Cecilie Lydersen

‘Push’ and ‘Pull’ Factors for the Marriage Migration of Russian women in the age group 20-30 from St. Petersburg to Sweden

WP 2011-08
CGES Working Papers series includes publication of materials prepared within different activities of the Center for German and European Studies both in St. Petersburg and in Germany. The CGES supports educational programmes, research and scientific dialogues. In accordance with the CGES mission, the Working Papers are dedicated to the interdisciplinary studies of different aspects of German and European societies.

The paper is written on the basis of the MA Thesis defended in the MA SES in June 2011 supervised by Dr Denis Gruber. The publication of this MA thesis in the CGES Working Paper series was recommended by the Examination Committee as one of the five best papers out of fourteen MA theses defended by the students of the MA programme “Studies in European Societies” at St. Petersburg State University in June 2011.

Cecilie Lydersen graduated from the University of Bergen (Norway) in 2009. That same year she continued her education at the St. Petersburg State University and completed in 2011 the MA programme “Studies in European Societies”. Her academic fields of interest include migration, gender studies, and statistics.

Contact: clydersen@msn.com
Abstract
Using St. Petersburg, Russia, as the ‘origin’ and Sweden as the ‘destination’, this paper investigates the most relevant ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors for the marriage migration of Russian women in their 20’s. Numbers presented by the Russian Federal State Statistics Service reveal an obvious decline in Russian emigration since the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This suggests that a number of ‘push’ factors have since then disappeared or decreased in significance. Although less Russians emigrate, there are still many ‘push’ factors of high relevance today. They are constantly emerging alongside social, economic and political challenges. The ‘pull’ factors appear to continuously act as opposites of the ‘push’ factors and accordingly attract Russian immigrants to Sweden. While this study emphasizes the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ theory, it simultaneously compares the current social, political and economic state of affairs in St. Petersburg, Russia and Sweden.

Key words: ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors, social, economic, political challenges
ABSTRACT ................................................................................................................................. 2

1 INTRODUCTION ....................................................................................................................... 4
   1.1 BRIEF OUTLINE OF STRUCTURE ................................................................................. 4
   1.2 BACKGROUND FOR TOPIC .......................................................................................... 5
   1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION & HYPOTHESIS ........................................................................ 9

2 RESEARCH DESIGN .................................................................................................................. 12
   2.1 FLEXIBLE RESEARCH DESIGN ................................................................................... 12
   2.2 COMBINING QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS ............... 13

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .................................................................................................. 19
   3.1 UNDERSTANDING “MIGRATION” ................................................................................ 19
   3.2 PREDICTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH .................................................................... 24

4 ‘ORIGIN’: ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA ....................................................................................... 26
   4.1 MYTH OF A RUSSIAN WOMAN .................................................................................... 27
   4.2 RUSSIAN EMIGRATION .................................................................................................. 33
   4.3 ‘PUSH’ FACTORS .......................................................................................................... 35
   4.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS ............................................................................................. 43

5 ‘DESTINATION’: SWEDEN ........................................................................................................ 45
   5.1 MYTH OF SWEDISH MEN ................................................................................................. 46
   5.2 IMMIGRANTS IN SWEDEN ............................................................................................... 52
   5.3 ‘PULL’ FACTORS .......................................................................................................... 56
   5.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS ............................................................................................. 64

6 CONCLUSION ............................................................................................................................. 66

LIST OF REFERENCES .................................................................................................................. 70
1 Introduction

International migration trends are continuously emerging and developing alongside the globalized and more accessible world. Former notorious unbreakable borders between countries are constantly loosening up and slowly, but determinately, opening their gates for both immigration and emigration. Permanent residency might not be within unproblematic reach for everyone, but the majority of the world’s population is traveling and experiencing more today than ever before. For some, however, the opportunity to experience a better way of life in a short vacation or a university semester abroad simply is not enough.

One of the current major and most intriguing research areas within international migration is that of marriage migration. This study focuses on a specified group of young Russian women in their 20’s who look westward for a new life beyond the former Iron Curtain. It explores their motivation for leaving their roots behind and moving to a western European country. In an attempt to narrow the scope of the research, the following chapters investigate the incentives that ‘push’ and ‘pull’ young women from the urban Russian city St. Petersburg to the Northern Kingdom of Sweden. As a country within close proximity and renowned for its welfare and great way of life, Sweden appears as an example of an ideal ‘destination’.

1.1 Brief Outline of Structure

The overall structure of the study systematically takes the form of six chapters, including this introductory section; which gives a thorough explanation of the choice of topic. The second chapter is concerned with the methodology used for the study and presents the overall research design. Chapter three introduces the theoretical framework of the research, focusing on supporting the analyses conducted throughout the study. It also makes predictions for future research possibilities. The fourth section presents the findings of the study, focusing on the ‘push’ factors for women to leave Russia based on case studies and secondary literature. Chapter five also presents the findings of the research, but the focus
shifts to the ‘pull’ factors, and thus introduces the attraction to Sweden. It is based on conducted case studies and secondary data. The final chapter draws upon the entire thesis, tying up the various theoretical and empirical threads in order to summarize and conclude.

The main objectives of this research are:

- to conduct empirical research through case studies;
- to implement theory in empirical research;
- to analyze and understand the motivation behind marriage migration;
- to distinguish the difference between ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors;
- to understand the current social, political and economic situations in both Sweden and Russia.

1.2 Background for Topic

1.2.1 Author’s Motivation

The choice of analyzing ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors for marriage migration is rooted in my theoretical background within studies of European societies. I ultimately developed a great interest in social behavior, cultural differences and cross-border migration; which are all vital aspects in understanding the selected topic. The aim of the study is not to tell the individual stories of certain women, but to enlighten common perceptions of what is good and what is bad in Russian society, and accordingly compare it with that of Sweden. What aspects of life are decisive for the women who leave St. Petersburg, and in what way does Sweden ‘pull’ them in its direction?

On the one hand, I decided to investigate women of St. Petersburg because of the city’s western image as the European part of Russia. On the other hand, currently living and having lived in St. Petersburg for two years, it proved to be a sensible and convenient choice. It provided me with easy access to subjects for

---

1 See Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework for further details and an in-depth explanation. Two variants of the “push” and “pull” theory have been investigated: 1) Ernest Ravenstein’s theory from “Laws of Migration” (1885), and 2) Everett Lee’s theory from “A Theory of Migration” (1966).
case studies, and I could also exploit the insight I have personally obtained about the life of the average Russian woman in her 20’s. I have always been very fascinated with Russia as a country and with Russians as a people. As a Scandinavian my personal interest and respect for Russian women has made me curious as to why some of them move to Sweden, or have a desire to move there in the future. The two countries have an obvious historical connection and with the many significant battles between them in the past I preferred to examine Sweden as the ‘destination’ country, as opposed to Norway, my native country. Norwegian-Russian relations are of great importance, but in the specified research, it appears that Sweden generates the most intense outcome.

The daily life in Russia is different from that in Sweden, and thus this research project is of an important social relevance. Sweden is currently the home of a relatively small group of Russian people and the majority of them are women. They live in Sweden and therefore they contribute to the Swedish society. Most of these Russian women are married to Swedish men, but it does not necessarily mean that they migrated through marriage. (Landes, 2009) It is a common stereotype that female migrants in Western European countries get mistaken for being so-called mail-order brides. With unofficial statistics estimating that almost 4000 men worldwide find brides this way every year, women who migrate through marriage from Russia to Sweden often get stigmatized.

“The mail-order bride industry is booming in the 21st century, with western men looking for foreign wives from over 100,000 listed on the internet, many of them from the former Soviet Union. The agencies give them an idea of the women, but they pay a fee to fly over and choose in one big marriage market. The men are at risk of getting swindled, and the women are at risk of getting hurt and abused, so if you actually do manage to find love in such a scenario you’re really one of the lucky ones, for so many reasons.” (Predovsky, Predovsky, 2008)

The women of this study are not directly influenced by online dating sites. However, out of five individual case studies conducted, three of the women, who are currently single, are not opposed to meeting Swedish men in this manner. In

---


the following analyses the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors are partly put into perspective from the perception of the female subjects involved. By doing so, the Russian women’s way of thinking is illustrated.

1.2.2 Russians in Sweden

Sweden and Russia have an intertwined history dating back centuries and it is no surprise that there are around 16,000 Russian citizens in Sweden. (Landes, 2009) It is perhaps more startling that the number is not higher, especially considering the amount of Russian language you will hear in the busy streets of Stockholm. Russians are far from the biggest migrant group, but it is interesting to note that if the Russian-speaking community was to be counted as a whole, sources reveal that the total number is actually closer to 90,000 people (the number includes immigrants from the other former Soviet Republics and also Russian-speaking Swedes). (Landes, 2009) The figure is still relatively minor, but in fact amounts to almost one percent (approximately 0.955 %) of the country’s total population of 9 428 054 (Statistics Sweden4, 2011).

These data emphasize how specific the topic being presented is. Although permanent Russian residency in Sweden is relatively low, there have already been conducted several studies on issues related to the research of this paper.5 The fact that this study focuses solely on emigration from St. Petersburg to Sweden distinguishes it from previous investigations. The topic is without a doubt of growing relevance and interest. Consequently, this particular research will hopefully open for and encourage further in-depth investigation in the future, as there is an evident shortage of adequate literature.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union migration from Russia to Sweden duly increased. The major difference between the then Soviet migrant flow and earlier Russian migrant flows (e.g. during and after the revolution of 1917, or during and after the Second World War) was that the majority of these migrants were

---


women. This is the continuing trend today. Statistics Sweden reveals in a report from 2005 that 66 percent of the Russians living in Sweden are women, and as mentioned, the majority of these women are married to Swedish men. (Landes, 2009)

1.2.2 Status of Contemporary Women

“She has to please men if she is to succeed in her life as a woman.” (De Beauvoir, 1949:681)

The battle for equal rights between the sexes has come a long way. The French existentialist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir expressed in her analysis of women’s oppression the necessity woman has of being accepted by man and how strongly she is dependent on him. De Beauvoir continued about man:

“He is eager to take and not to receive, not to exchange but to rob. He seeks to possess the woman to an extent over and above what she gives him; he demands that her consent be a defeat and that the words she murmurs be avowals he tears from her – demands that she confess her pleasure and recognize her subjection.” (De Beauvoir, 1949:691)

De Beauvoir wrote this in 1949 emphasizing the submissive roles of women and the overly dominating roles of men. As the world has already entered the 21st century, it witnesses continuous progress and how a selected few countries pride themselves with their documented success of creating equality between men and women. This pride is nonetheless open to discussion, especially looking at the UN 1997 report entitled ‘Women at a Glance’.7 “Women have not achieved equality with men in any country.” However accurate this may be today, in 2011, both Russia and Sweden, with different levels of accomplishment, demonstrate a female population more independent than previously, especially in terms of family, education and professional careers.

The UN report continues: “…women outlive men in almost every country”; “…there are slightly fewer women than men in the world -- 98.6 women for every 100 men.” (UN, 1997) These are not bad odds for women looking to find husbands, but for Russian women the prospects are not as high (see 4.3.1.2 for

---

more). According to the CIA World Factbook\(^8\) (2011) there are approximately 92 men for every 100 women in Russia today. “Russian men are very spoiled.” Anastasia, a 23–year old single woman from St. Petersburg, comments on the figures she has been presented with. “How are we supposed to find a man if there are no men to be found?”

With the fall of the Soviet Union the iron curtain came down. The world opened up to Russia and Russia opened up to the world. The ability to more or less freely cross a border and enter into completely new territory was suddenly a reality. For many women in Russia this also increased the chance of marriage to a non-Russian man. Whether it would be in the need of an escape from an oppressing existence, or because of love, it was now easier and more likely than before.

“Literature on gender and migration has convincingly challenged a gendered analysis of migration which attributes to women the passive role of ‘follower’ as against the active male role of initiator.” (Lydia Morris, 2002: 124)\(^9\)

With this study, the actions of independent women are illustrated through their independent decisions. In the spirit of quoting Lydia Morris, this paper challenges the perception of women as the ‘follower’ and man as the initiator. Women in St. Petersburg are not necessarily desperate to leave. However, some do leave, and this study investigates why.

1.3 Research Question & Hypothesis

The research question of this thesis deals with identifying the driving forces behind women leaving St. Petersburg and Russia, and what attracts them to Sweden. What reasons do the women interviewed have for wanting to leave St. Petersburg? Why do they decide, if they decide at all, to migrate through marriage? Is it something the Swedish men have that the Russian men do not? These are all minor questions in a bigger picture. Migration is about people who move from one place to another. Russian women who get married to Swedish

---


men, thereby relocating to Sweden, do not simply lose their affiliation to Russia. The aim of the research is to understand the concept of ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors from the perception of a specific migrant group. This study looks into different aspects of migration while investigating the key problem:

*What are the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors for the marriage migration of Russian women in the age group 20-30 from St. Petersburg to Sweden?*

The expected hypotheses to this research question are common and socially known perceptions, without anticipation of discovering anything outside the ordinary. By asking what the women personally believe in (and what they think other women believe), some of the dominating perceptions of life in Russia and Sweden are highlighted, both negative and positive aspects.

The hypotheses are based on the Russian women’s perception of Russia and Sweden. It clearly differs from the perception they have of the west, resulting in higher expectations from Sweden. The women dream of a better life, which does not necessarily mean that their life in St. Petersburg is bad. They want a better job, a healthier climate, a better man and financial stability. Sweden is in many ratings seen as one of the best countries in the world to live in, while Russia ranks shockingly low.  

Russia does not sufficiently provide for its citizens and there is little security against economic hardship. The women are ‘pushed’ from St. Petersburg because they do not feel protected and they never will. They dream of Sweden because of the statistical facts they know and they understand the value of a life in a well-functioning welfare state. The women fantasize about a stable future with a husband who can provide for his family, about the career opportunities that might appear, and about the prospects of an improved and healthier life.

---


Being married to a citizen of Sweden and the European Union opens the loosening borders even wider, and to some extent, the women are able to leave the problems of Russia behind. In the following chapters the ideas and hypotheses presented are further investigated. The study systematically presents a selection of the different motivations uncovered, and gives brief, but thorough and comprehensive explanations for each factor. It does not, however, go into in-depth detail, and therefore separate additional studies of the ideas are recommended for a broader understanding. The paper gives a general overview of the most relevant ideas to the particular topic, but also continuously emphasizes that the lists of ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors are not, and can never be, complete. It is impossible to entirely map the motivation behind phenomena such as migration. Although the research focuses on a seemingly small and specific group of migrants, it is still too difficult to create an accurate description fitting for every individual included. Subsequently, a general understanding of the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors for the marriage migration of Russian women in their 20’s from St. Petersburg to Sweden is presented.
2 Research Design

As indicated in the introduction, the following chapters conduct standardized and systematic comparisons of the data collected. The chosen topic develops into an obvious sociological project connected to human behavior and the choices made by individuals. Through the investigation of the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors of the specified group of migratory women, the major differences between the way of life in Russia and the way of life in Sweden are presented.

The chapter briefly introduces the choice of design and the different methods utilized throughout the study. It also elaborates on different reflections made during the research. The aim is to explain and clarify the methodological tools that were used. By doing so, it assists the reader in the evaluation and review of the quality of the research. It illustrates how the thesis has been constructed and reveals how conclusions eventually are drawn.

2.1 Flexible Research Design

The research design of this study is based on the specificity of the topic. The study of the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors connected with marriage migration of young Russian women aims to give the reader an understanding of social reality through the perspectives of the researched. (Blaxter, Hughes, Tight\(^{13}\), 2006:62). Consequently, the so-called flexible research design was chosen; using a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods. The thesis is mostly based on qualitative research, but through a flexible research design the author was given the freedom to expand the investigation, and also include minor aspects of quantitative methods. (Robson\(^{14}\), 1993) The main approach in the design is multiple case studies. It has primarily collected empirical data through

---


*While there has been a growth in the amount of mixed methods research, not all writers support its use. Objections to mixed methods research tend to be the result of a view that there are epistemological and ontological impediments to the combination of quantitative and qualitative research. There are several different ways of combining quantitative and qualitative research and of representing mixed methods research. The outcomes are combining quantitative and qualitative research can be planned or unplanned.* (Bryman, 2008: 625).


observations of and interviews with five anonymous respondents, but the fieldwork also includes a small-scale survey. These research tools are presented below.

In addition to case studies, the research is largely focused on deskwork and subsequently conducted extensive research on secondary literature and data, both library and computer based. It first and foremost made use of online articles, online forums, and chapters and excerpts from books, in order to develop and broaden the author’s understanding and critical point of view. The secondary data greatly helped in complementing and modifying the primary data collected. The process of collecting primary data was demanding and the quality varied significantly. With a limited amount of resources, in terms of the number of respondents, time and finances, the investigation was somewhat restrained within fieldwork. As a result of this, a lot of effort was invested into the deskwork and in finding adequate secondary data for content analyses. The secondary research proved to be very rewarding in terms of understanding, and it enlightened what has already been done on this topic, as well as what was in need of further research.

2.2 Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods

2.2.1 Case Studies

“The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and to analyze intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit with a view to establish generalizations about the wider population to which that unit belongs.” (Blaxter, Hughes, Tight, 2006:71-72)

The most significant empirical results of the study were attained through multiple case studies. The aim was to explore the factors that drive women to emigrate from St. Petersburg, Russia to Sweden. The case studies were essentially conducted through qualitative research with the intention of collecting information from personal experiences and perceptions of participants.
The characteristics of three individual respondents and two individuals as a couple were observed. In total, four case studies with five people were analyzed (see 2.2.2.1.). This resulted in an in-depth understanding of why certain respondents decided to leave St. Petersburg, Russia, and why they chose, or would prefer, to move to Sweden. Throughout the research the case studies helped in the comprehension of the complexity of social life. As mentioned, with the flexible research design, a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods was used, but it mainly focused on the latter. It only applied quantitative methods in the preparation of the secondary data; in order to facilitate the further qualitative research. (Blaxter, Hughes, Tight, 2006:85). More specifically, certain statistical data contributed in the decision-making process in terms of which subjects to investigate further.

With limited resources for empirical research, the choice of focusing on case studies was obvious. Through observation and conversations with actual subjects, data were collected from real experiences and perceptions. In the cases where subjects truly opened up, persuasive arguments for a number of the hypotheses were found.

Initially, there were continuous problems finding suitable candidates for the different studies planned. The difficulty lay in finding participants who were genuinely interested in opening up, and who had the credibility necessary for the research. The aim of the study was always explained in a well-planned manner, but more often than not, the author did not manage to persuade subjects to participate.

"Most commonly, ethical issues are thought to arise predominantly with research designs that use qualitative methods of data collection. All social research gives rise to a range of ethical issues around privacy, informed consent, anonymity, secrecy, being truthful and the desirability of the research." (Blaxter, Hughes, Tight, 2006:158)

This was especially true of the couple that eventually agreed to participate. All five subjects who agreed to help with the study requested full anonymity.

As participants were only found towards the end of the project, the time limit proved to be the most serious problem. The in-depth case studies initially
planned were not possible to conduct. However, this leaves many opportunities for future research.

**2.2.1.1 Quantitative Research**

**2.2.1.1.1 Questionnaire**

The administering of a questionnaire was significant in narrowing down the topic to St. Petersburg and Sweden, but otherwise did not produce any major conclusions or hypotheses for the study. Initially it was especially difficult to decide on the ‘destination’, but the questionnaire functioned as an efficient method of reducing the alternatives. Very early in the research an opportunity arose to conduct a minor survey at the Department of Foreign Languages at Herzen Pedagogical University in St. Petersburg. A list of eleven precise, but open, questions was drawn up; they indirectly implied migration, and even more precisely, - migration connected to marriage. In addition to narrowing the scope of the research, the author also aimed at defining different important keywords through the perspectives of the migrant group. The words ‘marriage’, ‘love’ and ‘fidelity’ were asked to be defined in five words; and gave answers with a wide variety of the respondents’ expectations, perceptions and understandings.

Through an acquaintance the questionnaire was distributed to a class of Methods of Teaching Foreign Languages consisting exclusively of female students in their third year of study. With the majority of the women being in their 20’s and from St. Petersburg, the results created a good foundation for the continuation of the research. It developed a wider range of ideas that, for example, eventually helped shape the interview-guide for the case studies (see 2.1.1.2.1). The majority of the students appeared more than interested in moving westwards if the opportunity arose. As students of foreign language they appeared willing and open to experience different cultures.

The results of the questionnaire again emphasized the difficulty of conducting accurate research on motivation behind migration. The answers varied greatly in every questionnaire and proved the absolute challenge within mapping common

---

15 See Appendix for questionnaire. Chapter 2 Research Design. Questionnaire 1.
ideas and motivation. What was obvious was that the entire group, when asked where in Europe they would wish to relocate, replied with hopes of a Western European country.

2.2.1.2 Qualitative Research

2.1.1.2.1 Interviews

The research questions investigate the 'push' factors that motivate Russian women in their twenties to emigrate from St. Petersburg, and the 'pull' factors that attract them to Sweden. The intention is to investigate this through analysis of conversational data created through interviews. The individuals interviewed told their personal stories; explaining their perceptions of the world and by doing so, confirming or weakening the initial hypotheses.

The interviews were conducted through the qualitative research method. Questions were prepared in advance, but there was room left to ask follow-up questions, should the necessity arise. The interviews had a thematic structure based on specific topics, but the order of the subjects was decided along the interview. This made it easier to follow the interviewee's answers, as well as keeping the information relevant to the topic of the study.

The aim was to capture the subjects' understanding of the so-called 'push' and 'pull' factors, and therefore this way of interviewing proved most suitable. An interview guide\textsuperscript{16} was created as a basis for the data expected to be gathered. A lot of research was made in advance through secondary analysis, in order to decide which questions would be of main relevance. Conversations about the research with random Russians gave an idea of what to expect, and therefore helped in customizing the interview guide even more.

The interview guide was not to be too structured with too many fixed questions. When the questions are freer it is more likely that the answers are genuine and consequently have a higher credibility. It was not important to ask all the

questions in the guide, as long as all the prepared subjects were touched upon. This made the interview more flexible for changes along the conversation.

The research subjects were contacted and found through the internet and other connections. It was very difficult to find Russian women in Sweden that were willing to agree to an interview. Eventually, a young Russian-Swedish married couple, living in Sweden, agreed to participate through a contact on the Swedish-Russian website riurik.se. The other three subjects were single women who were open to the idea of finding a Swedish husband and migrating. They were contacted via a social group on the social network vkontakte.ru.

At the request of the subjects, their identities were kept anonymous through the usage of fictitious names and a slightly change of age. When referring to the subjects in the chapters that follow, the fictitious names are used. The table below includes the necessary information about the women and man interviewed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Lives in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elena</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Leningrad/St. Petersburg, Russia</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>Stockholm, Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sven</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Stockholm, Sweden</td>
<td>Business Analyst</td>
<td>Stockholm, Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anastasia</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Leningrad/St. Petersburg, Russia</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>St. Petersburg, Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larissa</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Leningrad/St. Petersburg, Russia</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>St. Petersburg, Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polina</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Leningrad/St. Petersburg, Russia</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>St. Petersburg, Russia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The interviews were conducted in a different manner. With Elena and Sven, the married couple, correspondence was carried out over a short period solely by e-mail; and was later followed by a phone interview via Skype. With the three other respondents, the author conducted in-person interviews one by one. The interviews generally did not last more than an hour, were recorded and were conducted in English or Swedish/Norwegian.
3 Theoretical Framework

One of the most challenging aspects of a demographer’s research is to explain the incentives behind migration. Official statistics\(^{17}\)\(^{18}\) can show who and how many, but they do not necessarily explain why. Migration theories will logically never be able to comprehend, nor grasp, every single reason behind immigration and emigration, as every individual is different and has different motivation. Nevertheless, understanding what drives people to relocate, both domestically and internationally, is an essential task of a demographer, as well as a sociologist. It is important to recognize why people migrate in order to identify the different movements in bigger contexts (political, social, economic, etc.). This importance consequently underlines the significance of this particular study, as it examines the motivation behind one specific migrant group.

The following pages present the theoretical framework which functions as the basis for the study’s analysis, and thereby also explains relevant terminology. The chapter first introduces a relatively general and broad definition of the term ‘migration’ with the intention of demonstrating the size of the field of research. Thereafter, it discusses the origin, development and relevance of the ‘push-pull’ theory with reference to the ideas of its two main scholars. The theory originates from the 1885 work of Ernest Ravenstein\(^{19}\) “Laws of Migration” and was notably re-evaluated by Everett Lee\(^{20}\) in 1966. With Ravenstein and Lee’s understandings of migration as a basis, it is possible to properly evaluate the collected data, and thus confirm the hypotheses previously suggested.

3.1 Understanding “Migration”

The aim of this research is rooted in the understanding of the process of migration. Why does it occur and who is involved? Everett Lee (1966:49) defines migration

“...as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act, and no distinction is made between external and internal migration... Every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles.”

This is obviously a definition in the broadest sense of the word which can be seen as inadequate for the purpose of specific analyses. As long as the party involved is mobile it has the power to migrate. The likelihood of one person migrating, and to what extent this person migrates (internally or externally), depends on one or several different factors (gender, age, financial situation, access to information, family ties, obstacles and so forth). (Lee, 1966) It is reasonable to assume that there are different motivations for different migrant groups, whether they are migrating from one side of their home city to another or from one country to another. Lee continues his definition of migration by dividing the factors into four specific groups:

1. Factors associated with the area of origin.
2. Factors associated with the area of destination.
3. Intervening obstacles.
4. Personal factors.

These groups include the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors, and more. Lee revised Ernest Ravenstein’s theory and developed it further. The theory was not radically changed, but simply modified with some additional ideas. Both Ravenstein’s and Lee’s perceptions of the theory (presented below), although with emphasis on different factors, are taken into consideration to an equal degree in this study.

3.1.1 Ernest Ravenstein

3.1.1.1 “Laws of Migration” (1889)

The reason why certain phenomena appear as more accepted than others is due to their obtained hegemony of predominance. The idea of ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors has become such a phenomenon within migration studies. Ernest Ravenstein was the scholar who introduced the ‘push-pull’ theory as early as in 1889, and his work “Laws of Migration” is, remarkably, still current today. The ‘push-pull’ theory
considers the factors that trigger emigration and attract immigration. As one of the world’s first theorists in this area of research, Ernest Ravenstein concluded that migration could be explained as a process of ‘pushing’ and ‘pulling’. He developed “Laws of Migration” (1889) and elaborated on how people would be ‘pushed’ to emigrate by the circumstances that they consider inadequate in one place, and drawn to a new place by the temptation of improved conditions. The factors, such as gender, social class, age, and so forth, were classified as differentials and these would determine the mobility of the individual.

The ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors should complement each other. Ravenstein (1889) pointed out that “…migration can only occur if the reason to emigrate (the ‘push’) is remedied by the corresponding ‘pull’ at an attainable destination.” In order for there to be a trigger, there has to be an awareness of a better alternative. Although the theory appears to be divided fifty-fifty into two groups of factors, Ravenstein, in fact, put the main emphasis on the so-called ‘pull’ factors. He focused on those reasons as the dominant elements within the understanding of the background of migration. The ‘push’ factors were, without doubt, of significance, but the most decisive reasons for migration were the ‘pulling’ alternatives, especially those related to economic improvement.

Ravenstein’s theory was renowned and is still used today, but it was thoroughly re-evaluated by Everett Lee in 1966, when he decided to shift the focus and further develop the theory.

3.1.2 Everett Lee

3.1.1.1 “A Theory of Migration” (1966)

Everett Lee applauded the influence of Ravenstein’s ideas within research on migration and chose to develop them further through his own studies. In his book “A Theory of Migration” from 1966 he referred to the fact that “… Ravenstein has been much quoted and occasionally challenged… Nevertheless, his papers have stood the test of time and remain the starting point for work in migration theory.” (Lee, 1966:48-47) Today Ravenstein’s ideas still hold an important role in migration studies, but the additional ideas of Lee are also highly praised.
In the same work, Everett Lee (1966) re-evaluated the idea of the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors. In contrast to Ravenstein’s theory, Lee believed that the dominant emphasis should be put on the internal (‘push’) factors and not the external (‘pull’). Also, instead of only dividing the factors into groups of ‘push’ and ‘pull’, he created two additional sets of features that moreover put focus on intervening obstacles and personal factors.

“Clearly the set of +’s and -’s at both origin and destination is differently defined for every prospective migrant. Nevertheless, we may distinguish classes of people who react in similar fashion to the same general sets of factors at origin and destination. Indeed, since we can never specify the exact set of factors which impels or prohibits migration for a given person, we can, in general, only set forth a few which seem of special importance and note the general or average reaction of a considerable group. Needless to say, the factors that hold and attract or repel people are precisely understood neither by the social scientist nor the persons directly affected. Like Bentham's 21 calculus of pleasure and pain, the calculus of +’s and -’s at origin and destination is always inexact.” (Lee, 1966:50)

There are certain variables that essentially can slow down or even prevent migration altogether. Lee mentioned distance as well as physical and political barriers as examples of this. These can develop into so-called intervening obstacles, but this development is dependent on the differentials of the individual (age, gender, social class and so forth). Every individual responds in a different way to ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors, and therefore complicates the likelihood of creating a comprehensible and clear migration theory.

Lee continued by describing migration as selective because it is essentially dependent on the ability of the individual to be mobile. The personal factors also have to be taken under consideration. They are again dependent on the differentials of the individual. Lee (1966) lists personal factors such as a person’s education, knowledge of a potential receiver population, family ties, and so forth as issues that might make migration either possible or not happen at all.

“A simple calculus of +’s and -’s does not decide the act of migration. The balance in favor of the move must be enough to overcome the natural inertia which always


“Jeremy Bentham’s An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation (1789) is a presentation of an ethical theory that actions are right insofar as they produce pleasure or prevent pain, and is an explanation of a political theory that the purpose of civil or criminal laws is to maximize the amount of pleasure or happiness which may be enjoyed by society.”
exists... Different people are, of course, affected in different ways by the same set of obstacles.” (Lee: 1966:51)

“A Theory of Migration” (1966) includes a simple, but efficient diagram (figure 1) that demonstrates Lee’s theory. It points out that there are negative and positive features in both the origin and the destination (illustrated by minuses and plusses).

![Diagram of the process of relocation](image)

Lee illustrates the process of relocation by creating a void filled with physical obstacles between the two locations. It shows that in order to migrate from one place to another one has to overcome certain difficulties on different levels. The barriers can be physical, but it is important to underline that they can also be political, mental, and so forth. As Lee (1966) explains, the migrant has to reflect on his or her situation and consider both “…the positives of staying and the negatives of moving, as well as their converses.” If the plusses of the destination outnumber the plusses of staying at the origin, then the likelihood of migrating is high, and vice versa.

This study focuses largely on this theory. In order to understand why women from St. Petersburg decide to migrate to Sweden through marriage, the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors are investigated, as well as possible intervening obstacles and personal factors. In the following chapters these are presented and discussed.

---

3.2 Predictions for Future Research

Although the theories of Ravenstein and Lee today are generally accepted among migration theorists, new versions and understandings emerge rather frequently. There are many different approaches to the study of migration, and naturally the circumstances and factors continue to change with time. This leaves a lot of room for future research, as it is not possible to predict everything that will happen.

In relevance to this specific study, an interesting and very relevant ‘world-system theory’ was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein\textsuperscript{23} in the 1970’s and 1980’s. With the development of globalization and the spreading of capitalism international migration clearly began increasing as a result. Saskia Sassen\textsuperscript{24} (1988) elaborated on how there were emerging clear patterns of migration flows from poor nations to rich nations (from the periphery to the core). The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the economic problems that followed lead to such a trend in Russia. With the fall of the Iron Curtain the world opened up to the Russian people and the size of emigration drastically increased. (Sarsenov\textsuperscript{25}, 2004) Following the ‘push-pull’ theory the number of negative factors clearly outweighed the number of positive factors in Russia (see Chapter 4) and therefore led to the development within migration. A large number of Russians were ‘pushed from a poor existence in order to find better conditions in a new destination.

This thesis follows a flexible research design with focus on case studies and in-depth analysis of secondary data. The major drawback of this approach is the restrictions that follow the specificity of the topic. The study has been carried out with a relatively small number of case studies due to limitations of time and problems finding adequate subjects. Future studies on the current topic are therefore highly recommended in order to make a more detailed investigation.

The research to date has tended to focus on Russia as a country rather than studies of specific cities, like for example St. Petersburg. Further research should be done in order to explore, and thus understand, tendencies between different cities. This is undoubtedly an important issue for future research.
4 ‘Origin’: St. Petersburg, Russia

“I want to find a better job, a better climate, and of course, a better man who will treat me well, respect me and provide me with financial stability.”

Anastasia, 23, has always been very resolute when it comes to her dreams for the future. She has lived in St. Petersburg all her life, but is very honest about her determination to one day leave the city and Russia behind for good. When asked why she wants to leave she truthfully answers without any hesitation, “Russia does not provide for its people and it is not a place where I want my future children to grow up.” She is open to the idea that finding a foreign man and getting married could be the strategy that helps her succeed, although she emphasizes that she is not in any hurry.

“My friends are already starting to get married and there is a lot of pressure on me. I believe 23 is a good age to settle down, but I will not marry the first man I meet. I am prepared to wait for the right man to come along, and if he happens to be from another European country I will gladly pack my bags and follow him.”

The living situation in St. Petersburg and Russia has been through many ups and downs over the past decades. When Peter the Great founded St. Petersburg in 1703 he envisioned a window to the west and the city differed from the rest of the country from the very beginning. Today it has grown to become the second largest city in Russia, only outnumbered by the capital Moscow, and it is considered to be the country’s heart of European culture.

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 the standard of living yet again went through countless challenges and changes, especially following the financial crisis of 1998. Nevertheless, from then on and up until the recent global economic crisis in 2008-2009, where the Russians were among the hardest hit, the Russian economy in fact had an average growth of 7 %. The standard of living consequently improved and having before had an obvious gap between the

poor and the really wealthy, a Russian middle class was eventually introduced\textsuperscript{29}. Today the living conditions are again unstable and as a result of the unpredictable hardship of the Russian people they are affecting the demographics of the country. (See 4.2 and 4.3.1)

In the following pages the current situation in St. Petersburg is examined. The chapter focuses on the collected data associated with the study’s ‘origin’ and thus presents the ‘push’ factors. (Lee, 1966) A small introduction is given through a presentation of the Russian woman as a ‘myth’, in order to reveal an additional insight to the ‘origin’. In what different ways is she perceived around the world? The chapter also gives a very general overview of the migration trend in Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union; with the intention of recognizing the current state of affairs in a bigger context. From then on the key elements of the study are systematically presented, namely the most significant social, political and economic ‘push’ factors uncovered throughout the research. What precisely ‘pushes’ women to leave St. Petersburg? Is the situation in the city in actual fact bad? (Lee, 1966)

4.1 Myth of a Russian Woman

A ‘myth’ is defined in the dictionary\textsuperscript{30} as “…any invented story, idea, or concept”. In the framework of this particular study the myth is not an idea automatically based on facts, but on perceptions and understandings of previous or current social, political, and economic situations. There is logically a factual foundation behind the ideas and a certain knowledge that has helped create a basis for further development, but it does not automatically represent an accurate or realistic description. It is a concept or an idea invented through the personal experiences of individuals or groups and it naturally evolves from there.

The concept of the Russian woman as a bride abroad has eventually over time progressed into both flattering and unflattering myths on their behalf. In short, it is


impossible to place all women under the same set of characteristics and identify them as identical. It is merely a concept. On the other hand it is a fascinating way to understand how people around the world generate a set of opinions and how they might come to perceive one specific group of people in a particular way. It thus also becomes possible to predict how Russian marriage migrants may be welcomed in certain new surroundings and if they are at all accepted.

In order to initiate the argumentation, it is important to consider if there actually are ‘obvious’ characteristics of a Russian woman in her 20’s has. Is it at all possible to make a list?

“The Russian women are wonderful. They are extremely loyal both to their friends and their family. They are intelligent, kindhearted, and devoted to everything they do.”

Sven met Elena from St. Petersburg by chance at a university seminar in Stockholm four years ago. They have already been married almost two years. He has previously visited Russia three times and is able to express a clear opinion about the women he has come across on his journeys. The characteristics he describes in the average Russian woman are based on the features he has personally encountered. These ideas are not necessarily invented, but he takes them from his own private experiences, generalizes them and subsequently applies them to a larger group. His depiction is simply an idea in a bigger context which he considers a fitting description of the average Russian woman.

An apparently widespread myth on the study’s topic is presented in the following paragraphs. It is purely based on common perceptions from interviews conducted during the research and an analysis of secondary literature. The myth is not actual fact and should not be interpreted as such. It is merely an idea created through the average person’s stereotypes and common perceptions about young Russian women who migrate through marriage. It is offered as a general idea of how certain individuals might be perceived in new surroundings by random strangers.
The myth is systematically presented in two separate parts; the first focuses on the women’s positive attributes, while the second emphasizes the negative features.

4.1.1 Positive Myth

In the many social forums found on the Internet Slavic women appear as the perfect wives. The myth tells of truly independent ladies who devote themselves to being exceptional companions and mothers. There is undeniably an enormous ‘demand’ for young Russian brides among western men of all ages; a simple Google search with the key words ‘Russian bride’ results in almost 7 million websites within less than a second. A fundamental explanation for this can be found in the compelling characteristics uncovered and revealed by their myth. The flattering features appear to be on an endless list as assorted components of an ideal concept ‘almost’ tilting over to the extreme. In a nutshell the myth may positively describe the Russian woman as:

- **…highly intelligent.** Education is of great importance to her. She has an incredible confidence and is not afraid of showing off her intellect. “My Russian female friends here in Stockholm all have university degrees. I personally have a Russian specialist degree in political science from the St. Petersburg state university.” (Elena, 27) The Russian female immigrants in Sweden are remarkably among the highest educated in the country. (Landes, 2009)

- **…a lady.** She is elegant and expects men to treat her accordingly. “I have to admit, if a man does not suggest anything creative for our time together I get a little disappointed. It does not have to be something extraordinary, but I for example love receiving flowers. (Larissa, 23) In Sweden men might not be used to paying the entire bill at a restaurant, but with a

---

31 See Appendix for illustration. Chapter 4 ‘Origin’: St Petersburg, Russia. Picture 1.
32 Higher education: There are three levels of higher education (in Russia): 1) incomplete higher education (2 years at least); 2) 4-year programmes leading to the Bakalav’s degree, the first final university degree; 3) postgraduate studies with duration of 1-2 years leading to the Magistr degree. HEIs are authorized to award the Magistr’s degree after the completion of 2 years of study or the Specialist Diploma after 1 year of study following upon the Bakalav’s degree.”

Russian woman it is expected. “This is how we understand if a man is interested in us. We love being spoiled.” (Anastasia, 23)

- **an exceptional mother and a devoted wife.** From an early age the Russian woman dreams of finding her ideal man and becoming a mother. She is independent, but truly enjoys taking care of her family. “I have always looked forward to getting a married and starting a large family.” (Elena, 27) Russian women are not opposed to more than one child.

- **early mature.** She noticeably develops emotionally and psychologically faster than the western European woman. “I am impressed by the maturity of Elena and her Russian female friends. They all seem to grow up at an earlier age than the local women here in Stockholm. We met five years ago when Elena was 22, but I did not notice any age difference between us. In fact, she was, and still is, more mature than I am. At that time she already knew what she wanted in life.” (Sven, 29) The contemporary Russian woman in her 20's has experienced the hardship of Russia in transition and the country’s struggle to get back on its feet. It is obvious that she has the prerequisites to comprehend the world in a mature way earlier than the women in calm and secure Sweden.

- **an ethereal beauty.** She attentively takes care of her magnificence and always looks her best when in public surroundings. The delicate poise of the Russian woman makes her mystical and unique. “Yes, Russian women are gorgeous. Our beauty does not only represent an attractive exterior, but also warmth and a strong character on the inside.” (Larissa, 23)

These bullet points describe an ideal woman to many, but are merely selected ‘highlights’ that emphasize the pedestal the Russian woman is placed on from the positive angle. However, the myth is of course not complete without its possible negative features.
4.1.2 Negative Myth

"Women from third world countries, and increasingly from Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Republic, are being driven by poverty, coaxed by persuasion or coerced by deceit or violence into a contract to offer sexual services in exchange for passage into Europe." (Morris, 2002:127)

Lydia Morris (2002) describes in this quote the most essential negative picture in the myth about the Russian woman. It is based on actual facts that have become a reality more than ever after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In due course, the image of an innocent, defenseless girl fighting for a better life and her freedom has become a vital part of the described concept. The struggles of the Russian woman have gradually reached the awareness of the average man and woman. Behind the otherwise elegant bride abroad an alarming truth surfaced.

The miserable features of the myth develop through real stories and frightening statistics, and unfortunately it also to a certain extent leads to the stigmatization of many Russian females married to local men abroad. In her research on the rights of migrants, Lydia Morris (2002) presents many startling facts and statistic. News headlines from all over the world reveal tales of young, hopeful girls risking everything, only to become victims of crime and exploitation.

"The European Commission estimates that 120,000 women and children a year are lured from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe alone to the European Union." (European Parliament, 2001, Morris, 2002:127)

The figures are devastating and add a dangerous element to the myth. The political situation in Russia over the past two-three decades, followed by its economic and social troubles (see 4.2 and 4.3), paints a picture of the woman as a victim in need of being saved. She is desperate and wants more than anything to leave Russia behind for good. Consequently she looks to the west for rescue in the shape of a man and marriage.

"I have on different occasions been asked by complete strangers whether I came to Sweden as a mail-order-bride. Some people find it difficult to understand that I came here because I fell in love. When they learn that I am Russian and that my husband is Swedish I feel like they are judging us. However, it does not happen too often as it is easy to blend in and people cannot automatically tell that I am Russian." (Elena, 27)

---

The facts are frightening and important to keep in mind, but as mentioned over and over again, it is impossible to place all Russian women under the same set of characteristics. Of course this is easier said than done.

Some of the most frequently used negative features in the myth of the Russian woman/bride are:

- **The women get married under false pretences.** She only wishes to marry a western man with the intention of finding a loophole in immigration restrictions (see chapter 5). The woman is first and foremost searching for a way to leave Russia and only after that she will possibly consider building a genuine relationship. The marriages are often arranged through dating agencies and the man is not aware of the woman’s intentions. (Morris, 2002:129)

- **The women do not understand the expression “rights”**. In Russia society is man-run and women are prescribed to the home. “Russian women on average are less happy than men and this persisting evidence might be a signal of a vulnerable position of women in the country.” (Selezneva, 2008:1) Even in marriage women and men are not considered equals. (Simmons, 2001) “Russian men do not appreciate us women and never say thank you. They take our presence for granted and therefore become very unreliable.” (Larissa, 23)

- **The women are socialized to get married.** From an early age the female half of the Russian population is expected to think about its future. Already as they enter their twenties the expectations of finding a husband automatically increases, and if they can do so to a foreigner, it will be considered more prestigious. “They do not think about possible abuses or difficulties of going off with a foreigner, and if they hear about cases of bad

---

34 See Appendix for example. Chapter 4 ‘Origin’: St Petersburg, Russia. Picture 2.
situations, they will deny their own potential for turning into a victim.”
(Simmons, 2001)

The bullet points in both the negative and positive section are selected in order to illustrate the extreme contrasts within the myth of the Russian woman. This small introduction is written with the intention to give an additional insight to the further study. The different perceptions presented are ideas created through personal experiences and depict a multifaceted understanding of a concept. It is by no means an accurate description for an entire group, but different combinations of these features, and many more, can be put together in order to describe certain individuals. An interesting question remaining in this section for further study could be which part of the myth outweighs the other; the negative or the positive?

4.2 Russian Emigration

The changes that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union were colossal and visibly affected the large majority of the Russian population. Having previously been run by a planned economy, it was suddenly forced to restructure to a market economy. Inevitably, the way of life in everyday society was altered. The restructuring had an immediate effect on the demographic behavior in the country with the obvious increase of new ‘push’ factors (see 4.3.1).

“I remember the day when everything changed. The Soviet Union had ceased to exist - at least on paper – and suddenly everything became very expensive. It was an incredibly terrifying time filled with a lot of uncertainty. I remember thinking that Russia was strange and I looked to the west for normality. All I wanted was to leave and to live a normal life in a normal country.”

Elena was 7 years old in 1991 and vividly remembers the changes that followed the dissolution of the Soviet Union. It was a time of brutal adjustments for the Russian people and it made the daily life in society unbelievably challenging.

Migration prior to 1991 under the reign of the Soviet Union had for Russians mainly been possible to the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) countries. Due to obvious intervening political obstacles it was first in 1987, partly

---

as a result of Gorbachov’s ‘perestroika’ and ‘glasnost’ campaign\textsuperscript{38}, that the borders slowly started to open up and immigration to other countries started to be highly noticeable. Non-CIS migration numbers presented by Karin Sarsenov (2004) show that at that time “… \textit{the rate of emigration was approximately 3 000 per annum, rising to 9 700 in 1987 and reached 103 600 in 1990}.” This was an extreme increase of emigrants and the figures clearly highlight the severity of the transition situation the Russian people was facing. The tremendous and radical changes in society were so life altering in a negative sense that they ‘pushed’ people to leave. Nevertheless, as the transition from the Soviet Union to the Russian Federation had been more or less completed, the quantity of Russian emigrants eventually stabilized (at approximately 100 000 people a year) and steadily started to decline again. “\textit{In 2001 only 75 000 people immigrated to countries outside CIS and the Baltic States}.” (Rossiiskii statesticheskii ezhegodnik, 2002, Sarsenov, 2004) In 2009 this number had decreased to 12,132. (Rosstat\textsuperscript{39}, 2011)

The massive differentiation in numbers over the years undoubtedly illustrates that the period following the dissolution of the Soviet Union had countless downs and not so many ups. However, the situation eventually more or less stabilized, at least in the way of dealing with the country’s new status as the Russian Federation, and the number of emigrants in the long run essentially started to decrease. An apparent explanation for this could be that the social circumstances in the country had, to a certain extent, evened out and as a result of this a number of the ‘push’ factors naturally disappeared or decreased in significance. This could consequently explain why and how the numbers shrunk as drastically as they did. The ongoing Russian situation is in fact remarkable; especially taking into account that the country’s economy has been through two financial catastrophes since the dissolution, and yet the total number of emigrants from 1997 to 2009 dropped from a total of 232,987 to 32,458 (both numbers include


\textsuperscript{39} See appendix for table. Chapter 4 ‘Origin’: St Petersburg, Russia. Table 1.
immigrants to the CIS countries). The ‘push’ factors that were evident during the dissolution of the Soviet Union are not the same in the migration trends of today’s Russia.

4.3 ‘Push’ Factors

The purpose of this chapter is to examine and eventually understand the motivation behind female migration from St. Petersburg, and therefore it examines solely the negative aspects of the ‘origin’. This specific study investigates the question of why certain women in their 20’s end up leaving Russia in exchange for a life in Sweden. In the next pages possible explanations for this are discussed by consequently presenting the ‘push’ factors uncovered throughout the research. In the previous section it was made clear that less and less Russians are leaving the country. Nevertheless, there are still obvious issues that motivate women to migrate and these are in the following presented individually alongside any intervening obstacles or personal factors of relevance.

4.3.1 Statistics

An elementary and initiating way of finding ‘push’ factors is to inspect official up-to-date statistics. The study examines three particular issues. In the following pages the focus is particularly put on important demographic numbers. The figures selected for analysis are taken from the Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation (from here on out referred to as Rosstat) and the CIA World Factbook.

4.3.1.1 Population

On the 7th of June 2006 BBC News Moscow reported on the disturbing statement of the (then) Russian President Vladimir Putin. He continuously stressed the severity of the country’s demographic problem; calling the future predictions catastrophic. The President indicated that the issue of the radically

---


declining population already was and would further develop into one of the most urgent and pressing matters for the future of the nation.

“The country’s population is declining by at least 700,000 people each year, leading to slow depopulation of the northern and eastern extremes of Russia, the emergence of hundreds of uninhabited "ghost villages" and an increasingly aged workforce… Official Russian forecasts, along with those from international organizations like the UN, predict a decline from 146 million to between 80 and 100 million by 2050.” (Eke, 2006)

The economic and social hardship that followed the dissolution of the Soviet Union discouraged countless couples to start families. As an obvious result of this, the Russian fertility rate suffered a tremendous decline over the next decades and is still suffering today. (Rosstat, 2011) In particular following the financial hardship of the 1990’s, the people appeared to fear the responsibility of starting new families. In contrast to the time of the Soviet Union, it was simply not a priority anymore. (See 4.3.2 for more) The fertility trend has eventually caused a continuous acceleration within the aging of the Russian population. The predicted outcome of this is the convergence in the proportion of older people, as the large majority of the Russian population is at the age of 15-64. Estimations made recently for July 2011 by the CIA World Factbook (2011) show that the Russian population will already be as low as 138,739,892.

The tragic demographic predictions for the future are obvious ‘push’ factors for both women and men in Russia, as they pose immense social challenges. For example, the labor force is constantly shrinking, while the demand for health care is persistently increasing. There is in reality a high possibility of bankruptcy within pension systems, and the logical solution to this is to increase taxes on an already shrinking work force. (Eke, 2006) It appears to be a hopeless situation and these circumstances are by experts expected to persist over decades to come. Consequently, the demographic situation in Russia serves as logical motivation for migration to a more ‘secure’ country.

4.3.1.2 Male to Female Ratio

The ‘myth’ of the Russian woman previously discussed claimed that society and culture in Russia is dominated by men. (See 4.1.2) While this could be described
as an idea within a concept, it is all the more interesting that women in fact by far outnumber men in the country. (The CIA World Factbook, 2011) The reality of the inconsistency in Russia’s sex ratio qualifies as an obvious ‘push’ factor. It is another common ‘myth’ that most women want to get married at some point, but the fact of the matter is that there are unfortunately not enough men in the country.

“In St. Petersburg there is truly a visible shortage of men. I am shocked. On the streets you can easily find gorgeous girls walking around with short, unattractive men, who are either too old or too young for them. It is as if we have to settle for less than our worth. This is why we look outside Russia for husbands.” (Anastasia, 23)

The table to the right illustrates the figures taken from the CIA World Factbook (2011). As mentioned in the previous section, the large majority of the Russian population is at the age of 15-64. Although 0.92 male(s) per female might appear as an acceptable ratio, it is imperative to take into account that the population amounts to almost 139 million people. In fact, according to the CIA World Factbook (2011) there are in the group exactly 47,480,851 men and 52,113,279 women. The inconsistency also clearly increases in the next age group, 65 years and over, thus serving as an evident ‘push’ factor for women to find husbands elsewhere.

### 4.3.1.3 Marriage

There are currently “…34 million married couples in Russia. Of every 1,000 persons age 16 and over, 572 are married; 114 are widowed; 94 are divorced; and 210 were never married… The number of persons who have never been married increased at the same rate as the number of divorced. Approximately

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At birth</td>
<td>1.06 male(s)/female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 15 years</td>
<td>1.06 male(s)/female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-64 years</td>
<td>0.92 male(s)/female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years and over</td>
<td>0.44 male(s)/female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>0.85 male(s)/female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

42 See appendix for table, population pyramid and details. Chapter 4 ‘Origin’: St Petersburg, Russia. Table 2 and Population Pyramid 1.
800,000 marriages are dissolved annually. Vladimir Zubkov⁴³ (2007) systematically summarizes the marriage situation in Russia in his research on the contemporary Russian family. He clearly indicates that people still frequently get married, but divorce is currently a widespread situation, and thus there is also an increase in people who never get married.

To emphasize why these figures represent a ‘push’ factor, the study again refers to Vladimir Zubkov’s research. (2007) He interestingly claims that the problem “…is extramarital sexual relations. Research shows about 60% of men and about 30% of women have had extramarital sexual experiences (Gurko & Boss, 1995). Men more often hold a principle of the double standard and to a greater degree accept extramarital sexual relations for men than women. Naturally, such freedom in sexual relations does not add strength to a marriage and is one of the causes of divorce, though as numerous studies show, not the most important cause.”

With frightening statistics of failed marriages, Russian women might have troubles trusting Russian men, no matter what the reasons might be. The threatening figures of divorce thus ‘push’ some individuals to search for husbands outside of the country.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Thou.</th>
<th>Per 1000 of population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marriages</td>
<td>divorces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>897.3</td>
<td>627.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1199.4</td>
<td>699.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The official marriage and divorce statistics from 2000 and 2009 presented by Rosstat. (2011)⁴⁴

4.3.2 Future Family Life & Environment

Apart from the statistical features, one of the most decisive ‘push’ factors for female migrants is connected with the lack of state support to the Russian people, in particular families. (Zubkov, 2007) All the women interviewed in this study confirm that they and their young female friends in Russia have no expectations when it comes to federal support.

⁴⁴ See appendix for full table and details, Chapter 4 ‘Origin’: St Petersburg, Russia. Table 3.
“In Russia there is no effective pro-family social policy. The government is busy rendering social help in the form of benefits and privileges to families who need it. This help is very modest and only compensates for the inflationary fall of the living standards to a minor degree.” (Zubkov, 2007)

The little support in fact offered is only available under severe circumstances and the average family does not necessarily receive anything at all.

The majority of the social difficulties faced today are typically traces of old policies from the time of the Soviet Union. There have barely been made any changes to the so-called Russian welfare legislation since the dissolution in 1991. Instead, the structural constraints are intensified and the state’s social attitude towards family appears to have altered to the disadvantage of women, especially those with children. (Kanji, 2004:207)

In Judith McKinney’s research on Russian lone mothers (2004), she reveals that the Russian government claims little responsibility for the basic needs of its people. The constant struggle for fundamental necessities unsurprisingly qualifies as legitimate motivation for emigration. McKinney (2004) gives several examples of what Russia is missing due to federal resistance in changing old Soviet policies. There is, for instance, an obvious

“… shortage of housing and the health consequences arising from environmental degradation are clearly the result of Soviet-era policies, while the difficulties the federal government encounters in collecting taxes to fund assistance programs stem both from the inherited administrative structure and from attitudes instilled in the earlier period… In particular, the state has not retreated from its view of children as public goods, nor has it retreated in principle from its responsibility for providing healthcare and education to the population.” (McKinney, 2004:55)

In short, basic needs such as housing, healthcare and education are not provided by the state.

The lack of support is also apparent in the general health of the people. As already stated in the statistical section, the demographic situation in Russia is going through a dramatic decrease in numbers. One of many explanations for this is the dwindling wellbeing of the Russian people, especially the men. The
abuse of alcohol and narcotics is alarmingly high and the state has little control over its production, development and amount of consumption. (Zubkov, 2007) It is perhaps surprising, but Russia only ranks tenth in the world in alcohol consumption. However, this illustrated picture should not be overemphasized as it is not necessarily accurate. Zubkov (2007) explains the ranking as a result of the fact that

“… in some areas of the country up to 90% of absolute alcohol is consumed in the condition of strong drinks. In Europe, this parameter usually does not exceed 30%.”

Consequently, alongside the increase of substance abuse there is an increase in crime. 70-90 % of Russia’s crime numbers (including rape, murder and assault) are caused by people who are under the influence of either alcohol or narcotics. (Zubkov, 2007) The lack of state control on borders, where illegal importation of drugs occurs, as well as limited regulations on alcohol sale, has naturally resulted in an increasingly dangerous environment. Russian women are hence ‘pushed’ to leave Russia in order to create a safer environment for their children and their families.

According to Zubkov (2007), alcohol and illegal substance abuse is today also a very common cause for divorce. If there are children involved, the very interesting issue of alimony becomes relevant, which again is an obvious ‘pull’ factor for the women with children.

“The basic premise during a divorce in Russia is that the parent living away from the child should pay child support. The Family Code requires that child support in a Russian divorce be 25% of net monthly income for one child, 33% of net monthly income for two children and 50% of net monthly income for three or more children.” (Kalaschnikova47, 2006)

In other words, Russian children are by law entitled to financial support from their parents. In the Russian case it is mostly men who are required to pay alimony.48 However, the country is faced with an increasingly problematic culture of tax
evasion, and so-called ‘white’ and ‘black’ salaries. The registered ‘white’ salary is by a large majority of the population only perceived as a small percentage of the actual paycheck. The Russian salaries are commonly and regularly paid partly ‘black’ in order to avoid high taxes. (Yakovlev\textsuperscript{49}, 2001)

“I have a salary of 30 000 rubles per month, but officially, in the contract, it is only written that I receive 10 000 rubles. This is because neither my employers, nor I, want to pay the high taxes. The downside, of course, is that I have no documentation that I actually earn 30 000 rubles, and so my employer pays me as he pleases.” (Larissa, 23)

In the situations where alimony is relevant, the amount the child is entitled to is based on the ‘white’ salary. This means that the parent obliged to pay alimony, in fact, is only regulated to contribute in the upbringing of their children, based on parts of their salary. In other words, they are not required by the state to pay the actual amount entitled to the child. Consequently, if alimony is not paid, the parent with the custody of the child is put under unjust financial pressure. (Yakovlev, 2001)

It is well documented that the Russian state does not take good enough care of important basic needs for its people. It is an obvious ‘push’ factor that there today, for example, are few, if any, incentives among young Russians to start new families. The women want to give their children a better life and therefore they are ‘pushed’ to find healthier circumstances in order to do so. During the reign of the Soviet Union “…work was one of the civic obligations for women as well as men, but it was also a source of personal fulfillment and happiness.” (Zubkov, 2007) Today, in post-socialist Russia, the women are still forced to focus on work, but the security that used to follow has today faded away, and it is difficult to afford having a family. That is why some women are drawn towards countries like Sweden, where work, family, children and grandchildren are taken care of by a state that puts focus on the welfare of its people. (Saarinen\textsuperscript{50}, Sverdljuk\textsuperscript{51}) (See Chapter 5 ‘Destination’: Sweden)


**4.3.3 Economic situation**

Vladimir Zubkov (2007) has in his research collected some of the most important ‘push’ factors that motivate young Russian women to migrate. The challenge of economic hardship is no exception, especially in Russia, a country that has been catastrophically hit by two devastating financial crisis in the past two decades. The country today suffers from huge social differences between the rich and the poor, with the large majority of the population being among the underprivileged. However, with the average 7% growth of the economy after the 1998 financial crisis, a middle class eventually emerged. (CIA World Factbook, 2011) Even so, “…one of the myths advanced both by some governments and some families is that people have fewer children than they want only because of financial difficulties.” (Zubkov, 2007) It is essentially easier said than done to start a family in Russia, which without a doubt ‘pushes’ women to want to leave. Emigration can thus actually be seen as direct consequence of the economic hardship that followed the end of the Soviet Union.

Today, there is a very high percentage of Russian women working alongside their husbands in the labor market. (Zubkov, 2007) It has become a necessity in order to support the basic needs for themselves and their families. The transition from a planned economy to a market economy was notably not successful with regards to the Russian people. Although the size of the female labor force is constantly in growth “…the principle of equal labor market opportunities and equal pay for the two genders is, in fact, not followed any more, possibly giving an increased perception of gender discrimination.” (Selezneva, 2008:2)

The living conditions and financial situations of the women who in fact decide to leave Russia differ. Although there is an obvious struggle to earn a living, the circumstances have truly improved since 1998. It is in reality possible to plot the economic development alongside the Russian trends of migration. As the economic situation in Russia has improved, the number of migrants has

In: <http://www.nikk.no/?module=Articles;action=Article.publicShow;ID=618>.
consequently decreased. (See 4.2) None the less, economic ‘push’ factors will continue to be applicable in describing the motivation behind emigration.

**4. 4 Concluding Remarks**

Chapter four has focused on the understanding of what drives people to leave their country of origin behind in exchange for a more attractive destination. (Lee, 1966) It has investigated what possible motivation some women have for migrating through marriage to Sweden. Consequently, the myth of the Russian woman was examined, in order to somehow predict and evaluate which factors could be of highest importance for the specific group.

With an obvious decrease in Russian emigrants, both female and male, it has ironically become increasingly challenging to locate the ‘push’ factors. (Lee, 1966) It is particularly difficult to find plausible incentives that can be applied to the migration of a specific group. The study has therefore focused on the most obvious and reliable ‘push’ factors and examined their current relevance.

If the number of Russian migrants is significantly decreasing year by year, the situation in the country must be logically improving. The ‘push’ factors today are not as obvious as they were compared to right after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. From 1991 the number of Russian emigrants to non-CIS countries exploded as a logical consequence of the political turmoil of the transition. (Sarsenov, 2004) However, as discussed and uncovered throughout the chapter, there will always be certain basic ‘push’ factors that will stay relevant; especially in countries with enormous populations, like Russia.

It is impossible to fully understand the motivation behind migration. There will never be a complete list of ‘push’ factors and there will always be a demand for future research on the topic. This chapter has focused on some of the most essential aspects of the ‘origin’. To name a few, it has examined; 1) the almost uninterrupted economic challenges following the transition from the Soviet Union; 2) the lack of financial and sociological support from the Russian state to cover basic needs; 3) the continuously developing demographic catastrophe leading to
dark predictions for the future; 4) the alarming shortage of men compared to women; 5) the heartbreaking and upsetting consequences of alcohol and narcotics abuse; 6) and the high rates of failing marriages. Although there are less and less Russians emigrating, there are still many ‘push’ factors that cannot be forgotten.

The following chapter focuses on the ‘destination’ (Lee, 1966) and consequently creates a counterweight to the ‘push’ factors. It presents the appealing sociological, political and economic characteristics of Sweden. Furthermore, it examines any relevant intervening obstacles and personal factors that might appear. (Lee, 1966) What is it that attracts Russian women to Sweden?
5 ‘Destination’: Sweden

“The atmosphere is simply different here. Of course, there are bad days, but I find myself not worrying in the same way as when I lived in St. Petersburg. Somehow my outlook on life changed with the new surroundings.”

Elena, 27, has lived in Stockholm, Sweden, almost two years with her Swedish husband, Sven. She claims she never planned to find a husband abroad, but attending a university seminar in 2007, she simply fell in love. Two years later she was married and had moved to a new country. “I was convinced that it would not evolve into anything serious, but it turned out to be the best seminar I would ever attend.” Today she works as an accountant in a global consulting firm based in Stockholm. With a decent salary, a beautiful home on the outskirts of the Swedish capital, and most importantly, an equally successful husband, Elena enjoys the envy of her female friends back in Russia. “Every time one of my friends come and visit us, or we visit St. Petersburg, we notice hints of jealousy. There is never any resentment, but we are very often the victims of poorly thought-out jokes.”

Northern Europe is not automatically an ideal place to live. However, with frequent describing adjectives such as “free”, “civilized”, and “prosperous”, (Spiridon 2006:378). In addition to Elena’s personal and rewarding experiences, it is easy to understand why some of her friends become envious. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Russian people face many daily challenges - with little support from its government. In large contrast to Russia’s way of dealing with the transitions within its economy, politics and society, Sweden had already from the mid 20th century become known for its very liberal market economy with state-run welfare policies. (Westin, 2006) Throughout the study, the Swedish government appears, without a doubt, to take better care of its people than that of the Russian government. In the following pages there will

---

52 By poorly thought-out jokes, Elena specified that her friends, at times, make jokes that clearly emphasize their desires to have what she has. She explained that she is never offended, but the jokes often appear as a sign of discontent with their own situations.


given numerous examples of this. It is therefore nothing, but natural for especially vulnerable people to start dreaming of migrating, and the west appears to be an obvious choice, if not only a dream.

“In European usage, the meaning of the word border has progressively changed from a fact of nature to a cultural, political and ideological product of human will.” (Spiridon, 2006:376)

Sweden has the largest population out of the Scandinavian countries, but its estimated 9 million people only qualify as one of the smallest in comparison to the other member states of EU. (Westin, 2006) Nevertheless, size does not matter and the opportunity to live in Sweden does not limit people to its borders; it in fact gives easier access to the majority of the continent.

What is it exactly that attracts migrants in the direction of the European Union, and more specifically, towards Sweden? In the following pages this is investigated, alongside an assessment of the current situation in Sweden and a comparison with what was already uncovered about St. Petersburg, Russia. The chapter focuses on the collected data associated with the study’s ‘destination’ and thus presents the ‘pull’ factors. (Lee, 1966) A small introduction is given through a presentation of the Swedish man as a ‘myth’; in the same manner as with the myth about the Russian woman. This is in order to reveal an additional insight to the ‘destination’. The chapter also gives a very general overview of the marriage immigration trend in Sweden; with the intention of recognizing the current state of affairs in a bigger context. In this way it is additionally possible to investigate relevant intervening obstacles. (Lee, 1966) From then on the key elements of the study are systematically be presented, namely the most significant social, political and economic ‘pull’ factors uncovered throughout the research. What precisely attracts Russian women in their 20’s to Sweden?

5.1 Myth of Swedish Men

“Swedish men are the complete opposite of Russian men and the advantage clearly goes in favor of the Scandinavians. I am not personally friends with any Swedes, but I am familiar with western men in general and how they behave. They appear to treat women with greater respect and they take better care of their close ones.” (Larissa, 23)
A ‘myth’ is in Chapter 4 defined as “…any invented story, idea, or concept.” (Dictionary.com, 2011) It is therefore important to once again emphasize that what is presented in the following section is not an idea automatically based on facts, but on perceptions and understandings of previous or current social, political, and economic situations.

The concept of the Swedish man is frequently connected with his role as a husband, and goes hand-in-hand with a more general perception of the western man. It is not necessarily an ideal, but an evolved concept of individuals’ perceptions of different incidents, events and experiences. In the same way as with the myth of the Russian woman, the idea of the Swedish man has developed in both flattering and unflattering directions. It is highly unlikely that the concept created will ever be appropriate enough to describe every individual Swedish male, but it will help generate a representation of which characteristics make them attractive to the Russian women. The myth can accordingly also, to a certain extent, be understood as an emphasis of the features that might be missed in Russian men. This section ultimately functions as an added insight to why some women from St. Petersburg decide to specifically migrate through marriage.

In order to initiate the argumentation, it is important to consider if there actually are ‘obvious’ characteristics of a Swedish man. Is it at all possible to make a list?

“Apart from the obvious superficial characteristics, the Swedish men are the most emotionally available I have ever met. My husband is beyond caring and never fails to treat me as an equal. He is impressively responsible and attentive to the people around him, no matter what relation they share. I can honestly say that I never met anyone like him in Russia.”

Elena builds her entire perception of Swedish men on the characteristics she finds in her husband of two years, Sven. She emphasizes that she has many male friends in Sweden, but her perception of her husband is the only one that she cares about. The features she describes are by no means false, but they are her private understandings of one individual man she has a close relationship with; and she has expanded and applied them to a larger group. She is herself aware that this is merely a group of ideas in a bigger context.
In the following paragraphs some of the main features uncovered about the Swedish man are presented. They are purely based on common perceptions from interviews conducted during the research and an analysis of secondary literature. The myth is not actual fact and should not be interpreted as such. It is merely an idea created through the average person’s stereotypes and common perceptions about western men, more specifically Swedish men. It is offered as a general idea of what attract them to women from Russia. The myth is, as in the previous chapter, systematically presented in two separate parts; the first focuses on the men’s positive attributes, while the second emphasizes the negative features.

5.1.1 Positive Myth

Sweden is renowned as one of the countries in the world with the highest levels of gender equality. (Sweden.se\textsuperscript{55}) For that reason, and many more, it is not surprising that positive perceptions of their men flourish alongside the inspiring statistics. The myth tells of supportive husbands who take equal responsibility in the home, and at the same time encourage their wives to pursue any career ambitions they might have. The flattering features appear in the same way as with the women, as assorted components of an ideal concept. According to the myth uncovered, the Swedish man can be summarized in the following way as:

- ...financially stable. He has a steady job with a reasonable salary and can offer his family a required economic stability. If he is unfortunate and loses his job, the Swedish state will function as a safety net and support him and his family until he gets back on his feet. "The salaries in Sweden are completely different from the salaries Russia. Even in a job without any required background, like for example working in a gas station, I hear it is possible to earn more than, for example, a doctor in Russia." (Anastasia, 23)

\textsuperscript{55} Sweden.se, The official gateway to Sweden. (2011). “Gender equality in Sweden.” Accessed: 16/05/2011. In: \url{http://www.sweden.se/eng/Home/Society/Equality/Facts/Gender-equality-in-Sweden/}. “Sweden has one of the highest levels of gender equality in the world. This is based on the belief that a more just and democratic society results from women and men sharing power and influence equally. A well developed welfare system makes it easier for both sexes to balance their work and family life.”

• **...extremely responsible, kind and loyal.** The Swedish man is a responsible husband and father. He is kind to the people around him and completely loyal to the ones who truly matter to him; he is the man of the house and takes responsibility as such; he provides his family with all their needs and will go to any lengths to secure their well-being. “*I want a man who takes responsibility for his actions. I want him to be independent and able to make decisions in the best interests of the people he cares about. I think the best way to succeed in finding someone like this, is to look to the west.*” (Anastasia, 23) Although he plays an obvious male figure in the household, the Swedish man always treats his wife as an equal.

• **...inventive, faithful and a compassionate partner in a relationship.** The Swedish man is completely devoted to one individual woman. He shows a compassionate love for his partner and through continuous inventive suggestions he never stops surprising her with warmth and affection. “*Sven treats me like a star and always jokes about it as one of the many advantages of being his VIP. That is, of course, one of the things I love about him above all. When I come home from a long day at work, he always treats me to a beautiful and delicious home-made dinner.*” (Elena, 27) The Swedish man makes his partner feel loved at all times.

• **...sophisticated.** As a perfect match to the Russian lady (see 4.1.1), the Swedish man demonstrates an exceptionally high level of sophistication, in particular within social gatherings. He has impressive communicating skills, a stylish sense of everyday fashion, and his personal interests are of high intellectual level. “*When I visited Stockholm last summer, I was amazed with how classy the men looked. From a distance, even the ones you could tell were not of the most popular appearance had a sophisticated style.*” (Larissa, 23)

• **...healthy.** The Swedish man takes remarkably good care of his health, both physically and mentally. He voluntarily keeps himself in shape by eating well and working out to stay strong. “*It is no secret that a lot of men...*
in Russia have a tendency to drink and smoke. I have heard they even do so more than the average western man. I am not saying men in Sweden do not drink or smoke, but they appear to do it in a more controlled way.”

(Larissa, 23)

These bullet points describe examples of characteristics found in the perfect husband for certain women. They are a few highlights illustrating the apparent idealization of the western Swedish man. Nevertheless, as in the case of the myth of the Russian women, there are of course equally as many negative features to pay attention to.

5.1.2 Negative Myth

The negative myth of the Swedish man is naturally in complete contrast to the already presented positive features. Stories of betrayal and abuse have in the long run become increasingly common ideas in the concept of western men married to eastern women. The facts and numbers presented in the previous chapter, as a description of the negative myth about the Russian woman, are also of the utmost importance in this section. Logically, in this case the point of view is adjusted to fit the role of the Swedish man. While the Russian woman was depicted as a helpless and vulnerable victim, the Swedish man is portrayed as a brutal and merciless perpetrator. She is the young defenseless girl, while he is the older, ruthless criminal.

The Russian women are

“...socialized to get married and if they can do so to a foreigner, this will be considered more prestigious. They do not think about possible abuses or difficulties of going off with a foreigner, and if they hear about cases of bad situations, they will deny their own potential for turning into a victim.” (Simmons, 2001)

With statistics revealing a continuously increasing number of young women being victimized through human trafficking (Morris, 2002), it is obvious that Simmons (2001) makes a valid point. Nevertheless, these serious and appalling ideas sadly develop and lead to exaggerated stigmatization of certain east-western couples. The myth is constructed through fragments, understandings and
interpretations of real stories and factual statistics, but cannot possibly describe every single man or woman.

Newspapers often present stories of well-planned deceit of young, single women. The women come to Sweden with promises of fulfilled hopes and dreams, only to have them crushed by serious abuse and complete deprivation of all basic needs and rights. “The European Commission estimates that 120,000 women and children a year are lured from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe alone to the European Union.” (European Parliament, 2001, Morris, 2002:127) Of course, these atrocious crimes committed by a number of western men have gradually reached the awareness of the average man and woman. Behind the otherwise charming, sophisticated man, might be a coldblooded criminal who will degrade and take advantage of desperate, defenseless girls searching for a better future.

As already pointed out in the previous chapter, these figures are overwhelming and add a dangerous component to the myth. It is impossible to place all Swedish men under the same set of characteristics, but for some people it is difficult to resist thinking in accordance to the aspects they know, even if they appear to be extreme. They may not act on it, but they very often subconsciously think it.

Some additionally frequently used negative features in the myth of the Swedish man are:

- **The man expects a submissive housewife.** They are grown accustomed to the Swedish independent woman who expects to be treated equally. In contrast, the Russian woman is perceived as a willing submissive housewife, whose only wish is to please her husband. “I read an online dating profile once where the man elaborated on how he expected his future bride to behave. She would for example have to stay at home and not work. Also, she would have to take care of the house, ‘of course’, and any future children they might have. It really shocked me.” (Polina, 23)
• **The man is often older than the woman.** Older men, who either have failed marriages, or no marriages at all, in their past, search for young, attractive brides online. They lie about their age and appearance, and very often their intentions. Experiences from previous marriages with independent Swedish women results in the desire to be with someone who will be more dependent. The men subsequently pursue the idea of finding mature, younger women, who are not satisfied with men their own age, and who therefore search for the stability of an older and stable man. (Predovsky, A., Predovsky, L., 2008) “I think it is very disturbing to see how many old men want to meet 18-25 year old women. Do they really expect these women to fall for them? In my opinion, it has to be about money at this point.” (Larissa, 23)

The ideas and bullet points introduced in both the negative and positive section have illustrated the two extreme sides of the myth. It is by no means an accurate description for every Swedish man, but instead depicts the most intense features in peoples’ perceptions of the concept. The introduction of the myth of the Swedish man acts as a guidance for an in-depth understanding of the further investigation in this study.

### 5.2 Immigrants in Sweden

Sweden is recognized for having one of the current most gender equal societies. It is also increasingly being considered as one of the world’s leading globalized countries when it comes to immigrants. (Niedomysl, T., Östh, J. and van Ham, M., 2010) The Kingdom has over the past decades developed into a noteworthy multicultural society.

“When I first came to Stockholm, I was honestly very surprised over the diversity of the people in the streets. I guess I expected to see more blue-eyed and blonde people. At some point I even felt like I was back in St. Petersburg. It felt like everyone around me was speaking Russian.” (Elena, 27)

Keeping in mind the country’s relatively small population of approximately 9 million people, official statistics remarkably show that at the turn of the century
over 12% were foreign born or the children of immigrants. (Cretser, 1999) Consequently, the Swedish welfare-state has adjusted, rearranged and modified its policies. The government persistently works towards one of its official aims; “…to encompass all people in a system of security, tolerance and solidarity.” (Cretser, 1999) Immigrants are to be assured inclusion in Swedish society, but official policies also encourage people of foreign origin to keep important elements of their culture intact. Proper assimilation is of high importance, but immigrants in Sweden have the full right and support to protect and preserve their roots. Tolerance and solidarity are therefore very important elements within the country’s policies of immigrant inclusion.

5.2.1 Russian Marriage Immigrants

As to be expected, in order to become a resident of Sweden, every candidate is obligated to fulfill certain requirements. The prerequisites for permanent residency in the country are restricted and controlled by the Swedish Aliens Act of 1954. “It regulates the right of foreign nationals to remain in Sweden.” (Swedish Migration Board, 2011) Accurate figures the Swedish Migration Board regularly presents, illustrate the most common reasons behind immigration. The numbers presented in 2003 reveal that not more than approximately 1,5 % of the granted residence permits of that year were through ties to a person already living in Sweden. (Mahnkopf, K., Guličová, M., 2004)

These numbers point out that marriage immigration is of a rather minor scale compared to other types of immigration to Sweden. Be that as it may, the interest in the topic has undoubtedly increased a great deal over the past couple of decades. An obvious indication of this is the evident boost within literature on the understanding and investigations of international marriage. (Niedomysl, T., Östh, J. and van Ham, M., 2010) A common mistake, however, pointed out by

---


In: <http://www.migrationsverket.se/info/start_en.html>.

Niedomysl, Östh and van Ham (2010), is that a large number of people seem to not take into account the fact that the numbers presented include both female and male marriage immigrants. It has become a common perception that marriage migration, to any country, is, more or less, a purely female phenomenon. The fact of the matter is that a large number of the immigrants are male. “...in 1990, 45 per cent of all marriage immigrants were male but by 2004 this had dropped slightly to 42 per cent.” (Niedomysl, T., Östh, J. and van Ham, M., 2010) Considering that not more than 1, 5 % marriage immigrants were granted residence permits to Sweden in 2003, the number of such female immigrants thus declines even more. This, again, illustrates the specificity of this particular study. As the paper focuses on the specific case of young Russian women from St. Petersburg immigrating to Sweden, it will not go into further details about the male aspects of the discussed migration trend.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union was the beginning of the relatively new migration trend of Russians. Western and Russian marriage agencies emerged and created a new set of stereotypes around sudden Russian-Swedish couples. The agencies were specialized in finding partners abroad for both women and men, followed by a process of choosing between profiles online and visiting the other person’s home country. Only after establishing such contact the, result would eventually result in migration from the East to the West. However, these incidents have become rarer in Sweden, as is visible by the numbers presented. (Niedomysl, T., Östh, J. and van Ham, M., 2010)

According to the research of Niedomysl, Östh and van Ham; who claim that marriage migrants are most likely to come from “…countries relatively close to Sweden and countries frequently visited by Swedes,” St. Petersburg appears to be one of the most probable Russian cities of ‘origin’. It is in close proximity to Sweden, and accordingly it is a popular vacation destination for Swedes. Although St. Petersburg fulfills the ‘requirements’, it is remarkable that the largest majority of marriage immigrants in Sweden, in fact, are from far Eastern Asian countries, closely followed by the Eastern European. (Niedomysl, T., Östh, J. and van Ham, M., 2010). The total number of immigrants from Russia is minor
and only ranks as the 25\textsuperscript{th} largest group in the country. However, two thirds or more of these people are marriage migrants (mainly in their 20s or 50s). (Saarinen, A., Sverdljuk, J., 2008) In 2000 Statistics Sweden estimated that there were in total 1 811 Russian males and 2 847 females\textsuperscript{59} legally registered in the country. The more recent numbers from late 2010, reveal that there are currently 2649 Russian men and 4786 women in Sweden, clearly contradicting the earlier presented unofficial total number of 16 000, which is not further discussed in this study. (Landes, 2009) These figures do not take into consideration the reasons for immigration, but are presented in order to illustrate the totality of today’s Russian immigrants in Sweden.

As described in the previous chapter, when the Soviet Union collapsed, the rise of numerous new ‘push’ factors was a reality. Emigration, however, proved to be a difficult and challenging solution to the continuous problems faced. Sweden, following the dissolution, introduced a stricter asylum policy in order to control the rightfully expected migration flows. (Westin\textsuperscript{60}, 2006) These restrictions have faced minor modifications since then, but are still current, and have become the most relevant and obvious political intervening obstacles for women and men who wish to migrate to Sweden. (Lee, 1966)

The Swedish authorities’ restrictions include constant control over foreigners who want to migrate through marriage.

“If someone is married or cohabiting or intends to marry or cohabit with someone who is permanently resident in Sweden, he or she has to apply for a residence permit by the Swedish embassy in her or his country of origin.” (Swedish Migration Board, 2011)

Circumstances where women and men use marriage migration as a tool, in order to escape a life in a struggling country, have been discovered and revealed in many wealthy parts of the world, including Sweden. Thus the process of becoming a part of the Swedish society is long in order for the authorities to keep, more or less, control the situation. If the marriage is authentic and legitimate, it is only a matter of patience.

\textsuperscript{59} See appendix for table and details. Chapter 5 ‘Destination’: Sweden. Table 1.
“After two years of being married or living with a person in Sweden, the Migration Board will grant a permanent residence permit if the Board decides that the relationship is still intact. This is known as the “two-year-rule” (Swedish Migration Board, 2011).

If the relationship ends before two years have passed, the spouse of foreign origin is required to leave the country.

Nevertheless, the women who succeed in immigrate to Sweden through marriage, authentic or not, choose the country for a reason. They are ‘pulled’ in its direction. What is it exactly about the country that attracts them to it?

5.3 ‘Pull’ Factors

The purpose of this chapter is to examine and eventually understand the attraction to Sweden as a ‘destination’ for immigration. This specific study investigates the question of why certain women in their 20’s end up leaving St. Petersburg, Russia, in exchange for a life in the Scandinavian country. In the next pages possible explanations for this will be discussed by consequently presenting the ‘pull’ factors uncovered throughout the research.

“Sweden is beautiful and has always been the country of my dreams. It seems like the perfect place to start a family.” (Polina, 23)

The previous chapter focused on the negative aspects within different spheres of life in Russia. In contrast to this, the following sections present desired and sought after positive characteristics of Sweden. The ‘push’ factors that were selected and emphasized do not have the same significance when presenting the ‘pull’ factors. The main focus of the entire chapter is, in fact, placed on the segment about family and environment. It was discovered very early in the research that the main ‘pull’ factors for the specified female migrant group lie in this sphere.

“Coming from the former socialist regime based on the mother-worker contract, they were well- and even very well-educated, in the prime of their working life and highly motivated to combine work and family and make use of welfare services.” (Saarinen, A., Sverdlik, J., 2008)
To commence the list of ‘pull’ factors, Swedish demographic statistics and the economic situation in the country will briefly be presented; in order to make a comparison with the related facts already put forth about Russia.

5.3.1 Statistics

Unlike the situation in the ‘origin’, St. Petersburg, the comparable statistics of Sweden appear not to have a remarkably significant ‘pull’ effect on immigrants. However, considering the dramatic state of affairs presented about Russia, a selected few of the Swedish numbers are of interest in order to make a comparison between the demographic situations in the two countries. The figures presented are developed by the CIA World Factbook (2011). They have been thoroughly selected for this brief segment by the author, with the intention of emphasizing the positive aspects of Swedish demography. Statistics perceived in a negative context have been overseen in order to focus solely on the ‘pull’ factors.

As in Russia, the main group of the Swedish population is from 15-65 years, amounting to 65 % of the total number. The major difference in the figures between the two countries lies in the sex-ratio, and how many men there are per women. In Russia there is an obvious shortage of men, and it is a highly discussed ‘push’ factor; there are simply not enough to go around to every woman. The situation in Sweden is much better and can therefore be perceived as a ‘pull’ factor. According to the CIA World Factbook (2011) there are today in the main group of the population 1, 06 male(s)/female. In other words, in Sweden there are more men than women.

“I did not know that. If that is the case, I have already decided that I will move to Sweden even without a current husband. I will go for studies and spend all my time searching for a suitable man. These are much better odds, than what I work with in St. Petersburg.” (Larissa, 23)

In addition to having a promising sex-ratio, another statistical advantage in favor of the Swedes, is the average life expectancy rate. When considering the numbers in Russia, women tend to outlive men by many years. According to the data already presented in chapter 4; in the age group 65 and older, under half of
the population is male. These numbers are dramatic and illustrate how difficult the circumstances can be in Russia. In comparison, Sweden is one of the countries in the world with the highest life expectancy rate. Not only is it higher than that in Russia, but the men and women have a more equal estimated expectancy of living. According to the numbers presented by the CIA World Factbook, the average life expectancy of Swedish men is 78.78 years, while the average Swedish woman has a life expectancy of 83.51 years. In contrast, the Russian life expectancy in 2011 is estimated to be 59.8 years for the men and 73.17 years for the women.

It is obvious, according to the selected statistics, that the living situation in Sweden is more promising and optimistic than in St. Petersburg. Thus, the numbers act as understandable ‘pull’ factors. These features are without out a doubt highly attractive characteristics for the Russian women. Not only is the likelihood of meeting a man in Sweden higher than in the ‘origin’, but the man is also expected to live a longer, and consequently a healthier, life.

5.3.2 Economic Situation

In chapter 4, the Russian economy is an essential ‘push’ factor for the specified emigrant group. In the past two decades alone, since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the country has seen numerous ups and downs financially, where the letdowns, of course, have been most noticeable for its people. Sweden has, in deep contrast to the Russian situation, in fact, over the past century had an impressively stable economy. The Swedish success is unsurprisingly rooted in its extraordinary peaceful existence. With stable political circumstances, the economy has been given the opportunity and freedom to develop without any rapid transitions, as, for example, Russia had to with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The thriving Swedish economy has resulted in the most obvious ‘pull’ factor for certain immigrants; the country has managed to create an impressive standard of living (see 5.3.3 for more). Sweden utilizes a mixture of capitalism and extensive welfare benefits with great success, and is today named one of the
most globalized and competitive economies in the world. (Travel Document Systems\textsuperscript{61}, 2011)

However stable the Swedish economy was in the past, it did not manage to escape the financial crisis that hit in 2008. It went into recession alongside the rest of the world, despite its impressive history. The crisis continued in Sweden in 2009, with the decrease in demand and consumption. As an economy heavily

“...dependent on exports of autos, telecommunications, construction equipment and other investment goods, Sweden was hard hit by the contraction in external demand due to the global financial and economic crisis.” (Travel Document Systems, 2011)

The Swedish economy is an obvious ‘pull’ factor due to its shown ability to react to and handle the financial crisis.

“Sweden’s economy suffered, but our problems cannot compare to the devastations suffered by many other economies, among them, Russia’s. I definitely noticed how the atmosphere changed, especially at work. People, including me, were truly worried about our future. In the end, it turned out we were better prepared for a financial crisis than we knew.” (Sven, 29)

Prior to the economic disaster, the Swedish economy had had an impressive surplus and growth, and consequently the country had grown able to react to the financial shock, a lot better than many other economies. (Travel Document Systems, 2011) Today, the Swedish Ministry of Finances\textsuperscript{62} (2011) reports that the economy again is showing “…strong growth … and the GDP is increasing rapidly.” The Swedish economy emerged and is still emerging as one of the strongest in Europe (Swedish Ministry of Finance, 2011), and thus is perceived as an obvious ‘pull’ factor.

5.3.2 Future Family Life & Environment

The most important ‘pull’ factors of this study are connected to the freedom and equality granted to the people in the Swedish society. The standard of living in Sweden is simply a lot higher than in Russia; what appears to be lacking in St.
Petersburg, is available in the Scandinavian country. Consequently, the women are drawn and ‘pulled’ westward.

“I love the idea of not having to constantly worry. Of course, I am completely aware that it is not all a bed of roses in Sweden, but it is not a bed of thorns either, which is how it feels like sometimes here in St. Petersburg.” (Anastasia, 23)

The Swedish society appears in too many social aspects as the complete opposite of Russia. Chapter 4 has already investigated and revealed that there is practically no support from the Russian state to its people, in particular to families. Sweden, on the other hand, is admired by its inclusiveness, not only with regards to immigrants, as already mentioned, but also in terms of social and gender benefits. (Saarinen, A., Sverdljuk, J., 2008)

“The minimum social subsidies and the relatively well-functioning welfare services in the Nordic countries guarantee a better life than the salary below the poverty line and a meager support from what remains of public safety nets in Russia. Many stress that there is more socialism here than there ever was in the Soviet Union.” (Saarinen, A., Sverdljuk, J., 2008)

In the following pages the most obvious social ‘pull’ factors in Sweden are systematically presented as the motivation behind the marriage migration of the specified group of women.

5.3.2.1 Division of Labor by Gender

In Sweden the principle concerning the division of labor between the sexes is of very high importance. All people, with no regards to gender, are to be respected and treated as equals in every aspect of society. This is an especially valued priority in the country’s diverse workplace, which in the past, as in most societies, has been a highly male dominated sphere. Through state regulations, rules and restrictions employers are monitored and forced to adjust accordingly, and they (mostly) willingly do so.

“I work in a very busy office in the middle of the city center of Stockholm. I would say the male-female representation is very close to 50-50. In order to be sure, I would actually have to count.” (Elena, 27)

The Swedish system of equality in the workplace is extremely successful, and the proportion of women represented in the country’s labor marked is, in actual
fact, among the highest in the world, if not the highest. (Palmer, 2006) The Swedish public sector in particular creates a lot of job opportunities for women, but the success rates are highly visible in a large variety of labor genres.

“No other country has a higher proportion of women as parliamentarians (43 percent) and cabinet ministers (50 percent), and Sweden leads the developed world in the percentage of professional and technical workers who are women.”

The successful development in Sweden is impressive, and without a doubt acts as an appealing ‘pull’ factor towards women with career ambitions.

“Sweden is a country in which women truly thrive. In fact, a 2005 report by the World Economic Forum found this Scandinavian nation to be the world’s "most advanced country" for women, with greater levels of equality, power, health, and well-being among women than anywhere else.” (Marie Claire, 2010)

### 5.3.2.2 Marriage?

Marriage is an important part of most women’s life, and for some it is a life-long dream. In traditional Russia it is common and, by no means, unusual, but rather expected, to get married at an early age.

“My mother is already pestering me about finding a man and settling down. She always tells me that when she was my age she already had two children and a husband. There is definitely a lot of pressure of getting married in my family.”

(Larissa, 23)

In Sweden the situation is perceived in a different and (perhaps) more liberal manner. First of all, the country has the highest number of single people in Europe; second, a loving couple can be together for a long time, even having children, without losing approval from family or friends. It is not a necessity, nor common, to get married out of pressure from the surrounding environment. Marriage is an individual choice and, in fact, women who get married in their 20’s are often perceived as being too young, no matter what the circumstances are. (Marie Claire, 2010) In Sweden “…roughly one of four couples consists of unmarried partners. Such non-marital cohabitation (called sambo, or "living with")

---


is socially accepted and has since 1988 entailed nearly the same legal rights and responsibilities as marriage.” The fact that married couples in Russia barely receive any support at all from the state, (see 4.3.2 for more) makes the cohabitation law in Sweden another ‘pull’ factor.

“Of course, I eventually want to get married, but the fact that there is no rush sounds very convenient. It is a good way of figuring out if you are really meant for each other. I wish we had something like this in Russia.” (Anastasia, 23)

It is, however, customary to eventually marry, especially if a child is born, “…but illegitimacy is not stigmatized.” (Palmer, B. C. W., 2006).

5.3.2.3 Support for Families

When a couple sooner or later decides that they want to start a family, they naturally have a desire to be financially stable. “I do not want to bring a child into this world until I am financially able to.” (Polina, 23) The most important and common ‘pull’ factor uncovered while investigating the motivation of Russian marriage immigration to Sweden, is the support the Swedish state provides for families. By legally coming to Sweden through marriage, the Russian women are guaranteed that “…they and their children will be able to cope since it is possible to rely on the state” – as opposed to Russia today.” (Saarinen, A., Sverdljuk, J., 2008) It is again in complete contrast to the situation in Russia and the many welfare benefits of a life in Sweden firmly ‘pull’ the women towards the west.

The female proportion in the Swedish labor market is, as already mentioned, extremely high. However, the country, almost magically, also has one of the highest birth rates in Europe. (Marie Claire, 2010) Sweden for a long time was governed by Social Democrats and very early introduced a supporting system for young families with easy access to financial support. The Swedish people are through incredibly generous parental leaves encouraged to start families. In comparison to the situation in Russia, the financial aspects in Sweden are secured by the state and employer. Already the last month of pregnancy, the expectant mother is entitled to paid leave from work.

“Swedish couples, women and men, get 13 months paid leave and another three months at a fixed rate… Of that, 60 days must be taken by the mother, another 60
by the father, and the rest can be divided however they choose.” (Marie Claire, 2010)

One of the requirements for receiving the support is that the man has to be a part of the parental leave. If he chooses not to be, the couple will lose the support. (Palmer, B. C. W., 2006) Consequently, the Swedish state, in fact, ‘forces’ the fathers to participate in the upbringing of children.

The children in Sweden are also financially secured until they are officially adults. Parents are by law obliged to support their children until they turn 18, or 21 if the child is still in school. (Swedish Social Insurance Agency, 2011) According to the Swedish Social Insurance Agency, in case of divorce, if a child lives with only one parent the other parent must pay child support, but if the child lives equally with both parents (so-called "dual residence), none of the parents pay alimony. The amount to be paid is regulated depending on the calculations of the child’s needs and the economy of the parents. In contrast to Russia, there is not a culture of ‘black’ and ‘white’ salaries in Sweden, and so the actual amount paid is what the child is truly by entitled to. In cases where a parent does not pay child support, which is by law a crime, the child is, in fact, entitled to support from the state. Even children who are adopted by a lone parent are entitled to such support. (Swedish Social Insurance Agency, 2011)

“I have a friend who is a single mother and battling her former husband for child support. Russia needs to create a better system in order to support the children who suffer. I believe Sweden sets a good standard for the rest of the world.” (Polina, 23)

The Swedish family support system is remarkable and is among the most desired ‘pull’ factors for the Russian female marriage immigrants to Sweden.

---


5.4 Concluding Remarks

Chapter five has focused on the understanding of what attracts people to immigrate to a specific country and ‘destination’. (Lee, 1966) It has investigated possible and common characteristics that motivate some women enough to migrate through marriage to Sweden. Consequently, the myth of the Swedish man was examined, in order to emphasize from another perspective, how marriage migration is perceived in different ways by different people, both negatively and positively.

The ‘pull’ factors are in contrast to the ‘push’ factors, and therefore, this chapter presents the positive characteristics that attract the migrants. In a society dedicated to equality and taking care of its people, it is not difficult to understand why certain women from St. Petersburg are attracted to the thought of moving to Sweden. The ‘pull’ factors uncovered for a specific group of marriage migrants to a specific country are many, and therefore it is also challenging to decide which to elaborate on. The study has therefore focused on the most obvious and reliable ‘pull’ factors, examining their relevance in comparison to the ‘push’ factors presented in chapter 4.

It is impossible to fully understand the motivation behind the immigration to Sweden. There will never be a complete list of ‘pull’ factors and there will always be a demand for future research on the topic. This chapter has focused on some of the most essential aspects of the ‘destination’. To name a few, it has uncovered; 1) the statistical highlights of the Swedish demography and consequently emphasized the impressive high standards of living; 2) the Swedish economy’s ability to react to financial turmoil and to quickly recover; 3) the focus of gender equality in the Swedish labor market; 4) the support of the Swedish state to both married and unmarried couples; 5) the financial support and encouragement of the Swedish state for its people to start families; 6) the financial security entitled by law to protect children.

Although marriage migration accounts for a very small percentage of the yearly number of immigrants to Sweden, it is obvious that the list of ‘pull’ factors is
impressive. The characteristics mentioned in this study, are merely a selected handful out of many, and the research of this topic can never be fully completed.
6 Conclusion

Migration is about people who move from one place to another. This study deals with identifying the driving forces behind the migration of a specified group. It explores possible aspects present in everyday life that are likely to ‘push’ someone to leave their home behind in a venture of finding something better. The ‘push’ factors are solely negative features of the ‘origin’ (Lee, 1966), but they are not the only aspects responsible for motivating an emigrating group. The study also examines what possible features a new country provides, and why these characteristics make the ‘destination’ attractive. The ‘pull’ factors are in contrast to the situation in the ‘origin’ and are always positive. They catch the attention of people not in possession of the benefits they produce, and thus the ‘destination’ ‘pulls’ them in its direction.

Understanding why a specific group of people decide to migrate is extremely challenging. Official statistics can show who and how many, but they do not necessarily explain why. The diversity between the different migrants is too big to logically be able to comprehend. Migrants are individuals with individual motivation. It is impossible to create a complete list of ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors, and there will always be a demand for future research on the topic alongside current events.

This study focuses on some of the most essential aspects found in the chosen ‘origin’ and ‘destination’. Through an analysis of probable ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors, it is possible to somehow predict and assume what might be the stimulation for the chosen group. This, in turn, makes it possible to recognize a specific trend in a bigger context. Russian women who get married to Swedish men, thereby relocating to Sweden, do not simply lose their affiliation to Russia. The combination of the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors uncovered illustrate how the motivation behind migration develops over time, and thus becomes big enough for some to eventually migrate.

Through standardized and systematic comparisons of the data collected, the research conducted reveals important aspects of human behavior and the
choices made by individuals. The analysis of the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors of the specified group of migratory women uncovers some of the major differences between the way of life in Russia and the way of life in Sweden.

With an obvious decrease in Russian emigrants, both female and male, the study focuses on the most obvious and reliable ‘push’ factors and examines their current relevance. The investigation reveals to some extent, what drives the women to leave their country of origin behind in exchange for a more attractive ‘destination’. (Lee, 1966) If the number of Russian migrants is significantly decreasing year by year, the situation in the country must be logically improving. The “push” factors today are not as obvious as they were compared to right after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. However, as discussed and uncovered throughout the study, there are always certain basic ‘push’ factors that stay relevant; especially in countries with enormous populations, like Russia.

The ‘pull’ factors are in contrast to the ‘push’ factors, and therefore illustrate the positive characteristics that attract the migrants. In a society dedicated to equality and taking care of its people, it is not difficult to understand why certain women from St. Petersburg are attracted to the thought of moving to Sweden. The ‘pull’ factors uncovered for the specific group of marriage migrants are many, and therefore it is also challenging to decide which to elaborate on. The study consequently focuses on the most obvious ‘pull’ factors and examines their relevance in comparison to the ‘push’ factors presented. Although marriage migration accounts for a very small percentage of the yearly number of immigrants to Sweden, it is obvious that the list of ‘pull’ factors is impressive.

Some of the most essential aspects of the ‘origin’ and ‘destination’ uncovered during this study are summarized in the following table.
“Push” Factors
(‘Origin’: St. Petersburg, Russia)

- Uninterrupted economic challenges following the transition from the Soviet Union.
- The lack of financial and sociological support from the Russian state to cover basic needs.
- The continuously developing demographic catastrophe leading to dark predictions for the future.
- The alarming shortage of men compared to women.
- A continuously unhealthy population.
- High rates of failing marriages.

‘Pull’ factors
(‘Destination’: Sweden)

- The economy's impressive ability to react to financial turmoil and to quickly recover.
- The support of the Swedish state to both married and unmarried couples.
- The financial support and encouragement of the Swedish state for its people to start families.
- An impressive high standard of living for both men and women.
- Financial security entitled by law to protect children.
- A high focus on gender equality in the labor market.

The table illustrates how the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors appear to be in contrast to each other, and thus becomes good motivation behind migration. The ‘origin’ represents the negative aspects of the women’s life, while the ‘destination’ illustrates important features they desire and are missing in their life in St. Petersburg. The characteristics mentioned in the study, both ‘pull’ and ‘push’ factors, are merely a selected handful out of many, and the research of this topic can never be fully completed. Every aspect touched upon is in need of a continued in-depth investigation. However, the features discussed appear to have the biggest influence on the Russian women in their 20’s who decide to migrate from St. Petersburg to Sweden.

Further study is necessary to broaden the understanding of the motivation behind the migration. There are both ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors of high importance that require additional complex examinations in order to be interpreted in different
contexts. There is also a need for further investigation of intervening obstacles and personal factors. Although the theories of Ernest Ravenstein (1885) and Everett Lee (1966) today are generally accepted among migration theorists, new versions and understandings emerge rather frequently. There are many different approaches to the study of migration, and naturally the circumstances and factors continue to change with time. This leaves a lot of room for future research, as it is not possible to predict everything that will happen.

The major drawback of this approach is the restrictions that follow the specificity of the topic. The study has been carried out with a relatively small number of case studies due to limitations of time and problems finding adequate subjects. Future studies on the current topic are therefore highly recommended in order to make a more detailed investigation. The research to date has tended to focus on Russia as a country rather than studies of specific cities, like for example St. Petersburg. Further research should be done in order to explore, and thus understand, tendencies between different cities. This is undoubtedly an important issue for future research.
List of References


   <http://www.forsakringskassan.se/privatpers/foralder/separerar>.


In: <http://www.marieclaire.com/world-reports/news/international/best-country>


APPENDIX

Chapter 2: Research Design

Questionnaire 1

(Aнкета)

(ﾅﾝﾊﾞｰ 2009)

Возраст: ______________________________

место рождения: ______________________________

деятельность: ______________________________

Languages spoken: ______________________________

1. Define the word “marriage” in 5 words.

2. Define the word “love” in 5 words.

3. Define the word “fidelity” in 5 words.

4. At what age do you expect to be married?

5. At what age is it too late to be married?

6. What is the maximum age difference between you and your future husband?

7. What are your expectations to your future marriage (economically, socially)?

8. After getting married, do you see yourself pursuing and furthering your career, or would you prefer staying at home?

9. If you were to relocate as a result of your marriage, where in Europe would you prefer to move?

10. What personal qualities and traits should your future husband have?

11. Are you currently, or have you previously, been a member of a Dating agency? If yes, which?

Interview Guide 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>Background</td>
<td>Tell me about your life in Russia/Sweden. (Education, family, job)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coming to Sweden</td>
<td>Can you explain how you met your husband? (When, how long has she been in Russia?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life in Sweden</td>
<td>Please describe an average day for you in Sweden. (Family, job, hobbies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereotypes</td>
<td>Create a myth</td>
<td>How would you describe a typical Russian woman? (What does she do for a living, how does she dress, what does she like, what kind of relationship does she have to family)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Create a myth</td>
<td>How would you describe a typical Swedish man? (What does he do for a living, how does he dress, what does he like, what kind of relationship does he have to family)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Identity created through change of surroundings</td>
<td>How would you describe yourself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do you feel you are different compared to other Russian women? If you were to describe yourselves in a few words, what would they be? Do you believe the people you know in Russia perceive you differently since you’ve come to Sweden? If yes, in what way?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Push’ Factors</td>
<td>Motivation to leave</td>
<td>What aspects of life in Russia are you not satisfied with? Why do you dream of leaving Russia?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Pull’ Factors</td>
<td>Motivation to migrate to Sweden</td>
<td>Do you know anything about Sweden? What is that attracts you to the country? Do you have any Swedish friends?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX Chapter 4: ‘Origin’: St. Petersburg, Russia

Picture 1


<http://www.google.ru/search?q=russians+in+sweden&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&amp=t&amp;rls=org.mozilla:en-US:official&amp;client=firefox-a#hl=ru&amp;q=russians%20in%20sweden%20forum&amp;xhr=t&amp;q=russian+brides&amp;cp=12&amp;pf=p&amp;sclient=psy&amp;newwindow=1&amp;client=firefox-a&amp;hs=mY2&amp;rls=org.mozilla:en-US:official&amp;source=hp&amp;q=0&amp;q建设用地=qq=0=aq=0&amp;aqa=-aql=&amp;eq=russian+bрид&amp;pbx=1&amp;fp=65e3a41561533ba8>.
Picture 2
Table 1


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.9. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>597651</td>
<td>359330</td>
<td>119157</td>
<td>177230</td>
<td>186380</td>
<td>286956</td>
<td>281614</td>
<td>279907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of which from:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIS countries 1)</td>
<td>571903</td>
<td>346774</td>
<td>110374</td>
<td>168598</td>
<td>177657</td>
<td>273872</td>
<td>269976</td>
<td>261495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>29878</td>
<td>14906</td>
<td>2584</td>
<td>4600</td>
<td>8900</td>
<td>20968</td>
<td>23331</td>
<td>22874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td>19123</td>
<td>15951</td>
<td>3057</td>
<td>7581</td>
<td>12949</td>
<td>30751</td>
<td>35216</td>
<td>35753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarus</td>
<td>17575</td>
<td>10274</td>
<td>5650</td>
<td>6797</td>
<td>5619</td>
<td>6030</td>
<td>5865</td>
<td>5517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia 2)</td>
<td>24517</td>
<td>20213</td>
<td>4886</td>
<td>5497</td>
<td>6806</td>
<td>10595</td>
<td>8806</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>235903</td>
<td>124903</td>
<td>40150</td>
<td>51945</td>
<td>38606</td>
<td>40258</td>
<td>39964</td>
<td>38830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
<td>13752</td>
<td>15536</td>
<td>9511</td>
<td>15592</td>
<td>15669</td>
<td>27313</td>
<td>24014</td>
<td>23265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Moldova</td>
<td>13750</td>
<td>11652</td>
<td>4916</td>
<td>8649</td>
<td>14090</td>
<td>15519</td>
<td>16433</td>
<td>16433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>23053</td>
<td>11043</td>
<td>3339</td>
<td>4717</td>
<td>6523</td>
<td>17309</td>
<td>20717</td>
<td>27028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmenistan</td>
<td>16501</td>
<td>6738</td>
<td>3734</td>
<td>4104</td>
<td>4889</td>
<td>3962</td>
<td>3336</td>
<td>3336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>39620</td>
<td>40810</td>
<td>14948</td>
<td>30436</td>
<td>37112</td>
<td>52802</td>
<td>43518</td>
<td>42539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>138231</td>
<td>74748</td>
<td>17699</td>
<td>30760</td>
<td>37126</td>
<td>52802</td>
<td>43518</td>
<td>45920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far abroad countries 3)</td>
<td>25748</td>
<td>12556</td>
<td>8783</td>
<td>863</td>
<td>8723</td>
<td>13804</td>
<td>11638</td>
<td>18412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2379</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>3117</td>
<td>3025</td>
<td>2900</td>
<td>3164</td>
<td>3134</td>
<td>2585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>1626</td>
<td>1508</td>
<td>1486</td>
<td>1004</td>
<td>1053</td>
<td>1094</td>
<td>1002</td>
<td>861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>2861</td>
<td>1121</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>1687</td>
<td>1177</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>5658</td>
<td>1785</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>1785</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian Arab Republic</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>551</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>373</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3483</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>476</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other countries</td>
<td>4829</td>
<td>2710</td>
<td>1005</td>
<td>1372</td>
<td>3035</td>
<td>2396</td>
<td>10371</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departures from the Russian Federation, total</td>
<td>232987</td>
<td>145720</td>
<td>79795</td>
<td>69798</td>
<td>54061</td>
<td>47013</td>
<td>39508</td>
<td>32458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of which to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIS countries 1)</td>
<td>146961</td>
<td>82312</td>
<td>37017</td>
<td>36109</td>
<td>35262</td>
<td>31329</td>
<td>26114</td>
<td>20326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>4302</td>
<td>3187</td>
<td>1336</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td>1366</td>
<td>1355</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td>1130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td>2578</td>
<td>1519</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarus</td>
<td>18928</td>
<td>13276</td>
<td>5671</td>
<td>6034</td>
<td>6318</td>
<td>5302</td>
<td>3954</td>
<td>2573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia 2)</td>
<td>3286</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>25364</td>
<td>17913</td>
<td>12504</td>
<td>12437</td>
<td>11948</td>
<td>10211</td>
<td>7483</td>
<td>7232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
<td>6296</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Moldova</td>
<td>5715</td>
<td>2237</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>2474</td>
<td>1158</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmenistan</td>
<td>1532</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>7370</td>
<td>3086</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>69116</td>
<td>35601</td>
<td>13115</td>
<td>12640</td>
<td>11926</td>
<td>10536</td>
<td>8941</td>
<td>5737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far abroad countries 3)</td>
<td>86026</td>
<td>63408</td>
<td>42778</td>
<td>33689</td>
<td>18799</td>
<td>15684</td>
<td>13394</td>
<td>12132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>48363</td>
<td>40443</td>
<td>31876</td>
<td>21458</td>
<td>8229</td>
<td>6486</td>
<td>4916</td>
<td>4115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>12873</td>
<td>9407</td>
<td>1733</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>1408</td>
<td>1202</td>
<td>1040</td>
<td>894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1333</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1222</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>1162</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian Arab Republic</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>9087</td>
<td>4793</td>
<td>2919</td>
<td>4040</td>
<td>3109</td>
<td>2108</td>
<td>1722</td>
<td>1440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>923</td>
<td>1142</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other countries</td>
<td>6500</td>
<td>3788</td>
<td>2806</td>
<td>3150</td>
<td>3117</td>
<td>3008</td>
<td>2937</td>
<td>3227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Data for 2009 are given excluding Georgia.
2) Georgia left the CIS in August of 2009. 3) 2009 from Georgia to Russia arrived 7454 persons, from Russia to Georgia departed 629 persons.
3) Data for 2009 are given including Georgia.

---

Table 2


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At birth</td>
<td>1.06 male(s)/female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 15 years</td>
<td>1.06 male(s)/female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-64 years</td>
<td>0.92 male(s)/female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years and over</td>
<td>0.44 male(s)/female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>0.85 male(s)/female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3


**5.6. MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Thou.</th>
<th>Per 1000 of population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marriages</td>
<td>divorces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1053.7</td>
<td>639.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1075.2</td>
<td>665.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>897.3</td>
<td>627.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1001.6</td>
<td>763.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1019.8</td>
<td>853.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1091.8</td>
<td>798.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>979.7</td>
<td>635.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1066.4</td>
<td>604.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1113.6</td>
<td>640.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1262.5</td>
<td>685.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1179.0</td>
<td>703.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1199.4</td>
<td>699.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Population Pyramid 1


5.3. AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF POPULATION
**APPENDIX Chapter 5: ‘Destination’: Sweden**

Table 1


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign citizens by country of citizenship, sex and period</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Russian Federation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>2649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>3847</td>
<td>4786</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>