период с 1999 по 2013 год показатель исходящей мобильности студентов увеличился более чем в 5 раз. Темпы роста въездной мобильности не столь значительны. Число прибывающих школьных мигрантов растет из года в год, но темпы роста въездной мобильности за последние 8 лет снижаются. С 2005 по 2014 год в Беларуси обучалось более 100 тысяч иностранных студентов. В 2016 году в зарубежных вузах обучалось 100 тыс. жителей Казахстана. В 2018-2019 учебном году численность иностранных студентов достигла 23 тыс. человек, к 2020 году планируется увеличить их численность до 50 тыс. человек. В течение трех лет подряд Россия принимает 15 000 иностранцев для бесплатного обучения в нескольких сотнях университетов страны по 659 различным направлениям и специальностям. Британская компания QS недавно поставила Россию на 26-е место в мире по качеству системы высшего образования. В 2016 году конкурс среди иностранцев составил 4,5 человека на одно бюджетное место в России, сообщает Россотрудничество.

Ключевые слова: Таможенный союз, образовательная миграция, входящая студенческая мобильность, исходящая студенческая мобильность.

Introduction

The relevance of migration studies in Belarus is due to the fact that the role of the migration component in the change in the population of the country in the last two decades has increased significantly. Thus, in the period between the censuses of 1989–1999. the population of the

Republic of Belarus decreased by 106.6 thousand people, including the share in this reduction due to vital signs was 76.3%, and due to mechanical movement - 23.7%. During the period between the 1999-2009 censuses. the decline in the population of the Republic of Belarus was 541.4

thousand people. The reduction ratio due to demographic components was: due to natural movement - 58.1%, and due to migration losses - 41.9%. This means that over the last census period, the decrease in the population of the Republic of Belarus as compared with the previous decade due to natural loss increased by 3.8 times, and due to migration losses, the loss increased by 8.8 times. This indicates a significant impact on the depopulation processes in the country of the negative balance of migration of the population of Belarus.

The concepts of "educational / educational migration", "academic mobility". Types of student migration. In the international practice of accounting for migration, the movement of students and interns is divided into an independent category, since this migration performs a well-defined social function associated with the internationalization of education and the development of highly professional resources, representing, in fact, the intellectual global capital of society (Ryazantsev and Tkachenko, 2010).

UNESCO defines the category of foreign students as persons who are allowed to attend a specific program of study in institutions of higher education in a country of which they are not citizens. This migration is classified as temporary, limited to the length of time required to complete the training course. Such migrants, as a rule, receive special student (non-immigration) visas, which often provide for the right to enter with accompanying family members and limited employment opportunities (Ryazantsev and Tkachenko, 2010).

In the framework of international educational migration distinguish long-term and short-term forms.

Under the long-term form of education understand moving abroad in order to obtain education for the full cycle of one or more levels of higher education. This form of educational migration involves obtaining an appropriate diploma or degree (hence the English name for degree mobility). It is this form of educational migration that is the most widespread in the modern world.

Often this form of mobility is also called "vertical". Short-term or academic mobility implies temporary studies at a foreign higher education institution for, as a rule, one or two semesters. This form of mobility is also called credit mobility. This type of mobility includes

the temporary relocation of teachers, researchers and academic administrators to other countries. Short-term mobility is often referred to as "horizontal."

However, traveling abroad for a diploma can be considered as an academic mobility, but only if it is carried out on the basis of an international agreement. Article 121 of the Education Code of the Republic of Belarus defines academic mobility.

Its key feature is a temporary stay abroad with a mandatory return. To implement academic mobility, an agreement must be concluded, which can be an intercollegiate, interdepartmental, intergovernmental, or an agreement for the training of a particular student or graduate student (Electronic resource, 2011).

State migration policy at this stage is becoming more pragmatic. The issues of national security, the protection of the rights of its citizens working in other states come to the fore. Special attention is paid to the harmonization of migration policy measures pursued by Belarus and Russia. To protect migrant workers and regulate the migration process, these countries have adopted a package of intergovernmental legal acts. Citizens of both countries are recognized as work experience, including academic, work experience in the specialty, acquired in connection with their work in Belarus and Russia.

The concept of social development of the Union State adopted in these years envisaged the formation of a unified migration policy, in which "the main goal of regulating migration processes in the Union State is the most effective realization of the intellectual and labor potential of migrants, ensuring sustainable socio-economic and demographic development, safety Union State". At the same time, in many respects labor migration flows remain in quantitative and qualitative terms practically uncontrollable, especially with regard to the departure of labor migrants from Belarus to Russia.

The formation of a single migration space and the free movement of labor within the countries of the Eurasian Economic Space are facilitated by the regulatory legal acts signed in 2010, which strengthen cooperation between Belarus, Russia and Kazakhstan in the field of migration, strengthen their interaction in maximizing the benefits and minimizing the costs of labor migration between these countries. In accordance with the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union,

signed by Russia, the Republic of Belarus and Kazakhstan in the city of Astana on May 29, 2014, workers of the Member States are not required to obtain a permit to work in the state of employment.

Member States do not impose or apply the restrictions established by their legislation in order to protect the national labor market.

It is important to note that the volumes of labor migrants entering Belarus were insignificant for a long time; this can be explained by the existing for a long time rather tough national labor legislation. Only since 2011, the flow of immigrants began to grow rapidly.

The current migration situation requires the activation of migration policy measures. In the conditions of transition of the economy to an innovative development path, it becomes extremely important to develop procedures that encourage migrants to enter the Republic of Belarus and restrict access to the domestic labor market for those who do not need. When solving the problems of attracting migrants into the country to replenish the population with the labor force and develop the innovative potential, the measures that diversify migration flows and give them different status come to the fore. Among them, the development and implementation of differentiated mechanisms for selecting, staying, attracting and using foreign labor depending on the profession (specialty), qualification; development of programs for organized recruitment of educational and labor migrants in the countries of origin, including the creation of information and medical centers in countries with which visa-free entry and exit procedures have been established. Particular attention should be paid to stimulating business immigration to the republic, regulating the attraction of foreign investors and entrepreneurs.

Methods of research and sources of statistical information.

Analysis of the current situation and forecasting trends in the field of educational migration are hampered by the lack of effectiveness of modern methods of statistical assessment of migration flows.

L. Ledeneva (2009) notes the problem of the lack of reliable information about various categories of the population going to study, due to the fact that students often study for a not full academic year, participate in exchange programs, and therefore their number may not be reflected in the

statistics of students based on the rules specific university of the recipient country.

Among the factors that reduce the accuracy of knowledge about educational migration, should be highlighted:

- the discrepancy between the dates and periods of counting the number of foreign students and students for a certain period in different countries;
- differences in the principles of counting students studying at universities of various forms of ownership;
- lack of information on the activities of non-governmental organizations and centers operating in the international educational services market.

To collect complete information on international student migration, all host countries submit data on the number of enrolled students, indicating the gender and country of origin. Then the data is summarized, the number of students leaving and arriving for each country is calculated.

However, the actual number of people participating in international student migration is usually much higher, since many students study abroad for an incomplete academic year or participate in exchange programs that do not require registration.

The student's country of origin can be determined in several different ways. For example, based on the place of residence, citizenship or country in which specific educational qualifications were obtained. UNESCO, OECD and Eurostat agreed that the country in which he received his previous education is accepted to measure international mobility in the field of education.

If countries are not able to provide data in accordance with this requirement, then the country of origin will be the country of permanent residence or, in extreme cases, the country of citizenship. UUIS, OECD, and Eurostat as international students take into account only those students who have crossed the border of their country of origin for the purpose of obtaining higher education for a full academic year or more (the so-called "credit mobility" is not considered) (UNESCO, 2016).

To estimate the volume of international student migration, UNESCO uses the following mobility indicators:

1. entry:

- number of students arrived;
- entrance mobility ratio - the ratio of the number of people who entered students to the number of students in the host country;

2. exit:

- number of students left;
- coefficient of exit mobility - the ratio of the number of students who left to the number of students in the sending country;
- total (gross) coefficient of exit enrollment - the number of students who left, relative to the total population of the country at the age of tertiary education;

3. net student flow (balance) - the difference between the number of students who entered and left.

Thus, accounting for mobile students is difficult, but measures are being taken to realize the possibilities of analyzing student migration flows and identifying major trends.

Result and discusión

From 1965 to 2010, the number of foreign students increased from 0.8 to 4.1 million, which is 1.8% of the total number of students in higher education. Currently, their increase is about 100 thousand people per year.

According to UNESCO forecasts, by 2025 the number of foreign students will reach 7.5 million.

Countries vary widely in student mobility. So, in 2013, six countries that accepted foreign students accounted for almost half of mobile students: USA (19%), United Kingdom (10%), Australia (6%), France (6%), Germany (5%) and the Russian Federation (3%).

The largest number of foreign students come to study in other countries from China (712.2 thousand people), India (181.9 thousand people), Germany (119.1 thousand people), the Republic of Korea (116.9 thousand people) and France (84.1 thousand people).

There are also countries that have more students studying abroad than at home: Andorra, Bermuda, Luxembourg, Montserrat, San Marino, Seychelles (UNESCO, 2018).

The share of foreign students is usually higher at higher levels of higher education. On average, in OECD countries, 24% of doctoral and postgraduate students are foreign.

An important role in enhancing student mobility in Europe was played by the Bologna process, in which academic mobility was identified as one of six goals (Conference, 2003). In 2012, the "Strategy for the development of mobility in the EHEA up to 2020" was adopted in Bucharest. This document confirmed the importance of mobility as one of the most important tasks of the Bologna process. Special attention was paid to the balance of inbound and outbound mobility, countering "brain drain". In particular, it was proposed to create scholarship programs that encourage the return of students who have received education in other countries, to encourage EU citizens to teach and conduct research in developing countries.

Thus, the main trends of international academic migration and the global market for educational services are: rapid growth in student migration; ahead of the growth in the number of foreign students receiving higher education compared with the growth in the number of all students in the world concentration of half of all international students in the world in 5 countries; the emergence of new participants in the field of higher education, an increase in the share of foreign students from Asia and Western Europe (Alekseeva, 2012).

The challenge of creating institutions and mechanisms for regulating migration processes in Belarus was as follows: after independence, the country practically did not have any significant experience in conducting migration policies, controlling large-scale border crossings, and external labor migration. There was no relevant migration legislation and institutions responsible for its implementation. The existence of a transparent border and a visa-free regime with the CIS countries created the conditions for an uncontrolled and unhindered crossing of the state border.

A distinctive feature of the development of the national education system of Belarus, like other European countries in the era of globalization, is the intensively expanding international cooperation of higher education institutions and, as a result, the growth of student migration and academic mobility of students, teachers, scientists and administrative workers.

There is an increase in both incoming and outgoing mobility. In the period from 1999 to 2013, the outgoing student mobility ratio increased by more than 5 times. The growth rate of incoming mobility is not so significant: for 14 years it has increased 4 times.

As a result, in Belarus there is a negative balance of student migration (for example, in 2013 the balance was -22357 students). In the 2015/16 academic year, the total number of foreign citizens attending Russian universities was more than 270 thousand people, and in the previous year there were 220 thousand. Foreigners make up 6% of the total number of students.

According to the Center for Sociological Research of the Ministry of Education and Science, in the 2013/14 academic year, foreigners studied at 798 Russian universities. A year earlier, there were fewer such universities - 742. The Center also cites data on the popularity of our education among students from different countries. In 2013/14 (as a year earlier), most of all in Russia were representatives of Kazakhstan (27.5 thousand people), in second place were the Chinese (18.2 thousand), and in the third place were students from Turkmenistan (12, 1 thousand). In total, 81 thousand people from CIS countries, 41.7 thousand from Asia, 18 thousand from Africa and the Middle East, from Western and Northern Europe - 6.4 thousand. There are even students from the United States, such 1.6 thousand foreigners prefer state universities, they study 95% of all foreign students. But they also study in universities of 25 different ministries and departments, as well as in universities owned by 23 municipalities or subjects of the Russian Federation. Among the universities traditionally lead PFUR (8.3 thousand people in 2013/14), St. Petersburg State University (4.6 thousand) and Moscow State University by Lomonosov (3.3 thousand).

The most priority areas of training that foreigners choose in the Russian higher education are economics and management, clinical medicine, education and pedagogical sciences, the Ministry of Education and Science said. The most popular among foreigners are the leading Russian universities, in which the number of foreigners has increased almost 2.5 times since 2013.

According to UNESCO, in 2014, 14,924 students came to study in Belarus (according to Belstat data - 14,796) compared to the previous year, the number of students who arrived increased by 9%. However, as our analysis showed, over the past 8 years, the growth rate has declined.

Recently, the geography of countries of origin of educational migrants has greatly expanded. They come to the republic to study from 117 countries of the world (UNESCO). Mainly from Central Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Eastern Asia. In the 2014–2015 school year, 55% of foreign students were represented by immigrants from Turkmenistan, 14% from Russia, 10% from China.

The share of immigrants from Central Asia is growing rapidly. This growth is mainly due to students from Turkmenistan. The number of foreign students from East Asia and Africa has increased.

The majority of students go to Belarus from countries with lower or the same level of economic development. This is due to the similar level of development of education systems in these countries and the cost of education.

The formation of migration flows with the CIS countries takes place against the background of a decrease in the outflow of the population from the republic to the CIS countries and small return flows to Belarus. At the same time, the flow intensity (migration turnover) decreases in all directions. The largest flows are observed with Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan. It is important to note that Belarus in the system of migration movements is attractive primarily for the population of Russia.

The Center for International Programs was originally engaged in the Bolashak Program, and now, in addition, we send students to study abroad under intergovernmental agreements, under which Kazakhstan and a number of other countries exchange students. For example, Hungary - 250 students, China - 125 students, the Russian Federation - 437 students.

Our calculations show that in recent years (2010–2014) the gender structure of the population arriving in Belarus has changed dramatically. First of all, there have been major changes in the mobility of men and women. If women were more mobile during the pre-perestroika period and during the years of perestroika, now the proportion of men among migrants becomes higher.

An important characteristic of migrants arriving in the country is the level of education. The country's rapidly growing economy requires the arrival of highly skilled labor resources. Our calculations showed that 29.5% of arrivals have higher education, and 32% of migrants have a

general secondary education. This allows us to conclude that the migrants arriving for labor resources of the country do not constitute special competition, since the level of education in the country is higher. At the same time, the country's economy requires the replenishment of the labor market by more young, active and highly qualified specialists. And to reduce the level of depopulation, it is still necessary that they be in the fertile age. Thus, the gender and age structure of migrants and their level of education do not fully meet the needs of sustainable demographic development and the national labor market.

To take into account student migration from Belarus, we used UNESCO data on the number of foreign students in recipient countries for certain academic years.

The outgoing student mobility of Belarusian students is growing rapidly. According to UNESCO, in 2013, 35,898 students of Belarus studied abroad. Compared with the previous year, this figure fell by 16%.

When choosing a country of emigration, to which the question "If you associate your future with employment and life abroad, which country would you prefer to go to?" Was devoted, you can see two main areas: foreign countries and CIS countries. Moreover, 2.7 times more respondents are guided to far-abroad countries than to the sociocultural space close to respondents: the ratio of answers was 52.0 to 19.3%. The answer "do not plan to work abroad" indicated only 20.2% of respondents, including some of the 31.5% of respondents who chose the previous question, saying that "today it is definitely difficult to say something".

In the conditions of exacerbation of the problem of migration in the countries of Western Europe, it is of interest for respondents to assess the practice of attracting people from other countries to the labor market in Belarus. If, on average, the respondents' attitude to the admission of foreign labor to the labor market of Belarus is characterized, then a negative assessment prevails. It reflects existing employment problems in the national labor market. Most respondents point out the possibility of attracting foreign labor, but with some restrictions. This is due to the fact that immigrants reduce the chances of the local population to find work inside the country, as a result, this can lead to an increase in emigration attitudes. The possibility of attracting foreigners without any reservations allows only a seventh of the respondents (14.6%), and 18.8% strongly oppose.

Thus, the results of the survey showed that the younger generation in Belarus (more than two thirds of the respondents, both among men and women) is potentially oriented towards emigration. There are two main directions of emigration: foreign countries and the CIS countries. Moreover, the far abroad countries are oriented at 2.7 times more respondents than at the sociocultural space close to the respondents - the ratio is 52.0% to 19.3%. The study showed the following trend: the less respondents are familiar with the country of future immigration, the higher their assessment of its attractiveness. Only about 20% of respondents are not inclined to leave Belarus. We associate the results, primarily with the crisis of the Belarusian labor market and negative trends in the education system of Belarus.

Conclusion

The migration geography of Belarusian students includes about 100 countries from various regions of the world. Preference is given by students from Customs Union to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (Luchinskaya et al, 2018). Thus, 72.5% of students go to study in the Russian Federation, 9.4% - to Poland, 5.2% - to Lithuania, 3.2% - to Germany. Thus, about 90% of students from Belarus participating in international educational migration study in higher education institutions in neighboring countries.

This distribution is due to geographic proximity, as well as linguistic community (in particular, for Russia). In addition, Belarusian students strive to get a quality education in the countries of Western Europe and North America.

Educational migration contributes to the development and strengthening of political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical contacts of the Customs Union with the countries-suppliers of student migrants. Educational migrants not only bring financial profit, but also contribute to the formation of a positive image of Belarus and Kazakhstan in the world.

The export of educational services has an economic effect for the country: first, the savings in the children's period of life of future applicants; secondly, income from the sale of educational services; and, finally, thirdly, the acquisition of a young, already integrated into a receiving society and properly trained new member of society.

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