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『ロシアの人口』

—— 過去と現在 ——

Tatiana Karabchuk, Kazuhiro Kumo and Ekaterina Selezneva, *Demography of Russia: From the Past to the Present*, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, xvii + p. 334.

A goal of demography scholarship is to investigate mechanisms behind population dynamics. This body of research typically focuses on the development of fertility, mortality, and migration and explores how these three factors interact and lead to changes in population structures. Contemporary Russia is an intriguing case to examine factors related to population changes, given the country's unique demographic experiences in recent years, including continued declines in the total fertility rate (TFR), the drastic surge in mortality following the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, and increasing immigration and emigration to/from the Russian Federation. What distinguishes Tatiana Karabchuk, Kazuhiro Kumo, and Ekaterina Selezneva's *Demography of Russia: From the Past to the Present* from prior research on this topic is that the book covers an extensive period of time from the Russian Empire, to the Soviet Union, and up until contemporary Russia and reveals long-term trends in the development of fertility, mortality, and migration. Further, this book is extensive in its reach and range across methods and theories; it utilizes archival data, conducts detailed statistical analyses, and draws on a variety of theories from history, economics, sociology, and gender studies.

Karabchuk *et al.* begin by reviewing the evolution of population statistics in Russia over more than a century, from the era of the Russian Empire to the period of the current Russian Federation (chapter 2). One of the contributions this study makes to the existing literature is that it analyzes data from imperial Russia, when population statistics were scarce, to provide detailed explanations about changes

in the population structure of the country. In estimating long-term trends in population statistics, the chapter shows how the size of the Russian population has changed through pivotal historical events, such as the Russian Revolution, the civil war, the famines in the 1930s, the Great Purge during the Stalin era, World War II, the period of *perestroika* (liberalization), and the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Subsequent chapters employ an interdisciplinary approach in assessing factors related to family formation and reproductive behaviors among Russians. Quite useful are the detailed overviews of population policies in the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation (chapter 3). The authors argue that due to the consistent lack of human resources necessary for the modernization of the state, Soviet family planning policies have focused on promoting human reproduction. Soviet women, for instance, have had double roles as workers equal to men in society and mothers/care providers at home, suggesting that the image of "Soviet super-women" mirrored the state's ambition to encourage reproduction. The disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 posed significant challenges to pro-natalistic family policies, however. Western values and ideas, such as freedom, independence, and self-realization, largely influenced reproductive behavior among young Russian women, leading to decreases in the number of registered marriages and increases in cohabitation, divorce, and single-motherhood. The chapter provides a detailed overview of various programs and measures that the Russian government has pursued to address the changing reproductive behaviors of the population. Whether these new family policies will be effective remains to be evaluated.

In the following three chapters, the authors draw on data from the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey of the Higher School of Economics (RLMS-HSE) to assess the socio-economic determinants of marriage, divorce, and fertility among Russians. The RLMS-HSE is a nationally representative survey designed to observe the socioeconomic, demographic, and health conditions of people in the Russian Federation during the period following the collapse of the Soviet Union. It is ideal for the purpose of the current study, since the data include an extensive number of socio-

demographic indicators as well as detailed information about work, career, living arrangements, and self-reported measures of health, including reproductive behaviors. Empirically, Karabchuk et al. test the relationships of various socio-economic factors with marriage and divorce (chapter 4), the birth of the first child (chapter 5), and the birth of the second and subsequent children (chapter 6). Perhaps the two most interesting findings of these empirical chapters are, first, that women's economic well-being (e.g., higher income and confidence in their future financial situation) is positively associated with marriage and the birth of the first child; and, second, that women's wages as well as their partners' wages have an important bearing on their reproductive intentions. In fact, evidence suggests that the state of the macroeconomy is closely linked to fertility outcomes in Russia. The TFR remained at lower levels during the final crises of 1998 and 2008, raising the possibility that, in addition to well-established socio-cultural factors, the economic well-being of women (and their partners to some extent) may play an important role in family formation in contemporary Russia. This point is of particular importance for countries currently faced with decreasing fertility, since improving women's economic well-being may be the key to increasing fertility rates.

Toward the end of the book Karabchuk et al. focus on issues of mortality (chapter 7) and migration (chapters 8 and 9). It is widely recognized that the collapse of the Soviet Union was accompanied by drastic increases in mortality rates among Russians, the phenomenon known as the "post-communist mortality crisis." Factors responsible for the mortality crisis include deteriorating medical and health services, psychological distress during the transition process, and negative health behaviors, namely excessive alcohol intake and smoking. In chapter 7, special attention is given to the role of alcohol consumption in the surge in mortality during the 1990s. Through an extensive literature review and meta-analyses, the authors argue that alcohol consumption alone fails to fully account for the drastic rise in mortality during the period following the collapse of the Soviet regime, indicating that a variety of social, economic, and cultural factors may have jointly and negatively impacted the

health of the Russian population during the transition period.

The following chapter (chapter 8) utilizes archival data to assess the patterns and determinants of interregional population migration in the Soviet Union (1990–1991) and Russian Federation (1992–2013). The Soviet Union was quite unique in that the movement of the population was carefully designed and controlled by the state in accordance with its strategic development plans. Analyses based on the origin-to-destination matrix reveal region-level factors closely related to interregional migration, such as income levels, population size, and natural resource endowment levels. While previous studies have tended to focus on emigration and migration of ethnic Russians from/to the former Soviet republics during the period following the fall of the Soviet Union, the present study helps us understand the mechanisms behind migration within Russia.

Not everything about Russia's demographic experience can be addressed by the methods and theories used in the book. There are, in fact, a number of issues that remain to be examined. For instance, I wish that *Demography of Russia* discussed recent demographic challenges, namely rapid population aging. Due to continued declines in fertility and in the size of the working-age population, there has been a public debate over revising the retirement age. The issue of population aging and its impacts on the country's social policy, however, remains un-

touched. In addition, I understand that this book primarily focuses on the historical developments of Russia's demographic trends, but I found myself wanting to know more about recent outcomes, such as decreasing mortality rates. Growing evidence suggests continued improvements in Russian mortality rates since the beginning of the 2000s, leading to substantial increases in life expectancy at birth for men and women. What are the contributors to recent improvements in death rates? Have health lifestyles among Russians, often characterized by heavy drinking and smoking, improved since the early 2000s? How are the socioeconomic and cultural factors described in this book associated with recent mortality reductions? Perhaps Karabchuk's next book can incorporate more inclusive analyses of recent demographic developments in the country.

Still, this book makes an important contribution to the extant literature on Russia's demographic experiences. It should also motivate future research on a similar topic. As deaths outnumber the number of births, Russia is currently experiencing natural population decreases. Given that the issue of population decline has been a pressing concern for many countries in the world, for example Japan, this book's long-term assessment of the demographic trends in Russia could not be timelier.

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