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## ETHNIC MIGRATIONS AND PROBLEMS OF SECURITY IN THE REPUBLIC OF DAGESTAN

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Already in Soviet times mass migrations were to some extent determining the life of many titular and non-titular ethnicities in the Western regions of the USSR. Since the collapse of the Soviet regime their development has become a hazardous destabilising factor for the social and political situation in Russia as well as in other CIS countries. In the first half of the 90s migrations acquired a clearly *ethno-selective* nature. At present four basic migration flows may be identified within the CIS borders: refugees from the zones of ethnic conflicts, repatriates, vendors moving from one city/town to another and rural migrants.

The objective of this paper is to analyse the Dagestani example of ethnic migration in post-Soviet Russia (1). Using the Dagestani example the correlation between all-Russian and regional migration flows in the North Caucasus will be examined. This, the first research to specifically examine the dynamics of ethnic migrations in Dagestan during 1989-1995, will show the prospects for their further development and the possible impact on the security of the person, ethnicity and state in the multinational Caucasian region.

### Sources of Research

This paper is based on a series of complementary and mutually-verifying qualitative and quantitative sources. They are the results of random surveys carried out by the author among Dagestani highlanders and Dagestani refugees from Chechnya. The surveys were undertaken during 1992-1995 in the cities of Makhachkala and Khasavyurt, and also in the villages of Akhvakh, Babayurt, Botlikh, Kizilyurt, Kizlyar, Khasavyurt, Tsumadin and Tsyntin regions.

In this paper the author also analyses macro-statistical data about the Republic published in the regular reports of 1990-1995 by the Migration Service, GosComStat (State Committee for Statistics), GosComNat of the

Republic of Dagestan (RD) and the Federal Migration Service (FMS) of Russia. Statistical data collected and published since 1990 by a group of Dagestani sociologists led by E. Kisriev of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Dagestani Research Centre (IHAE, DRC RAS) was widely used (2).

Finally, information from the national Dagestani press (3) in the Russian (*The Novoye Delo*, *The Kazi-Kumukh*, *The Lezgin Vesnik*, *The Tribuna*), Avar (*The XI Akikat*, *The Tsoli*), Kumik (*The Kumuk Ish*, *The Tenglik*), Lezgian (*The Lezgistandir Khabarar*, *The Sadval*, *the Chubaruk*) and Chechen (*The Khalkanaz*) languages was also used in this paper.

## **Ethnic Situation in the Region**

All four above groups of migrants were identified in Dagestan in the 1990s.

Refugees from the zones of ethnic conflicts are divided into two main flows:

1.1 The first flow consists of 10,8 thousand people who have migrated to the RD between 1989 and 1993 (4). They have come from the Guriev oblast of Kazakhstan, Dushanbe and the cities/towns of Tajikistan; also from the cities/towns and villages of Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Ossetia and Chechnya. The majority of them settled in the largest cities/towns of Dagestan - Makhachkala, Derbend, Kizlyar and Khasavyurt. Among them titular ethnicities of Dagestan prevail. According to ethnic principle, the refugees are divided into Avars, Dargwas, Kumyks, Laks, Lezgians, Nogais, Tabassarans, Chechens and Russians. Several dozen of them represent non-titular ethnicities (5).

1.2. The second flow of ethnic migrants is much larger than the first. It consists of approximately 100 thousand refugees of the same titular ethnicities who have fled from the zone of the Chechen-Russian armed conflict of 1994-1996. Due to the absence of reliable official statistics their overall number can only be approximate.

It is known that from 8 December 1994 to December 1995, 134,2 thousand citizens of the neighbouring Republic of Chechnya applied to the Labour and Employment Centres in the cities/towns and regions of Dagestan. With the relative improvement of the situation in Chechnya, resulting from the peace negotiations of 1995-1996, 68,6 thousand refugees having fled to Dagestan, returned and 7,9 thousand left for other Republics of the Russian Federation. In addition, a significant proportion of the refugees (according to Dagestani experts their number amounts to approximately 20-30 thousand people), having found shelter with their Dagestani relatives, have still not been officially registered (6). To date refugees from Chechnya reside in almost all the cities/towns and rural areas of the Republic. The majority of them reside in Makhachkala and regions bordering with Babajurt, Bolikh, Kazbek, Kizilyurt, Novolaksk and Khasavyurt regions.

2.1. True Repatriates are the 92,2 thousand Chechen-Akkins deported from Dagestan to Kazakhstan in February 1944 (Compare below: *Table*

4). In 1957 they were allowed to return to the Republic but not to their historic land. Having taken advantage of the weakened local government bodies resulting from the disintegration of the USSR, since September 1991 they have been appropriating in a chaotic fashion former Chechen plots of land of the Nobolak (former Aukhov) and Kazbek regions of the RD.

The number of Akkins in Dagestan rapidly increased during the 1960s and the first half of the 1990s. According to the census of 1959 the number of Chechens living in the Republic was approximately 12,8 thousand. By 1970 their number had increased to 39,9 thousand, by 1979 to 49,2 thousand and by 1989 to 57,8 thousand. Within one year of the Russian-Chechen war, from 1994 to 1995 the number of Dagestani Chechens increased from 62,1 to 92,2 thousand (7). Such a growth rate significantly exceeds the growth rate of other peoples of the Republic. These figures can be accounted for by the continuous repatriation of Akkins to the plains and foothills of Northern Dagestan.

2.2. *Potential Repatriates* are 154,4 thousand Russians (including Ter Cossacks) a significant number of whom are willing to move to Southern Russia; also 11,5 thousand Tats (including 3,6 thousand highland Jews), intending to emigrate to Israel. During the period 1991-1995 11,5 thousand Russians, 5,1 thousand highland Jews and Tats left Dagestan (Table 4). These were mainly citizens of the cities/towns of Makhachkala, Derbent, Kaspiisk, Kizlyar and Kizilyurt. Among them were a small number of migrants from Dagestan's villages situated on the plain and in the foothills.

30,7 thousand Dagestani Nogais or 35% of the entire Nogai people (8) express their willingness to return to their historic territories in the Nogai Plain. Between 1944 and 1957 the Nogais were forcibly deported to various rural regions of Dagestan, Chechnya and Stavropol.

The Lezgians and Avars of the South Caucasus: these, the 244,1 thousand residents of the Zakatala and Belokan regions of Azerbaijan and the 16 thousand highlanders of the Kvareli region of Georgia, are potential repatriates. However, they were not allowed to settle on their historic land in the mountains of Avaristan and were relocated to Kumik, Nogai and the Russian plains (Kizlyar, Nogai and Tarumovsk regions) (9).

3. *Vendors moving from town to town* are represented in Dagestan by 9,3 thousand Dargwas and Avars, forced to return to their motherland from Kazakhstan, Kalmykia and Stavropolye between 1989 and 1994. They settled mainly in big cities/towns like Makhachkala, Kaspisk, Kizlyar and Khasavyurt. Between 1991 and 1993, 2,1 thousand vendors from Azerbaijan and up to 1,5 thousand vendors from Chechnya left the RD (10) for their titular republics. In both cases the migration of vendors was caused by the sharp worsening of relations between the indigenous and alien population of the cities/towns of Central Asian and Northern Caucasian regions.

4. The "classical" *rural migrants* of Dagestan may be divided in two large groups:

4.1. *highlander-migrants* - 40 thousand households in total or over 2

million people from the North-West and South of Mountainous Dagestan. Between the 1940s and 1970s they settled on Kumuk, Cossack, Nogai and Chechen lands handed over to mountainous kolkhozs on the plain. Highlanders were predominantly accommodated in old villages belonging to the indigenous people of the plain. They also built 76 new rural settlements and town-type settlements on the plain. The migration from mountainous regions is still underway, although its scale is much smaller (11). According to their ethnic composition, the Avars (including a small Ando-Tsez group of people attributed to them), the Dargwa (including Kaitags and Kunachs attributed to them), Lezgian, Lak, Agul, Rutul and Tabassaran communities can be identified among the migrants.

4.2 *seasonal migrants* are 200-250 thousand permanent residents of the above nationalities from all the regions of mountainous Dagestan. Since the late 1950s-60s during every summer and part of the autumn they have been travelling to the kolkhoz and sovkhos of the mountainous Dagestan and adjacent regions (oblasts) of Azerbaijan, Kabardo-Balkaria, Krasnodar and Stavropol, in search of seasonal work. The direction of these migration flows somewhat changed at the end of the 1980s-90s. Since the state borders between the former USSR republics were drawn, fewer highlanders have sought employment on the territory of the "near abroad". The majority lease plots in kolkhozs and sovkhos of the Russian Federation.

Currently up to 60% of migrant groups consist of women and teenagers (pupils of the 8th-11th forms) (12).

The fourth group of migrants is the most common in Dagestan. The above figures show that seasonal migrants together with refugees form the mainstream of migration in the Republic.

*Table 1*

**Correlation between Urban and Rural Populations within Larger Ethnicities in Dagestan (16).**

Nationalities	Rural population proportion (%)		Urban population proportion (%)	
	in 1926	in 1995	in 1926	in 1995
Avars	98.9	69.2	1.1	30.8
Aguls	100.0	68.9	0.0	31.1
Azerbaijani	73.8	51.2	26.2	48.8
Jews (highland) and Tats	65.0	1.0	35.0	99.0
Dargwas	99.3	68.5	0.7	31.5
Kumiks	92.0	52.7	8.0	47.3
Laks	97.2	35.8	2.8	64.2
Lezgians s	98.0	62.0	2.0	38.0
Nogais	100.0	86.7	0.0	13.3
Russians	68.4	15.2	31.6	84.8
Rutuls	100.0	74.2	0.0	25.8
Tabassarans	100.0	66.9	0.0	33.1
Tsakhurs	100.0	86.8	0.0	13.2
Chechens	97.9	57.3	2.1	42.7

*Table2*

**Changes in the Proportion of Largest Ethnicities within the Entire Rural Population of the Republic (17).**

Nationalities	Share in the urban population of the RD (%)	
	in 1926	in 1995
Avars	2.4	21.0
Aguls	0.0	0.6
Azerbaijani	9.6	5.0
Jews (highland) and Tats	16.0	1.4
Dargwas	1.0	12.4
Kumiks	8.4	14.8
Laks	1.3	7.8
Lezgians s	3.0	11.1
Nogais	0.0	1.5
Russians	39.0	16.6
Rutuls	0.0	0.5
Tabassarans	0.0	3.6
Tsakhurs	0.0	1.01
Chechens	1.5	3.3
others (non-Dagestanis)	17.8	1.39

The current ethnic composition of the migration flows was formed during the Soviet period. Seasonal migration, having dramatically fallen in the USSR during "collectivisation", revived after the abolition of the Stalin's passport system in early 1960s (Table 3). At present, it is of a selective nature (18) and is related to the ethnic factor. For example, every year, Lezgians, Tabassarans and Tsakhurs residing in the South of Dagestan

seek employment in the villages and cities/towns of South Dagestan (before the drawing of the state border in 1993, they would travel to North Azerbaijan), where over 200 thousand of their countrymen reside. Migrants from the mountainous Avar, Dargwa and Lak regions move to the North - to the Nogai Plain, Stavropolye, Kalmikia, Kabardo and the Krasnodar region (krai). During the Soviet regime the Daghestani Diaspora, consisting of 170 thousand people of these nationalities, settled in this area.

*Table 3*

**Growth of the Daghestani Diaspora in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia (19).**

Titular nations of Dagestan	Diaspora (thousand persons)	
	in the USSR 1926	in Russia and CIS in 1995
Avars	19.9	108.1
Aguls	0.0	6.1
Highland Jews	11.9	6.3
Tats	11.0	16.7
Dargwas	1.7	85.4
Kumiks	6.5	50.4
Laks	8.5	26.7
Lezgians s	44.0	262.4
Nogais	18.5	47.3
Rutuls	2.6	5.7
Tabasarans	0.2	20.2
Tsakhurs	0.7	14.9
Chechens	1.7	11.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>127.2</b>	<b>661.2</b>

During the Soviet period, along with the development of the "classical" rural/urban and seasonal migration, the foundation was laid for three other types of ethnic migration, unknown to Dagestanis before Soviet times. They were based on the complex of hurt national pride latently developed in the minds of the majority of the peoples in the Soviet East (20). Despite the proclaimed national equality, a covert ethnic hierarchy was established in the USSR. The Dagestan of the 1940s was led by mountain peoples: the Avar lobby had leading positions in the Soviet and party apparatus of the Republic. The migration of highlanders organised by them served the interests of predominantly mountain peoples and infringed the interests of the plain and deported peoples of Dagestan.

**Dynamics of Ethnic Migration from 1990 to 1995**

In the 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet regime, ethnic hierarchy and competition between the ethnic communities of highlanders and plain residents of Dagestan became overt. The Avars began losing their leading position in the ethnic pyramid. Under these circumstances the republican

authorities lost control over *internal* ethnic migrations within the RD. Simultaneously, the political situation in the Republic and beyond its borders - in the entire North Caucasian region - was destabilised by the development of *external* ethnic migrations of Dagestanis from the countries of Central Asia and the South Caucasus. Practically all Dagestani nationalities were affected by them. (comp. *Table 4*).

*Table4*

**Ethnic Migrations in the Demographic Dynamics of post-Soviet Dagestan (21).**

Nationality	number (in thousands)		% from all Dagestanis		5,5 years balance resulting from migration(22)	
	in 1989	in 1995	in 1989	in 1995	%	persons
Avars	496.1	539.5	27.50	27.5	8.2	4478
Aguls	13.8	14.9	0.80	0.80	9.9	73
Azerbaijani	75.5	82.3	4.20	4.20	17.4	-2104
Armenians	6.3	6.2	0.40	0.30	78.5	51
Belorusians	1.4	1.3	0.08	0.06	100.0	-109
Highland Jews and Tats	16.6	11.5	0.90	0.50	100.0	-5128
Georgians	0.9	0.8	0.05	0.04	100.0	-48
Dargwas	280.4	308.3	15.50	15.90	23.6	8226
Kumiks	231.8	250.3	12.80	12.80	7.7	1810
Laks	91.7	98.0	5.09	5.02	21.3	1738
Lezgians	204.4	231.7	11.30	11.90	37.9	12262
Nogais	28.3	30.7	1.60	1.60	14.2	434
Russians	165.9	154.4	9.20	7.70	91.5	-11545
Rutuls	14.9	16.2	0.80	0.80	7.6	118
Tabasarans	78.2	87.2	4.30	4.50	20.0	2179
Tatars	5.5	5.4	0.30	0.20	100.0	-122
Ukrainians	8.1	7.2	0.40	0.30	74.5	-709
Tsakhurs	5.2	5.9	0.30	0.30	6.4	45
Chechens	57.9	92.1	3.20	3.20	9.3	34340
Others	19.3	44.0	1.28	2.18	49.0	57
Total	1802.2	1954.5	100.00	100.00	0.1	+43961

The first refugees, consisting of 1500 Avar, Dargwa and Lak households from Guryev oblast of Kazakhstan, came to Dagestan in 1989. Later, between 1991-1994, the hotbeds of ethnic clashes and civil wars in Tajikistan, Azerbaijan and Chechnya forced part of the Lezgian, Avar, Tabassaran, Kumik and Lak Diasporas of these Republics to return to their historic land. Before 1992, for the first time in many decades, the number of immigrants to Dagestan exceeded the number of emigrants by 1439 (23). Before the beginning of 1996, immigration to the RD was significantly higher -by 43 961 persons - than emigration.

The outflow of Russian specialists from industrial centres became an acute problem in post-Soviet Dagestan. This process had already started in the 1960s and 70s; from 1992 to 1995 it became catastrophic (compare *Table 2*). During the past year and a half 10 Russians per day were emigrating from the Republic on average (24). This, as distinct from other regions of the CIS, was related not so much to the inflow of local rural migrants or to anti-Russian sentiments in the society and government, but to the growth of criminal activity and social instability in the RD (25).

Alongside the above migration flows characterising Russia regional migrations have started playing a major role. For example, the separation of the ex-USSR republics from each other between 1992 and 1994 caused an inflow to Dagestan of the peoples separated by the Soviet borders of 1922-1957: Lezgians, Avars, Nogais and Chechens. The incessant flow of these migrants forced the Dagestani authorities to preserve "transparent" customs borders with Azerbaijan and Georgia even up to 1995-1996 (26).

The basis for migration flows in Dagestan remains the "classical" rural-urban migration. There have been almost no changes in this type of ethnic migration. The slight decline in urban population growth since the 90s can be accounted for by rural migrants. With the deepening economic crisis and worsening living conditions, the share of the urban population fell from 43,2% to 42% between 1989 and 1995 (27). The group of seasonal migrants, as evidenced in the author's field research, continued to include 30% - 42% of Dagestani highlanders (28). Clashes occurring between Avars, Dargwas and Laks on one side and Kumiks and Ter Cossacks on the other, have not undermined the traditional seasonal migration.

## **The Adaptation of Migrants in Russia and Dagestan**

The development of ethnic migrations in Dagestan is largely determined by the fact that all the four groups of Dagestani migrants adapt to the new environment in the South Caucasus much quicker and better than in Russia. The results of the survey show that as many as 28% of Russian migrants from the RD have not yet been able to find permanent residence and employment in the regions (oblasts) of Southern Russia adjacent to the Republic. In Moscow and other cities of Central Russia the number of such people among the migrants surveyed amounts to 44% (29).

The financial conditions of 3/4 of non-Russian Dagestani refugees and vendors forced to settle in Russia are significantly better. However, they too complain about the inconveniences caused by the new and unaccustomed living conditions (30). The tradition of obligatory help given to each other by relatives and fellow-countrymen significantly helps migrants in Dagestan. Their psychological adaptation is facilitated by a common life-style and mentality unique to the entire muslim East.

According to the recent statistical data of the RD government, over 69% of refugees and forced migrants have settled in the rural regions of

Dagestan populated by people of the same ethnicity (31). The support given by fellow-countrymen ameliorates their economic and social hardship.

Rural and seasonal migrants, as well as vendors who are accustomed to regular migration and return to their native land, adapt to the new environment in Dagestan better than others. As for Chechen and Avar repatriates, being in a hostile Lak, Kumik and Nogai environment, their adaptation is rather difficult. Recently the relations between indigenous Dagestanis and local Russians significantly worsened. It is noteworthy that 53% of Russians surveyed consider that this is directly linked to the increase of discrimination against Caucasian nationalities in Moscow and some other cities of Central Russia (32).

## **Ethnic Migrations and Security of the Person, Ethnicity and State**

The different types of ethnic migrations have a different impact on the state of inter-ethnic relations in Dagestan and Russia. For example, the preservation of regular migration flows between Dagestani cities/town and villages as well as seasonal migration of highlanders to the plain (*4.1 and 4.2 groups of migrants*) in my view stabilise the economic situation in the RD. *The groups of migrants 1.2 and 3* (the first flow of refugees and migrants) are relatively small and have not influenced the internal political and ethnic situation in the Republic. The growing flow of refugees and repatriated people (*groups of migrants 1.2 and 2.1*) is a more significant source of instability for the post-Soviet North Caucasian community of the first half of the 1990s.

If in 1992-1994 the southern Lezgian lands of Republic were in the centre of internal political instability, after the Russian-Chechen war of 1994-1996 the problems that came to the forefront were related to refugees and the repatriation of Chechen-Akkins in North-West Dagestan. According to the RD Interior Ministry, the proliferation of refugees has significantly aggravated the criminal situation in the cities/towns of Dagestan. During the war large arsenals of arms and military equipment accumulated in rural regions populated by Chechens (33). Before peace was established, Akkins fought a real resistance war on the North-West borders of Dagestan. Although today military actions are over, the possibility of armed clashes in the regions densely populated with Akkins is still significant.

All this primarily threatens the security of the person in Dagestan and the adjacent regions of South Russia. The events of the last five years have shown that the local republican forces are unable to cope with the growing criminality in the regions close to Chechnya and in big cities. Between 1993 and 1995 a drastic passport regime and administrative controls were imposed several times in Makhachkala, Caspiisk, Izberbash, Derbend and the Kizlyar region. However, even at present the cases of ethnic clashes, national discrimination and the ousting of Jews from their residences are evidenced (34). To protect themselves, highland Jews and Tats had to create self-defence units. These units are still active

in Derbend (35).

Economic security also suffered great losses in 1995. At the very beginning of the Russian-Chechen war hyperinflation substituted the slight decrease in prices of April-October 1994. Unemployment has grown rapidly to account for 7% of Dagestan's population at present (36). All this primarily affects migrants. Those who have suffered most are refugees of whom only 1195 managed to get tangible financial assistance before 1995-1996. The remaining tens of thousands have still not received the official status of refugees.

*Table 5*

**Official Statistical Data on Refugees and Forced Migrants in Post-Soviet Dagestan (37).**

<b>Nationalities</b>	<b>Moved to Dagestan before January 1995 (persons)</b>	
	<b>Received refugee status in FMS</b>	<b>Number of refugees and forced migrants in Dagestan</b>
Avars	217	4478
Aguls	0	73
Azerbaijani	4	1484
Armenians	2	51
Dargs	35	8226
Kumiks	41	1810
Laks	83	1738
Lezgians	335	12262
Noghais	325	434
Russians	73	153
Rutuls	0	118
Tabasarans	14	2179
Tatars	4	28
Tsakhurs	0	45
Chechens	23	417
Others	39	160
<b>Total</b>	<b>1195</b>	<b>33656</b>

The security of all the ethnicities suffered greatly between 1991 and 1995. The mass emigration of Russian repatriates of XIX-XX centuries, notably Jews and Tats, puts the existence of these ethnic groups in jeopardy. In the present circumstances these groups are destined for cultural assimilation. It should also be noted that there are unresolved problems concerning the ethnic security of Chechen-Akkins, Lezgians and Nogais who at any minute may be separated by the state border between the Caucasian republics which have gained independence. The deep crisis experienced by law enforcement bodies have forced many of

the Dagestani peoples to take responsibility for defending their national interests in their lands. These interests are being served by a number of national parties and associations of fellow-countrymen that emerged in Makhachkala and other cities/towns of Dagestan between 1989-1995. The largest of them are The Avar Popular Front named after Imam Shamil, the Dargwa movement "Tsadesh" (Unity), the Kumik "Tenglik" (Equality), the Lak "Kazi Kumukh", the Lezgian "Sadval" (Unity), the Nogai: Birlik"(Unity), the Kizlyar community of the Ter Cossacks army and the movement "Russia" (38).

Organisations serving the national interests of Dagestanis and their ethnic security can be found outside the borders of the Republic. In Azerbaijan, for example, the representatives of the Avar Diaspora set up a Society which actively cooperates with Avar organisations in Dagestan. Lezgians in Azerbaijan are grouped around the "Samur" society and the Lezgian Democratic Party established in 1992. According to strategic documents of these organisations, their objective is to achieve firm guarantees for cultural and ethnic autonomy for the Lezgian Diaspora in Azerbaijan. There are over 10 Dagestani fellow-countrymen associations in the Russian Federation. The most active of them is the Cultural Centre for the Peoples of Dagestan set up in April 1994 in Stavropol and protecting the interests of the 90 thousand strong Dargwa Diaspora of this region (oblast) (39).

It is only in the recent period that the national security of Dagestanis has been given consideration by GosComNat and the Migration Service of the RD government. In December 1993 the Co-ordination Council for the Northern Region at the RD Council of Ministers was formed with a view to resolving the acute problems of Northern Dagestan and preventing the emigration of Russians from this region. A local sub-system of the Russian Service for Notification and Action in Emergency has been active in the Republic since August 1994. Its objective is to observe the resolution of national problems in the regions of the RD. To find a peaceful solution for the Lezgian problem, simultaneous with retaining "transparent" borders with Azerbaijan, the economic programme "South" was implemented (40) in 1994-1995.

The above measures, however, have not brought tangible results. The reasons for that are the incompetence and weakness of the regional and republican authorities of post-Soviet Dagestan. These very circumstances continue to jeopardise *the security of the statehood itself*. At present, when the current state machinery is being transformed, the protection of Dagestan's territorial integrity is becoming more and more difficult. Representatives of repatriated peoples call for the ethnic-territorial division of the Republic. For the last 6-7 years Lezgian repatriates residing in the South of Dagestan have been cherishing the idea of building a united sovereign Lezgistan on the lands of Dagestan and Azerbaijan (41). In the 1990s Ter Cossacks and Nogais residing in the South of Dagestan created national organisations beyond the control of the regional and republican authorities. They demand that the Kislyar district (okrug) abolished in 1957 is restored on Nogai and Cossack lands alongside the left bank of the Terek and is separated from Dagestan (42). Finally, since the victory of the Chechen republic in the Russian-Chechen war of 1994-1996, Akkins ignore the Dagestani government authority

Summing up the above, the author would like to highlight the complicated and diverse nature of ethnic migrations in Dagestan. Along with purely destructive tendencies, they contain a number of positive aspects. However, the possibility of using the traditions characteristic of the fourth type of ethnic migrations to destabilise the economic and internal political situation in the region, cannot be ignored. Today the phenomenon of post-Soviet ethnic migrations deserves closer consideration by the Dagestani and Russian authorities. It also deserves to become the subject of meticulous research by Russian and foreign specialists.

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## Notes:

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1. The research was carried out with the financial support of Common Security Forum, International Research Fund (Grant No ZZ 5000/022) and Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (Grant No 5736).
2. Official and academic statistical data is often published in the Dagestani official press. See e.g. *The Dagestanskaya Pravda* and *The Novoye Delo* for 1989-1959. Materials by E. Kisriev may be found in the publications by DNC and the Moscow Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the RAS. See e.g. his series - *Research in Emergence and Applied Ethnology*, Issue N 72.
3. The most significant of them are rare publications on migration dynamics from annual reports by the Regional Committee for Statistics (RCS).
4. The figures are based on the Reports of 1990-1994 by the Migration Service of the Committee for Labour and Employment in the Government of the RD complemented by archive materials of 1992-1995 by GosComNat of the RD.
5. These are Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Belorussians, Ukrainians and Tatars.
6. Report by the Migration Service of the Labour and Employment Committee of the RD for the Period Before 1 January 1996, *Makhachkala* 1996. It should be noted that the majority of refugees from Chechnya did not receive the official status of refugees entitling them to certain benefits. According to the FMS of Russia, by December 1995 only 1195 persons had received this status in Dagestan. See, *Report on Forced Migrants by FMS of the RF. Territorial Section: Dagestan, Moscow, 1995.*
7. The figures are based on the Census of the USSR Population held in 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989, also the Reports the GosComStatState Committee for Statistics and Migration Service of the Committee for Labour and Employment. *Dagestan ASSR. Makhachkala 1990-1996. Compare: Dagestan: Ethnopolitical Portrait. Compiled by B. V. Grizlov, vol. 1, Moscow 1993 p.83-84; The Dagestanskaya Pravda. 26 July 1991, 19 September 1992, 29*

- January 1994, 13 March 1995.
8. Census of the USSR Population held in 1989. Dagestani ASSR. Moscow 1991.
  9. Ibid. Compare: The Sadval, 1993, No No 8-10; The XI Akikat, 26 March 1994, The Dagestanskaya Pravda, 18 March 1995.
  10. The figures are based on the Reports of the State Committee for Statistics and Migration Service of the Committee for Labour and Employment. Makhachkala, 1990-1994, Compare The Dagestanskaya Pravda, 18 March, 1995.
  11. Traditional and New in the Modern Life and Culture of Dagestani Migrants. Selected Papers, Moscow 1998, p 16-17,30; The Novoe Delo, 11 March 1995.
  12. Field Papers of 1992-1996 by Vladimir Bobrovnikov; Comp: V. Bobrovnikov "Traditions in the Life of Highlanders Today: Land and People. The Asia and Africa Today, 1993 N4, p41, V. Bobrovnikov. "Dagestan: Land and People on the Land". The Vash Vibor, 1994, No3, p 19-20.
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  18. For details see: G. Milovanov The Working Class of Daghestan Makhachkala, 1991, p.27,38,42.
  19. Estimates based on All-Union Census of 1926. Moscow 1928; Census of the USSR Population of 1989. Moscow, 1991; Annual Reports of GosComStat of RD, 1992-1995.
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  22. Not taking into account the refugees from the zone of the armed conflict between Chechnya and Russia.

23. The Novoye Delo, 19 November 1993.
24. The Tribuna, 1993, No11; The Severni Kavkaz, Nalchik 22 January, 1994, The Dagestanskaya Pravda, 3 April 1995, Compare: The Traditionl and New in the Modern Life and Culture of Dagestani Migrants, p. 29, 31.
25. The figures are based on random surveys held by the author among Russians who emigrated from the Republic in 1992-1994. Compare: The Dagestanskaya Pravda, 21 May 1994, The Stolichni Criminal, 31 may 1994, The Makhachkalinskiye Izvestiya, 21 January, 1995.
26. The Lezginiski Vesnik, 1994, No 2 (12), The Dagestanskaya Pravda, 16 March, 1995.
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28. Field Works of 1992-1996 by V. Bobrovnikov. For details see: V. Bobrovnikov "Dagestani: Land and People", The Vash Vibor, 1994 No3 (10) p. 19-20.
29. The figures are based on the survey conducted by myself among Russians who had emigrated from the Republic between 1992 and 1994. Compare: similar data of the opinion poll held among Russians in Dagestan by the Information and Analytical Centre of the RD Government. The Dagestanskaya Pravda, 17 May 1994.
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31. Report by FMS RF on the social and demographic composition of forced migrants ; IV quarter 1994,, Territorial Branch: Dagestan Moscow 1995 Compare: The Dagestanskaya Pravda 19 February 1994.
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34. The Severni Kavkaz 19 February 1994; The Dagestanskaya Pravda, 4 March 1994, 2 April 1995.
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40. The Dagestanskaya Pravda, 12 January, 30 April and 11 March 1995.
41. The Lezginiski Vesnik, 1994, No 1(11).
42. The Kumuk Ish, 1992, No 4(11); The Novoye Delo 25 March, 1 April and 29 April 1994; The Tenglik 25 February 1995.
43. Compare: The Khalkan Az, 16 March 1995; The Dagestanskaya

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