



Negative Migration Balance as an Indicator of Regional Political System Sustainability before and during the COVID-19 Pandemic (The Case Study of the Trans-Baikal Territory)

Yulia Anatolevna Matafonova¹ 
Tatyana Nikolayevna Gordeeva² 

Received: November 6, 2021

Accepted: December 6, 2021

Published: April 12, 2022

Keywords:

COVID-19;
Migration;
Negative migration balance;
Regional political system;
Sustainability of a regional political system



Creative Commons Non Commercial CC BY-NC: This article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial 4.0 License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>) which permits non-commercial use, reproduction and distribution of the work without further permission.

Abstract: *The article deals with the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on indicators of migration outflow from the Trans-Baikal Territory and interpretation of the results obtained based on the authors' theoretical provisions concerning the sustainability of a regional political system (a constituent entity of a federal state). The analysis of theoretical approaches to sustainability of the political system allowed us to formulate the essence of the sustainability towards the regional political system operating within the framework of the federal organization of political and territorial space of the state. The analysis of migration processes and comparison of the results of the similar periods (before the COVID-19 pandemic and during the pandemic) revealed a general trend of non-decreasing migration outflow of the population from the Trans-Baikal Territory. The restrictive conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic had little impact on the quantitative indicators of migration in the Trans-Baikal Territory, without reducing negative migration balance. The obtained results allowed us to conclude that the regional political system is unstable – it is unable to create comfortable and attractive living conditions for the regional community.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The idea that crises and emergencies (pandemics) have an impact on social processes, including migration, is always reflected in publications, reviews, and expert discussions. It can be a near-instantaneous reaction after the phenomenon occurred, and subsequent realization, a study, as a result of evaluating the impact over time. The analysis of some publications written by domestic and foreign researchers allows us to conclude that in this context migration and mobility become a subject of close observation and study in the era of multiple crises. Within a special issue, R. King and M. Pratsinakis raised the question concerning the impact of crisis situations on the processes of free movement in the political and territorial space of the European Union (King & Pratsinakis, 2020, p. 5). Developing typologies of evolution phases for the European migration and mobility models, the authors identified three stages in mobility development within the European Union over the past decades. Emphasizing the preservation of motives of population migration, the authors note that any crisis event leads to a complication of the existing models of relations in society.

The model of population mobility that has developed over the past three decades includes both continuity and changes. Evaluating the impact of crisis situations, the authors define the tendency to increase the state's influence on free movement and to renationalize the state's power in the sphere of migration control (King & Pratsinakis, 2020, p. 7). According to A. Triandafyllidou, COVID-19 is used as an argument to control migration and to avoid international obligations to-

¹ Trans-Baikal State University, Chita, Russia

² Trans-Baikal State University, Chita, Russia

wards refugees and migrants (Triandafyllidou, 2020). This statement is appropriate, because in the context of the pandemic borders were closed and population movement was restricted, both between states and within states. Thus, international obligations towards refugees and migrants have faded into insignificance.

Also, the studies concerning the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic cover the problems of identifying threats and raise the questions of resolving the “health or economy” conflict, the solution of which falls within the competence of national authorities in the field of labor migration policy (Veizis, 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic is one of the most extensive and comprehensive crises to hit the global community in recent decades. It will have far-reaching consequences for society and economy and will likely lead to permanent changes in the way people work, travel, and interact. We must admit the crisis cannot be evaluated unambiguously. On the one hand, it gives us opportunities related to innovation and digitalization – “crises are progressive with all their painfulness” (Yakovets, 1999); on the other hand, it causes difficulties and uncertainty of the processes taking place at that time and makes authorities take responsibility for maintaining functionality of administrative and political processes. Therefore, scientific interest in the stability concept for regions as political systems under risk conditions is growing. The classical stability theory deals with stability of a system as its ability to return to the condition of the steady-state equilibrium after the removal of a perturbation that has disturbed this equilibrium. The stability of a political system is characterized by the ability of operating actors to keep changes within the specified boundaries, in certain parameters.

Taking into account the existence of the separate direction of political thought that distinguishes sustainability and political stability (Ersson & Lane, 1983), we believe that within the framework of the study, such a distinction is possible, but it is not principal. Political stability falls into the category of situational and operational characteristics of political dynamics, while sustainability is related to its strategic, historical dimensions (Bilyuga, 2018). Therefore, in our study we will consider sustainability of a regional political system as a functional characteristic of a regional political system depending on existing authorities to address issues of regional importance. The characteristic is also expressed through actions of regional government and public reaction to the decisions and actions. Meanwhile, both Russian and foreign researchers do not always distinguish between sustainability and stability in relation to the study of political systems at different levels. In foreign research practice, it is explained by the coincidence of the essence and meaning of these terms. Regardless of the terminology used (sustainability or stability), researchers emphasized the multi-factor nature, the multi-criteria character, and complexity of their definition concerning such nonlinear systems as a society or political (political and territorial) system (Duff, & McCamant, 1968). By identifying different indicators, criteria, and variables, researchers try to specify the parameters (thresholds, intervals) that can be used as indicative ones to distinguish between the stability and instability of a system and to determine its critical points. Thus, we propose to consider migration indicators as one of these criteria.

Speaking about the Trans-Baikal Territory, on the one hand, as an element of the federal system (constituent unit of the Russian Federation), and, on the other hand, as a political system at the regional level, we believe that the sustainability of the constituent unit of the federation is not only the ability of the political and territorial entity to exist within the specific federal system, but also the ability of regional authorities to make optimal decisions that ensure viability of the region

through implementation of vital interests of its population. In this case, sustainability implies that the constituent unit of the federation as a mesosystem performs its main functions both in relation to the federal center and in relation to its population (Matafonova, 2016). Meanwhile, for a long period in the Trans-Baikal Territory, one could observe a steady trend of migration outflow, which can be considered as an indicator showing the unsustainability of the regional political system. From the perspective of a systematic approach to any political system, migration can be seen as a reaction of population to political decisions made by the authorities when those decisions deal with the vital interests of the population of the corresponding political and territorial entity.

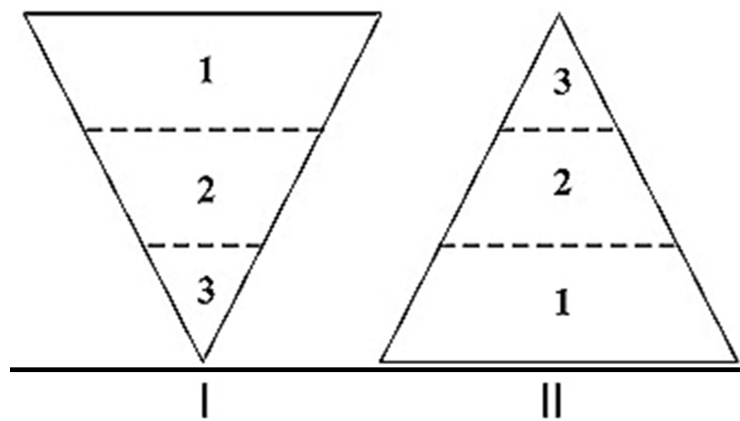
The purpose of the study is to reveal the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the indicators of migration outflow from the Trans-Baikal Territory and to interpret the results obtained on the basis of the authors' theoretical provisions concerning sustainability of the regional political system (a constituent entity of a federal state). Developing these provisions, we relied on the studies of classics within the theory of federalism and political regionalism, representatives of the system approach and the sustainability theory, as well as the works of modern researchers in the sphere of political regionalism and related fields.

2. SUSTAINABILITY OF A REGIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM (A CONSTITUENT UNIT OF THE FEDERATION): CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE TERM

Any political system is a complex, self-organizing structure with a special impact on society and socio-political processes taking place within the society. To assess both sustainability of a political system as a whole and sustainability of its separate elements, phenomena, and processes objectively, it is necessary to imply multi-criteria approaches based on postulates of system theory and sustainability theory, taking into account the specifics of study in the field of the social and political objects and systems.

Describing the models that can be used as a complex for economic and political forecasting, P. B. Salin and V. A. Yurga note that sustainability of a social system directly depends on the correlation of three constituent subsystems: political, social and economic ones (Salin & Yurga, 2012, p. 38). These authors define sustainability not only having regard to its structure and correlation of these subsystems, but also based on the target functions (first of all, the target functions of the economic subsystem) and the thesis about the priority of the economic subsystem in relation to others. They note that sustainability of a political system depends on its equilibrium, while the equilibrium is directly dependent on the condition and target functions of the economy. As examples of such functions, the researchers list long-term, medium-term, and short-term target functions. A stable economic subsystem is characterized by an optimal combination of target functions, such a type of their ratio when they do not conflict; "medium-term and long-term target functions are the basis for the formation of the country's economic strategy and represent a kind of background to implement short-term goals that do not contradict the background." (Salin & Yurga, 2012). In the absence of such coherence and the so-called guiding economic background, the set of short-term goals forms a chaotic variety of contradictory targets that ultimately lead to an increase in the instability of the system.

As for the social system as a whole, the authors note that the system is in the state of sustainability (i.e. sustainable development) only in the case of economic priorities of development and subordination of political purposes to social interests. If political goals are declared to be primary ones, the entire system becomes unstable (Figure 1).



1 – economic subsystem, 2 – social subsystem, 3 – political subsystem.
I – unstable state of the system; II – stable state.

Figure 1. System states

The authors consider that the sustainability degrees for these subsystems are initially different - “the economic subsystem has the highest degree of sustainability, the same parameter for the political subsystem is the least”(Salin & Yurga, 2012, p, 38). Similar schemes are used to assess the sustainability of a social subsystem (a social structure), which can also be determined using a pyramidal structure through the analysis of a ratio (a share) of the main groups that constitute the society. V. K. Levashov, studying the issues of socio-political sustainability of a society, developed a scale where he presented the main (nodal) points of development for a socio-political system:

- 1) sustainability (sustainable socio-political development) is a state of the system when a balance is found in the system of relations “political parties –state – society”, and the balance allows the system to perform the functions of self-organization and self-support and creates a sustainable development regime at present and in the near future for all subjects and institutions of the system of socio-political relations;
- 2) stability (stable socio-political development) is characterized by the stable functioning of the system in the current period, its ability to cope with balance disorders (dysfunctions, according to T. Parsons) due to the action of internal regulators and reserves, when the development of the system does not occur;
- 3) a crisis of socio-political relations means a disbalance and emergence of degradation tendencies and possibility of a system catastrophe;
- 4) a catastrophe occurs when the system is destroyed and disintegrated and the ties between the subjects of the socio-political sphere are broken;
- 5) disintegration means the death of this system of socio-political relations with destruction of all or most of its components (Levashov, 2011).

These system states are constructed on the basis of international experience in studying socio-political relations. To determine the system state, the following criteria are used as indicators and indices:

- a system of social indicators measured by empirical methods using representative public opinion polls, therefore they can express the interests of certain subjects of socio-political relations and society as a whole (the attitude to the course of economic reforms, socio-political alienation, the need to transform the political system, the level of confidence in social and political institutions, the state’s provision of norms of democratic society, party orientations);
- an integral index of socio-political sustainability of society (SPSI) based on a set of six indicators (each indicator is measured according to its own scale).

The main directions in the study of political system sustainability are related to the classical ideas of the founders of the general systems theory and works of the classics in the sphere of the political systems theory, such as T. Parsons, D. Easton, G. Almond, K. Deutsch, etc. K. Deutsch presented a political system as a purposefully organized complex of information links aimed at management and regulation of socio-political processes (Deutsch, 1974). Recently, the idea of sustainability of a political system as a whole has been raised in many domestic scientific works. A.P. Kochetkov studies conceptual approaches to the political system sustainability problem which are available in the political discourse and analyzes the political system sustainability of modern Russia noting problematic aspects (Kochetkov, 2017). Based on D. Easton's theory, I.E. Diskin and V.V. Fedorov define the sustainability of a political system as a kind of equilibrium state between the "input" and "output", pointing to the fundamental condition for sustainability of a political system – the correspondence between the political decisions made by the system and demands of society (Diskin & Fedorov, 2010). Significantly, Russian researchers make attempts to determine criteria, indicators or regulators of the political system sustainability combining the provisions of the systems theory and the political science. Both A.I. Kochetkov and O.E. Grishin define such criteria (regulators) based on the democratic nature of the state (Grishin, 2015).

Depending on the direction of research interest, scientists consider different institutions and phenomena as regulators of political sustainability. The variety of theoretical studies indicates both the relevance of the problem and the fact that the concept of "sustainability" is only taking shape in Russian political theory. As S. E. Biluga rightly notes that there are significant difficulties in determining sustainability of a state – the reason for this is a multi-factor character of the analysis and the need for researchers to focus on studying different aspects of the system response to various internal and external challenges (Bilyuga, 2018).

L. Hurwitz presents a descriptive model of sustainability characterized by the absence of violence, stability of its political regime, the existence of legitimate constitutional order, absence of structural changes, and a behavior model (regularity and normality of proper behavior within society) (Hurwitz, 1973). In foreign scientific literature, there are also scientific works that distinguish the categories of stability and sustainability and the researches where they are considered to be equal. T. Sheehan defines the dependence of political stability (sustainability) on four main conditions: provision of basic services, management of public resources, civil society involvement, empowerment, independent media and political parties, political moderation and accountability (Sheehan, 2015).

In addition to the structural and systemic interpretation of sustainability, foreign studies have also developed a behaviorist paradigm that originated from the position that within society a political structure is a network of role expectations that impose restrictions on political actions. Therefore, in fact, political sustainability is found when such conditions exist to the extent that members of society are limited by behavior that oversteps the bounds set by the political structure, and any action that deviates from these limits causes political instability and unsustainability (Ake, 2011). Outside of Russia, the study of political system sustainability takes place in a practical perspective to a much greater extent than it happens in our country. K. Dowding and R. Kimber note that studies of political stability and sustainability need a clearer explanatory link between empirical data and hypotheses of the political stability theory (Dowding & Kimber, 2006).

The federal organization of the political and territorial space leaves its mark on the sustainability of a political system. We consider sustainability as one of the characteristics of a constituent

unit as a regional political system (mesosystem) the main content of which is associated with the implementation of tasks by regional authorities to satisfy the basic living needs of population of a particular region. Sustainability of a constituent unit within the existing federal system can also be seen as an effective execution of powers by the constituent unit (regional authorities). If via its authorities, the regional political system complies with its obligations in relation to the population of the political and territorial entity effectively, it means the system is able to provide conditions for satisfaction of people's daily needs and their self-realization (this is the purpose of the level of a constituent unit in the federal state). Focusing on the needs of the population should be the main paradigm for activities of the authorities playing the role of an institutional basis for any political system. Focusing on the needs of the regional community and the ability to meet (to satisfy) them can be a criterion for the effectiveness of the regional political system functioning in the context of federalism.

The experience of the federal structure of the Russian Federation demonstrates that constituent units differ from each other significantly in terms of social and economic indicators. Nevertheless, there are some constituent units where the migration outflow is not so significant or it is absent at all, and positive migration balance takes place. People move to places where there are conditions and opportunities for comfortable life and self-realization. Thus, migration indicators can serve as a basis for assessing the effectiveness and sustainability of regional political systems.

Within the framework of political theory, these conclusions are correlated with the classical scheme of D. Easton considering any political system from the point of view of "input", "output", and "feedback" (Easton, 1979). Migration processes are demonstrative. They show a reaction of population to decisions and actions of a regional political system. As a comparison, in this case, we took specific time intervals: from March to August in 2019 and from March to August in 2020. It was done to determine the degree of the COVID-19 impact on migration processes within the political and territorial boundaries of the separate constituent unit of the federation - the Trans-Baikal Territory.

3. THE ANALYSIS OF MIGRATION PROCESSES IN THE TRANS-BAIKAL TERRITORY AND NEGATIVE MIGRATION BALANCE

The interdependence of socio-political and demographic processes is also evident when negative changes in demographic factors aggravate the state of a political system. This dependence must be taken into account and foreseen for all social models and management systems of various levels including regional ones.

Demographic behavior is sensitive to external "stimuli". It can be a sufficient argument to list demographic parameters as the main empirical indicators in order to identify general trends in social development of society as a whole, as well as in the social development of territories and their units in particular. Moreover, each territory has its own specifics in the nature of the movement under study, and some nuances reveal differences even within the region. The results of the empirical data analysis based on the material of the Trans-Baikal Territory confirm this fact and are consistent with scientific ideas about the priority of place of residence over other environmental factors in the structure of external factors guiding the vector of population development.

The dynamics analysis of the main indicator – the total population size – and some selected indicators of its assessment is extremely important for the territory of the constituent unit of the

Federation. The analysis of population dynamics with the help of the index of population change shows a significant decrease in the number of residents of municipal districts of the Trans-Baikal Territory as a reaction to the ongoing processes in the country, including crisis-related ones. Changes in the permanent population of a territory are influenced by natural increase/decline and migration flows. Taking into account the purpose of our study, we focus our attention on the second component. In terms of this parameter, our region is in the worst position among the constituent units of the Far Eastern Federal District (Table 1).

Table 1. The Trans-Baikal Territory in terms of migration inflow (outflow) among the constituent units of the Far Eastern Federal District (2019)¹

Constituent Units within the Far Eastern Federal District	Migration inflow, outflow (-), persons
Republic of Buryatia	1 037
Primorye Territory	679
Chukotka Autonomous Area	554
Amur Region	12
Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	-229
Magadan Region	-741
Kamchatka Territory	-1 568
Jewish Autonomous Region	-1026
Sakhalin Region	-1057
Khabarovsk Territory	-2 711
<i>Trans-Baikal Territory</i>	<i>-5 489</i>
<i>Total for the Far Eastern Federal District</i>	<i>-10539</i>

Source: Compiled by the authors based on official data of the Federal State Statistics Service on the population size and migration in the Russian Federation in 2019 (Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation, https://rosstat.gov.ru/bgd/regl/b20_107/Main.htm)

The concept of population migration was modified over time, and at the same time, the scheme of approach to its study changed. As data concerning migration as a phenomenon were accumulated, the most stable characteristics and factors determining migration processes were identified. The main objects of the study according to the definition of population migration are the process of migration, its consequences, migrants and the general unity of the items named above that allows us to talk about migration as a holistic phenomenon of public life. Migration is not a homogeneous phenomenon, since its agents differ significantly among themselves. Among the reasons for population movement, economic and social ones (movement to find work or to get education, family movement, etc.) were studied more carefully. Political, national, religious, military, and environmental reasons acquire particular importance, especially in modern conditions. The increased influence of the last-named has resulted in a growth of the number of refugees and forced migrants.

The objective factors are determined by objective conditions of society's transformation in the economic, political and social dimensions. The subjective factors include the characteristics of main participants in migration processes: age, work experience, qualification, level of education, marital status, value orientations, work motivation, changes in attitudes, etc. It should be noted that these factors have both federal and specific regional contexts determining characteristics of social behavior of migrants in particular territories.

The results of our researches, the secondary analysis of the data mentioned in our earlier sociological studies (Lukashin, 2006) indicate that the problems of population migration in the Trans-Baikal Territory remain topical ones for a long period. The continuous migration outflow

(Table 2) is a threat to the security of the region. It becomes an indicator of unsustainability for the constituent unit of the federation as it shows the inability of the regional political system to cope with its pressing problems and create conditions that ensure the attractiveness of the Trans-Baikal region.

Table 2. Negative migration balance of the Trans-Baikal Territory²

Indicators	From January to October 2018	From January to October 2019	From January to October 2020
1. Arrivals in the Trans-Baikal Territory (persons)	24460	24807	18496
2. Departures (persons)	30190	29162	20885
3. Migration outflow (persons)	5730	4355	2389
4. Total population (by January, 1), persons	1072800	1065800	1059700
5. Negative migration balance (‰)	5.3	4.1	2.3

Source: Compiled by the authors based on official data of the Regional Office of the Federal State Statistics Service for the Trans-Baikal Territory (Regional Office of the Federal State Statistics Service for the Trans-Baikal Territory. <https://chita.gks.ru/folder/47256>, http://www.chita.gks.ru:8080/bgd_site/)

The main reasons for leaving the region were and are: “low living standards” - 24.4 %, “absence of work” - 12.9 %, “absence of opportunities for self-realization” – 9.7%, “severe climatic conditions” - 8.9 %. In the context of our research and the formulation of the scientific task, the relocation motives based on socio-economic reasons are of particular interest, since these parameters of life in the region, or rather their certain level, should be provided by the regional authorities as they are an institutional component of the political system.

However, both regional and interregional migration flows (international migration) were sometimes limited by processes and phenomena of a large-scale, global nature, having, above all, the character of a crisis. Such fundamental problems as absence of regulation or improper regulation, decision-making based on insufficient or unreliable information, etc. are common characteristic of these crises. The COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent decisions and actions of the authorities in countries and regions of the world represent a special case. There is no doubt that this phenomenon has a crisis character. However, an attempt to determine its type and structure leads to the conclusion about its eclectic nature. In fact, we find here economic (the destruction of most business sectors), social (degradation and destruction of social structures and institutions, declining living standards), political (inability of authorities to “explain” people the necessity of preventive measures, the protest movement of the COVID-19 “dissidents”) and other failures. And, according to its consequences, it is possible to say this crisis has an innovative character, since it led to the renewal of different systems. For example, first of all, we speak about health care systems around the world.

The rapid spread of the COVID-19 pandemic at the beginning of 2020 has changed the lives of millions around the world in record time. A significant change in the way of life that can lead to material status changes, combined with the risk of being infected and the possibility of serious illness, as well as anxiety about potential losses now can be considered as factors affecting migration processes. However, after analyzing the data on migration indicators of the Trans-Baikal Territory for the comparable period of 2019 and 2020 (the pandemic period), presented in Table 3, we made the following conclusion.

Table 3. Migration indicators (by month)

Migration in 2019 (before the pandemic)						
Indicators	March	April	May	June	July	August
Arrivals in the Trans-Baikal Territory (persons)	2422	2210	1689	3488	2609	2592
Departures (persons)	2819	2736	2137	3142	3047	3067
Migration outflow/inflow (persons)	-397	-526	-448	346	-438	-475
Migration in 2020 (the pandemic period)						
Indicators	March	April	May	June	July	August
Arrivals in the Trans-Baikal Territory (persons)	2081	1225	1376	2923	2649	2346
Departures (persons)	2472	1175	1390	2403	2784	2824
Migration outflow/inflow (persons)	-391	50	-14	520	-135	-478

The pandemic conditions had an impact on the quantitative indicators of the migration process in the Trans-Baikal Territory. However, the tendency of negative migration balance continued to exist, despite restrictive measures. Even in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, the migration outflow in the Trans-Baikal Territory remains a stable trend. Being a reaction of the population to the decisions and actions of the regional political system, the migration outflow is an indicator of the system's sustainability (unsustainability) expressed in the inability to cope with the existing situation. There is a kind of "people's voting with their feet", showing the population's attitude to the processes taking place within the political and territorial space of the constituent unit of the federation. As a hypothesis, we assume that after the removal of the restrictions, the figures of negative migration balance will return to their previous level.

4. CONCLUSION

We interpret the sustainability of a constituent unit of a federal state on the basis of a combination of the federalism theory and the systematic approach. On the one hand, sustainability is an ability of a political and territorial entity to exist within a specific federal system, and, on the other hand, it is an ability of regional authorities to make optimal decisions that give a chance to provide its viability through the implementation of the vital interests of its population. Sustainability is a functional characteristic of a political system. The essence of regional political system sustainability within the framework of a federal political and territorial structure is connected not only with the period of existence of a particular political system and its structural content but also with its functional characteristics. Within the meaning of political science, a system can be considered sustainable, if it fulfills its intended purpose. Therefore, its understanding should be built around the satisfaction of interests and needs of a regional community (population of a constituent unit).

A negative migration balance is an indicator that allows us to assess the sustainability of a regional system as this parameter correlates with the effectiveness of managerial actions at the regional level. Migration outflow is a kind of indicator of socio-economic, political and managerial problems of the Trans-Baikal Territory. The analysis of migration processes and comparison of the results of the similar periods (before the COVID-19 pandemic and during the pandemic) revealed a general trend of non-decreasing migration outflow of the population from the Trans-Baikal Territory. The restrictive conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic had little impact on the quantitative indicators of migration in the Trans-Baikal Territory, without reducing the indicators of the negative migration balance. The obtained results allowed us to conclude that the regional political system is unstable – it is unable to create comfortable and attractive living conditions for the regional community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The study was funded by RFBR and EISR, project number 21-011-31406.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

REFERENCES

- Ake, C. (2011). Modernization and Political Instability: A Theoretical Exploration. *World Politics*, 26 (04), 576–591.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2010102>
- Bilyuga, S. E. (2018). Political stability: basic approaches to the analysis of the stability of the political system. *Age of globalization*, 2 (26), 46–56. <https://doi.org/10.30884/vglob/2018.02.04>
- Deutsch, K. (1974). *Politics and Government: How People Decide Their Fate*. Atlanta.
- Diskin, I. E & Fedorov, V. V. (2010). Exercising responsive modern Russian political system. *Monitoring of public opinion: the economic and social changes*, 6 (100), 4–11.
- Dowding, K. & Kimber, R. (2006). Political stability and the science of comparative politics. *European Journal of Political Research*, 15 (1), 103–122.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1987.tb00866.x>
- Duff, E. A. & McCamant, J. F. (1968). Measuring Social and Political Requirements for System Stability in Latin America. *American Political Science Review*, 62 (4), 1125–1143.
- Easton, D. (1979). *A Framework for Political Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ersson, S. & Lane, J. E. (1983). Political Stability in European Democracies. *European Journal of Political Research*, 11 (3), 245–264.
- Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation, https://rosstat.gov.ru/bgd/regl/b20_107/Main.htm
- Grishin, O. E. (2015). Sustainability of the political system: notion, approaches, regulators. *Modern Problems of Science and Education*, 1 (1), 1924.
- Hurwitz, L. (1973). Contemporary Approaches to Political Stability. *Comparative Politics*, 5 (3), 449–463.
- King, R. & Pratsinakis, M. (2020). Special Issue Introduction: Exploring the Lived Experiences of Intra-EU Mobility in an Era of Complex Economic and Political Change. *International Migration*, 58 (1), 5–14. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12682>
- Kochetkov, A.P. (2017). On the stability of the political system of modern Russia. *The Caspian Region: Politics, Economics, Culture*, 3 (52), 65–71.
- Levashov, V. K. (2011). Socio-political stability of society. *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 81 (12), 1059–1064.
- Lukashin, I.A. (2006). Migration and its features in modern conditions (on the materials of the Chita region). *Socio-stratification differentiation of Russian society. Materials international Scientific Conference*, 2, 69–74.
- Matafonova, Y.A. (2016). Systematic Interpretation of the Factors of Federal Sustainability and Socio-Political Security of a Constituent State of a Federation. *American Journal of Applied Sciences*, 13 (2), 222 – 229. <https://doi.org/10.3844/ajassp.2016.222.229>
- Regional Office of the Federal State Statistics Service for the Trans-Baikal Territory, <https://chita.gks.ru/folder/47256>, http://www.chita.gks.ru:8080/bgd_site/

- Salin, P. B. & Yurga, V. A. (2012). Formal Models of the Games Theory in Politology and Their Applications to Expert Economic Models. *Humanities and Social Sciences. Bulletin of the Financial University*, 4 (8), 32–42.
- Sheehan, T. (2015). *Guiding principles for stabilization and reconstruction*. US: Institute for Peace and the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2020). Commentary: Spaces of Solidarity and Spaces of Exception at the times of COVID-19. *International Migration*, 58 (3), 261–263. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12719>.
- Veizis, A. (2020). Commentary: “Leave No One Behind” and Access to Protection in the Greek Islands in the COVID-19 Era. *International Migration*, 58 (3), 264–266. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12721>
- Yakovets, Yu. V. (1999). *Cycles. Crises. Forecasts*. Moscow: Nauka.

