

## **CARIM EAST – CONSORTIUM FOR APPLIED RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION**

Co-financed by the European Union

### ***Integration of Migrants: Russian Federation***

**Vladimir Mukomel**

CARIM-East Research Report 2013/02

**CARIM-East**  
**Creating an Observatory of Migration East of Europe**

**Research Report**  
**CARIM-East RR 2013/02**

**Integration of Migrants:**  
**Russian Federation**

**Vladimir Mukomel**

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Vladimir Mukomel, Integration of Migrants: Russian Federation, CARIM-East RR 2013/02, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, 2013.

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## **CARIM-East – Creating an Observatory East of Europe**

This project which is co-financed by the European Union is the first migration observatory focused on the Eastern Neighbourhood of the European Union and covers all countries of the Eastern Partnership initiative (Belarus, Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) and Russian Federation.

The project's two main themes are:

- (1) migration from the region to the European Union (EU) focusing in particular on countries of emigration and transit on the EU's eastern border; and
- (2) intraregional migration in the post-Soviet space.

The project started on 1 April 2011 as a joint initiative of the European University Institute (EUI), Florence, Italy (the lead institution), and the Centre of Migration Research (CMR) at the University of Warsaw, Poland (the partner institution).

CARIM researchers undertake comprehensive and policy-oriented analyses of very diverse aspects of human mobility and related labour market developments east of the EU and discuss their likely impacts on the fast evolving socio-economic fabric of the six Eastern Partners and Russia, as well as that of the European Union.

In particular, CARIM-East:

- builds a broad network of national experts from the region representing all principal disciplines focused on human migration, labour mobility and national development issues (e.g. demography, law, economics, sociology, political science).
- develops a comprehensive database to monitor migration stocks and flows in the region, relevant legislative developments and national policy initiatives;
- undertakes, jointly with researchers from the region, systematic and *ad hoc* studies of emerging migration issues at regional and national levels.
- provides opportunities for scholars from the region to participate in workshops organized by the EUI and CMR, including academic exchange opportunities for PhD candidates;
- provides forums for national and international experts to interact with policymakers and other stakeholders in the countries concerned.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: <http://www.carim-east.eu/>

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## Table of Contents

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Executive Summary .....  |    |
| Introduction .....   | 1  |
| Integration research in russia: brief overview .....                                 | 2  |
| Research methodology .....   | 4  |
| National policy on integration of migrants .....                                     | 5  |
| Integration policy background .....  | 5  |
| Transformation of migration flows: scale, structure, countries of origin.....        | 5  |
| Russian discourses.....  | 6  |
| Results of the research.....   | 6  |
| Integration Potential of the Host Population .....                                   | 6  |
| Migrants' Adaptation and Integration Potential .....                                 | 9  |
| Relations with the host population .....   | 9  |
| Expectations, plans, migration strategies .....                                      | 10 |
| Level of integration and integration potential .....                                 | 12 |
| Social Practices of Adaptation and Integration .....                                 | 12 |
| Labor market: labor mobility, discriminatory practice .....                          | 12 |
| Access to housing, discrimination practices .....                                    | 14 |
| Work teams .....   | 15 |
| Teaching Russian .....   | 15 |
| Education.....   | 15 |
| Health care.....   | 16 |
| Social protection.....   | 17 |
| Political involvement.....   | 17 |
| Access to procedures of obtaining permanent resident status and naturalization ..... | 17 |
| Anti-discrimination legislation.....   | 17 |
| Family reunification .....   | 18 |
| Challenges of Social Exclusion.....  | 18 |
| Conclusions and recommendations .....  | 19 |
| References .....   | 21 |

## **Executive Summary**

Demographic forecasts are not very optimistic: in the nearest future the problems of depopulation and labor force deficit in Russia will only get worse. The inflow of migrants will grow, but it will not become a global challenge for the country unless adaptation and integration of migrants is successful.

Currently there are serious limitations in integration policy; the most important ones are low integration potential of the host society, poor adaptive capacities of a part of migrants, social practices of interaction between the host population and authorities and the migrants.

Inflow of migrants is viewed by Russians as destabilization of the existent social order. At low level of interpersonal and institutional trust which exists in the Russian society, the attempts to articulate the need of migrants' adaptation and integration faces serious resistance of the local population and a significant part of elite. Most Russians support restrictive migration policy.

Integration spirits which are greatly at contrast with the attitude of the host population are widely spread among the migrants, whereas over one quarter of these would like to settle down in Russia. Such intention is most vividly expressed by permanent migrants, many of whom have been living in Russia for years and are largely integrated in the Russian society.

Migrants face the biggest problems at labor and housing markets. Discrimination is widely spread in the labor market which appears in limited access of the migrants to certain kinds of work and employment sectors, labor conditions and labor remuneration. Over half of migrants are employed in Russia in the jobs which do not require the workers to have any particular education or qualifications. At that, over one third of labor migrants with higher education and incomplete higher education, and almost half of migrants with secondary vocational training work as unskilled workers. Education, qualifications, professional knowledge of migrants are not in demand in the Russian labor market. Housing is rented either in the cheapest (mostly lumpenprole) areas, or based on the principle of proximity to work. When renting housing, migrants face price discrimination, discriminatory rent conditions.

Most foreign citizens do not enjoy any social protection, and have limited political participation. Access to the procedures of obtaining permanent resident status and naturalization is limited and non-transparent. In the absence of anti-discrimination legislation implementation of human rights and freedoms as declared by the state becomes virtually impossible.

The most serious challenges of the integration policy are related to the limited set of social rights (migrants being cut off from the mechanisms of social protection, inefficiency of social institutions which are meant to ensure secondary socialization of migrants), realization of human rights in certain spheres (first of all, access to health care, justice and legal protection, right to decent work), rejection of migrants by the host society and limited communication between the migrants and local population.

Integration policy should take into account not so much the structural challenges as long-term challenges: social institutions meant to ensure adaptation and integration of migrants are not functioning efficiently and need reforms.

## Introduction

External migration trends have changed in 2000: while the number of immigrants became more stable, the number of labor migrants has been constantly growing with some adjustments for changes of the economic situation. According to all forecasts, the inflow of migrants will be growing. These trends have been and will be stimulated on the one hand by pushing factors: gap in labor remuneration, living standards and conditions in the countries of origin and Russia, unemployment in the sending countries, which form large-scale flows of migrants who go to Russia looking for a place to apply their labor skills. On the other hand, labor becomes a deficit: drastic decrease of employable population creates a completely new situation in the Russian labor markets<sup>1</sup>.

Shortage of workers cannot be ironed out by measures of demographic policy (the results of which in the best case scenario will show not earlier than 2025), nor can it be compensated by the boost of labor productivity (at annual rate of 5%, especially ephemeral in the quaternary sectors). The most important source to compensate for reduction of labor resources in the nearest decades is migration.

If hypothetically speaking, labor deficit can be replenished by the inflow of temporary labor migrants then depopulation can be covered exclusively by inflow of immigrants who move to Russia permanently, and/or by creation of conditions for integration of labor migrants. External migration becomes the most important element of maintaining economic development potential, preserving stability in the country and in the separate regions, ensuring national security.

Inflow of migrants will grow inevitably: according to the "average" inertia-based version of the Rosstat forecast, migration growth in 2012-2030 will be several times higher than current scale and will constitute 7.2 million people<sup>2</sup>.

Inflow of migrants of foreign ethnicities will become a global challenge unless it is possible to ensure adaptation and integration of a part of them - those who tie their future to Russia, and unless the latter can be turned into loyal citizens, regardless of their ethnic origin and state of origin.

Integration is the process of movement of cultures of the host society and migrants' cultures towards each other. Preservation of their own cultural identity by migrants implies their acceptance of the host culture; migrants' own culture is driven into the private sphere, whereas the culture of dominating group is used in the public sphere.

Given all the variety of definitions, the emphasis is however placed on the following: a) integration is a process under which foreign citizens are accepted in the society - individually and as a group; b) responsibility for integration lies with the immigrants themselves, government, organizations and population of the host country (IOM 2011: 51); c) host society is responsible for the formal rights of immigrants being set in such a way that individual person has a chance to participate in the economic, social, cultural, and civil life; d) immigrants should respect the fundamental norms and values of the host country and take active part in the integration process without losing their own identity (COM 2003: 17—18).

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<sup>1</sup> According to the forecast of the Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat), Russian population of employable age in 2012-2030 will decrease by 10.3 million people. In 2012-2017 the population of employable age will decrease annually by more than 1 million people (Average version of the forecast (Rosstat 2010))

<sup>2</sup> The major inflow of migrants is expected from the countries of the Central Asia with which there is a large gap in labor remuneration and quality of life: according to the Human Development Index, these states are behind Russia by 36 – 61 points (UNDP 2011). High unemployment level in these countries and availability of places for application of labor in Russia stimulates inflow of migrants: from 2000 to 2010 the share of migrants from Central Asia among those who have work permit increased nine-fold (Labor and employment 2011; 302). In 2011 it was 71% among those working in Russia on legal grounds (taking into account those having work permit allowing them to work for individual persons (FMS 2011)).

Integration definitions emphasize the need for interaction between the host society and migrants, as well as responsibility of the host society. That being said, the way gone by the migrants is almost always much longer than the one gone by the local population<sup>3</sup>.

In this regard there are several research dimensions. The first group of questions is related to the social background of integration policy: to what extent is it based on the long-term development goals of the country, and to what extent is it tied to the timeserving internal political and/or external political tasks? What is the public discourse, what are the public opinions and attitudes among the elite?

The second group of questions appears in connection with the evaluation of the social potential of integration: how ready is the host society to accept migrants as "locals" not only at individual, but also at group level? How much do the migrants themselves aspire for integration in the Russian society?

The third group of questions is conditioned by the functioning of social institutions in charge of implementation of the policy, and actual social integration practices: how effective are they? In which spheres do migrants face the greatest problems: work and mobility in the labor market? Family reunification? Access to education? Political participation? Permanent resident status? Acquiring citizenship? Discriminatory practices? Learning the language? Which social institutions need to be reformed? How to organize interaction between different actors in integration policy? What difficulties do different groups of migrants face? Do all of them equally need integration? Which aspects of adaptation and integration (legal, social, economic, cultural) are the most important ones for various categories of migrants?

Finally, migrants differ by their social and demographic structure, migration experience, motivation of their trips, their original intentions regarding length of stay and other parameters which affect their practices of inclusion in the labor market, migration strategies and long-term plans, relations with the host society. What are the characteristic features of integration of certain groups of migrants, primarily of socially vulnerable groups? Which factors determine success/failure of the integration? To what extent does transformation of migration flows, shifts in the structure of migrants reflect on the integration potential of migrants, motivations and expectations related to planning of personal and family biographies, whether they change social communications, migration behavior strategies, plans for adaptation and integration?

This goal of this paper is to find answers to some of the questions above.

## **Integration research in Russia: brief overview<sup>4</sup>**

The problems of interaction between migrants and the host society, their mutual adaptation both at group and individual level have traditionally attracted the attention of Russian researchers, especially in the context of colonization of peripheral territories and urbanization. Research traditions of the late 19th century - early 20th century which were highly praised by the following generations of analysts (Kravchenko 2000: 3)<sup>5</sup>, renewed in 1960s - first of all thanks to works of Zh.A.Zayonchkovskaya, V.I. Perevedentsev, L.L.Rybakovskiy (Zayonchkovskaya 1972; Zayonchkovskaya, Perevedentsev 1964; Perevedentsev 1965; Rybakovskiy 1987: 31-68; Rybakovskiy 2001: 34-142), representatives of Novosibirsk school headed by T.I.Zaslavskaya, etc. There have been received certain results about adaptability of newcomers, viewed in connection with adaptation and settlement in the new place, their "anchoring" and transfer into the category of old residents.

<sup>3</sup> Unlike adaptation which implies migrants' adjustment to the host society (possibly just a superficial one), behavior taking into account traditions and norms accepted by the local population but which does not imply reciprocal learning of the migrants' culture by the host population. Adaptation is a required, but not a sufficient prerequisite for integration.

<sup>4</sup> For more information see (Mukomel 2013)

<sup>5</sup> Detailed analysis of research completed before and after the Revolution of 1917 is provided in the publications by V.M. Moiseenko.



Three factors played the most important role in the change of direction of research after the collapse of the USSR: boost of forced migration from the zones of ethno-political conflicts, update of ethnic discourse and citizenship of migrants. The key determinants of research tools of adaptation of the previous era, such as length of stay in the new place, social and demographic characteristics, became secondary; ethnic structure and countries of origin of the migrants, their citizenship and legal status became more important.

Actual tasks of expedite elementary settlement of migrants and prevention of conflicts with the local population stimulated research by psychologists and social psychologists, who worked a lot with forced migrants and made a great contribution to the understanding and introduction of foreign theoretical and methodological works in the scientific common use (Lebedeva 1995; Lebedeva 2005; Soldatova 1998).

Upsurge of labor migrations in 2000s marked new challenges related to inflow of foreign ethnicity migrants. Already in the 2000s there appear research papers which are in line with the theoretical and methodological approaches elaborated abroad, and specialists come to understand the need for research in the field of adaptation and integration, taking into account foreign experience (Petrov 2004).

Initially, this is primarily analysis of migrants' adaptation, integration issues are hardly touched, if at all. Partly this is the result of the fact that in the beginning of 2000s research papers of 1990s are published when the major flows were represented by forced Russian-speaking migrants for whom quick social economic and psychological adaptation was important.

Another reason for such close attention to adaptation issues is that there is still ambiguousness behind this notion. Bearing the traces of earlier interpretations of the Soviet period and 1990s when social institutions were supposed to interact with certain groups of the population, this interpretation of adaptation ignores the interaction, communication between the host population and the migrants which is the key element of integration.

A distinctive feature of research in 2000s is staying away from the factors conditioning the readiness of the environment to accept or reject migrants' aspiration for adaptation (or mentioning it formally). Particular attention is paid to the conditions contributing to formation of migrants' intention to adapt to the social environment<sup>6</sup>.

Much attention is paid to the distinction between "natives" and "strangers" (Drobizheva 2003: 161), markers of borders between the host society and migrants - ethno-social, ethno-socio-cultural ones (Drobizheva 1998: 4,5; Drobizheva 2003: 76, 106). Research of adaptation in the context of conflict prevention contributes to active elaboration of the concepts of security, "conflicting nature of migration", "migrants' networks" (Pyadukhov 2003), "diasporas" (Astvatsaturova 2003; Popkov 2003), particular attention has been paid to separation of migrants, their "capsulation" (Savva, Savva 2002:148), "enclavization" tying adaptation to the time of arrival and exposure to the language culture of the host society (Arutyunyan 2005). Other points of view are expressed as well, which determine the choice of the course for integration/separation depending on the social-economic differentiation of the given ethnic group (Vendin 2004: 60; Vendina 2005: 71). Gender research, including narrative ones, is at a distance from the mainstream, analyzing the peculiarities of adjustment of female migrants to the new social and cultural reality (Britvina, Kiblitckaya 2004; Tyuryukanova 2011).

New works appear where interactions between the local population and various groups of ethnic migrants are viewed as mutual ideas of "ethnic hierarchies" (Pyadukhov 2003: 70) or "ethnic status" (Lebedeva 2005: 6), or "ethno-social status" (Gallyamov 2005: 193)<sup>7</sup>, there is published research

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<sup>6</sup> For review and analysis of factors, forms, criteria and indicators of social adaptation of migrants see: (Petrov 2004: 137-141; Ryazantsev 2003). For analysis of environment factors also see: (Denisova, Kontaryov 2004:75)

<sup>7</sup> Ethnosocial component of the status is examined roughly from this perspective in (Sikevich 1999: 39; Denisova, Ulanov 2003:109)

examining discriminatory social practices which do not contribute to overcoming barriers between migrants and host population (Lebedeva 2005: 10).

Two trends are characteristic for 2000s: expansion of the research geography and greater emphasis placed on certain ethnic migrant groups. While in the 1990s particular attention was paid to the territories of mass inflow of migrants in the South of Russia, then in 2000s - it was to the situations in metropolitan cities and largest cities; analysts include in their research not only most separate ethnic groups (Osadchaya 2010; Moldavskie...2011), but also specific categories, for example, students (Ryazantsev, Pismennaya 2011).

## Research methodology

The following statistical data was used in this paper:

- Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat)<sup>8</sup>
- departmental statistics of the Federal Migration Service (FMS of Russia)<sup>9</sup>, database of the Russian FMS (Central Data Bank of foreigners and stateless persons, CDB FSP)<sup>10</sup>.
- Secondary analysis of the materials of sociologic survey was performed, including mass surveys:
  - Russian monitoring of economy and health of the population<sup>11</sup> (RMEHP 2008);
  - "Obshestvennoe mnenie" Foundation ("Public opinion" Foundation) (FOM)<sup>12</sup>.
- The materials of other sociologic surveys were used, including:
  - Sociologic research for analysis of the migration profile, problems of adaptation and integration of migrants for National Research University "Higher School of Economics" (NRU HSE CEPRS)<sup>13</sup>
  - analysis of the specifics of adaptation and integration of representatives of "one and a half" generation of migrants from Central Asia and Transcaucasia in Russian cities<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> See Rosstat web-site [www.gks.ru](http://www.gks.ru)

<sup>9</sup> See web-site of FMS of Russia [www.fms.gov.ru](http://www.fms.gov.ru)

<sup>10</sup> CDB FSP keeps personalized evidence of foreigners which allows to classify those registered with migration service and legally employed by elaborated parameters: gender, age, length of stay, citizenship, employment sector, etc. There are certain objections to the procedures how this data is elaborated.

<sup>11</sup> RMEHP is longitudinal survey of households in Russia (about 10,000 households). For description of the project and sample details see: <http://www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/rhms-hse/project>

<sup>12</sup> See web-site <http://fom.ru>. FOMSOC project, MegaFOM survey. 24,500 respondents were surveyed, October 2011 (MegaFOM 2011),

<sup>13</sup> Was performed by the Center for Ethnopolitical and Regional Studies (CEPRS) under the author's guidance. The study included sociologic survey of migrants (8,499 respondents), respondents were foreign citizens regardless of their legal status, country of origin, ethnicity, in 8 regions of Russia. "Snowball" method was used for sampling. Also, qualitative studies (18 focus groups, 35 in-depth expert interviews) took place in 8 regions of Russia in the end of 2011. Unless expressly stated otherwise, the results below are the results of this survey (NRU HSE CEPRS 2011)

<sup>14</sup> Study covered by the grant of Russian Humanitarian Scientific Foundation No. 11-03-00815a (RHSF 2011) in Astrakhan and Samara, 2011- 2012 гг. 605 respondents were interviewed, 12 focus groups were held, 112 in-depth and expert interviews.

## National policy on integration of migrants<sup>15</sup>

The need to contribute to "socio-economic adaptation and integration of migrants in the Russian Federation" was formulated in all Federal Migration Programs of the 1990s (Decree of 1992; Order of 1994; Decree of 1996; Decree of 1997). In the 2000s the argument about the need for adaptation and integration of migrants is reproduced in all conceptual normative legislative acts (Concept 2001; Concept 2003; Strategy 2006; Concept 2007; Concept 2008).

However, in a number of federal normative acts the issue of adaptation and integration of migrants is narrowed down and formulated only as applied to forced migrants (Order 2001; Order 2002). It became a norm in departmental documents (Ministry of Interior 2005).

Secondly, the need for migrants' adaptation and integration has been declared but not implemented. Up till 2012 there was no task to elaborate proper programs of "social adaptation and integration of migrants" (Decree 2012). Although there was an attempt to elaborate such programs at some point, it is unknown what ever happened to them (Rosobrazovanie 2007).

2012 became a turning point, when the Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation through to 2025 was approved. It included outline of the problems articulation of the task to facilitate "adaptation and integration of migrants, formation of constructive interaction between the migrants and host society" based on the differential approach to different categories of migrants; finally, the main directions of its implementation were delineated (Concept 2012). Action plan adopted in compliance with the Concept, for its implementation, suggests complex solutions to the issues of migrants' integration (Action plan 2012).

In the end of 2012 the Strategy of National Policy of the Russian Federation through to 2025 was approved, in which "successful social and cultural adaptation and integration of migrants" is stated as one of the objectives of national policy (Strategy 2012).

In autumn 2012 amendments were made to the legislation on legal status of foreign citizens, which now prescribes Russian language tests for labor migrants in certain cases (FZ 2012).

## Integration policy background

### Transformation of migration flows: scale, structure, countries of origin

Integration policy according to the Concept of State migration policy is aimed at immigrants moving to Russia permanently, repatriated fellow-countrymen, forced migrants (first of all, internally displaced persons), and also, not so expressly stated, at labor migrants coming from newly independent states. The scales of immigrant flows, returnees, forced migrants, and temporary labor migrants are incomparable: the number of immigrants from newly independent states in the recent years has been registered at the level of 170,000-360,000 people annually<sup>16</sup>, the number of repatriates in 2007-2011 was 80,000 people, and the number of forced migrants constituted 46,000 (as of January 1, 2012), while the number of labor migrants is counted at the scale of millions.

According to the official data 1.7 million labor migrants work in Russia on legal basis. The estimates of the number of illegal migrants are very different. According to the most recent estimates their number may be anywhere from 2.1 million people (Romodanovskiy 2012) to 3-5 million people (Concept 2012). According to expert consensus estimate there are 2.4 million of them (Consensus estimate 2010)<sup>17</sup>. Thus the number of labor migrants can be anywhere from 3.8 million people to 6.7 million people.

<sup>15</sup> For more information see: (Mukomel 2013)

<sup>16</sup> Change of statistical methodology resulted in the fact that real number of immigrants in the recent years is unknown.

<sup>17</sup> Estimated numbers of illegal migrants produced by departments and representatives of public authorities are largely different and vary from 4 to 15 million people.

At that, it is important that migration flows have changed for the last years. Firstly, migrants from the Central Asian states began arriving to the Russian labor market massively, and their share in the market of migrant labor is now around 3/4. Secondly, calendar cycle of trips has changed: seasonal migrations are replaced by circular and long-term (permanent) migrations<sup>18</sup>. Thirdly, the schedule of arrivals has changed: in the recent years the autumn boost of migrations due to mass arrival of high school, vocational school, and university graduates to Russia for work has exceeded the traditional spring one. Fourthly, there is now feminization of flows (Mukomel 2012: 15-17).

Labor migrants represent not only the most numerous, but also the most problematic category. As representatives of "visible" minorities they are more irritating for the host society which blames migrants for their unwillingness to respect the local norms and rules of conduct. It is labor migrants at whom integration policy should be aimed first of all, namely at those of them who are ready and aspire for integration intending to settle in Russia and possibly become fully legitimate citizens.

### **Russian discourses**

First of all, the Russian discourse is characterized by widely spread substitution of notions when instead of discussing the issues of integration of migrants other issues are discussed - those of their assimilation.

Secondly, practices of uncertainty are widely spread, as well as artificial interchangeability of definitions, when mass media, public politicians call not only foreign citizens "migrants" and "guest workers", but also internal Russian migrants whose appearances differ from those of the host population. The result is exaggerated scales of crime committed by migrants, extending xenophobic attitude against those coming from the North Caucasus to all foreigners, discussion of the problem of integration of Russian citizens. (The problem exists, but as a result of substitution of notions there is a stereotype in the public opinion that integration policy is aimed at immigrants from the North Caucasus; as a result Russians are ready to apply the suggested restrictions of rights and freedoms of foreign citizens to Russian citizens as well).

Thirdly, it is commonly accepted to interpret the events in the West, when these events are used as an argument confirming fundamental inability of migrants from Muslim countries to integrate, failure of multiculturalism. Discussions about specific multiculturalism policies held in Europe are interpreted in the Russian discourse as failed ideology of multiculturalism which is not subject to any doubts (Mukomel 2011 a).

Currently there are socio-cultural limitations to the integration policy. Along with long-term factors hardly subject to any change (specific historical experience and traditions of intercultural interaction with the host population, characteristic features and stereotypes in the public opinion of the Russians), integration potential of the host society, adaptive capabilities of migrants, social practices of interaction of the host population and authorities with migrants become particularly important for integration policy (Mukomel 2011 b: 36).

## **Results of the research**

### **Integration Potential of the Host Population**

Xenophobic ideas are widely spread in the Russian society. Slogan "Russia for Russians!" is to some degree or another supported by the majority of interviewees since the beginning of 2000s; in 2011 it was supported by 58% of interviewees (Levada Tsentr 2011a: 191; Levada-Tsentr 2011b).

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<sup>18</sup> According to the data of the mass survey, 40.8% migrants are long-term (permanent) migrants who do not leave Russia for over one year, 38.0% are circular migrants (including 11.6% seasonal migrants who stayed for under 6 months), and 21.2% who first arrived to Russia for work in 2011 (NRU HSE CEPRS 2011).

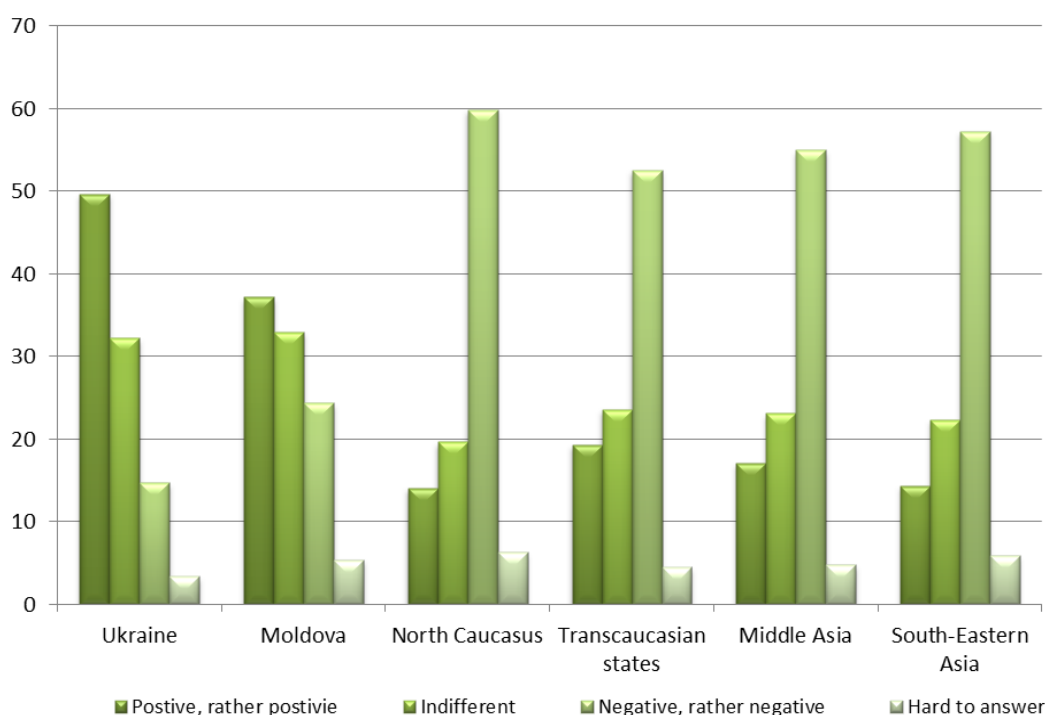
The sore spot is the ethnicity of immigrants, because in Russian discourses ethnicity substitutes for citizenship of migrants; nationality in the public opinion prevails over citizenship. The predominant ideas in the society are about the priority of the group rights, and not personal rights: according to the large-scale study by FOM 12% of interviewees agreed with the slogan "Russia for Russians", 33% agreed with the statement that "Russia is a multinational country but Russians should enjoy certain advantages", 35% chose the option "Russia is a multinational country and all ethnicities should enjoy equal rights". Only 18% agreed with the statement "It is important to ensure personal human rights, and not the rights of ethnical groups", another 3% were hesitant about the answer (MegaFOM 2012 a).

Inflow of migrants is viewed by Russians as destabilization of customary social order, and opposition against migrants is viewed by the host population as an attempt to reestablish status quo.

An important role is also played by the specific features of the Russian society in which there is no trust in personality, in other people, in jointly built institutions<sup>19</sup>. Lack of trust results in lack of solidarity and loyalty. People only trust those who are close to them - family, relatives, friends. Non-acceptance of migrants in this light is seen as a logical and natural reaction of the host population.

Confrontation shifts more and more to the socio-cultural sphere: many Russians are convinced that inflow of foreign ethnic migrants shall dissolve the cultural core of local communities. Russians are relatively tolerant towards immigrants from Ukraine, Moldova, who are not visually different from the dominating majority. As for other ethnic groups, interviewees express predominantly irritation, dislike, distrust towards them, especially towards people originating from the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia.

**Figure 1. Distribution of answers to question "What would your reaction be if an ordinary family from ... moved in next to you", per cent<sup>20</sup>**



<sup>19</sup> The level of interpersonal trust is very low compared to developed states. The level of trust expressed by Russians towards social institutions is as low (FOM 2008a; FOM 2008 b; Sasaki, Latov, and others 2010; Gimpelson, Monusova 2012: 27)

<sup>20</sup> MegaFOM 2011

The most common point of view among Russians is that Russia does not need any migrants at all.

**Table 1. Russians' attitude towards migrants**

| Distribution of answers to the question "What kind of migrants does Russia need?", %                   | RMEHP <sup>21</sup> | FOM <sup>22</sup> |
|--|---------------------|-------------------|
| Our country needs only those migrants who want to stay live here forever                               | 15.4                | 15.0              |
| The country needs only those migrants who come to work here and do not intend to live here permanently | 16.0                | 26.0              |
| The country needs both kinds of migrants   | 14.4                | 11.0              |
| The country does not need any kind of migrants   | 37.5                | 39.0              |
| I don't know, don't have an answer   | 16.7                | 9.0               |

Restrictive migration policy is supported by the public opinion: 52.7 % of interviewees would support the ban on accepting migrants for permanent residence in their native city/town, 45.8 % would support a ban for temporary stay (MegaFOM 2012 a).

**Table 2. Opinions of the host population about the migrants' life style and readiness to accept them, % respondents<sup>23</sup>**

| Agree / rather agree with the statement:  | Total |
|---|-------|
| I do not mind migrants' children or grandchildren becoming permanent residents of my city (town, village)                                 | 47.7  |
| There are certain peculiarities about migrants' life style which it are difficult to put up with for residents of my city (town, village) | 54.7  |
| I would not recommend migrants to move to our city (town, village) permanently  | 54.9  |

At the same time, almost half of the interviewed Russians did not oppose representatives of the second and third generation of migrants living in their place. Probably this can be explained by the fact that migrants' children whom respondents meet in their everyday life speak Russian well enough: 37.0% migrants mentioned that their children know the language better than their native language, 37.5% stated that they speak two languages equally well (NRU HSE CEPRS 2011).

There is a certain dualism in the public opinion: given all the negativism towards migrants, a significant share of respondents shows self-restraint or indifference based on the opinion that migrants' issues are their personal problems which have nothing to do with the local population.

40% of FOM respondents considered that most migrants have culture and customs different from the locals, but this creates difficulties mostly for the migrants themselves. (35% of the respondents considered that this creates difficulties for locals - "newcomers are trying to make us live by their laws", 14% stated that there are such migrants, but they are in the minority, 2% - that there are no such migrants, "we have the same culture", 10% did not have an answer).

Almost one third of the respondents did not see anything wrong if migrants from other states maintained their traditions, lifestyle, customs, 62% considered: "they may maintain their traditions, lifestyle, customs, but only in their private lives and within the limits of law". However, 21% of

<sup>21</sup> Study of the Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Science, Center for ethno-political and regional research based on RMEHP, November 2008, 11,800 respondents.

<sup>22</sup> MegaFOM 2012 a

<sup>23</sup> MegaFOM 2011

respondents considered: "they must adopt the traditions, lifestyle, customs of the local population", 6% did not have an answer (MegaFOM 2012b).

There is a tendency for compromise in the public opinion now: a lot of Russians are ready to accept functioning of migrants' cultures in the private sphere provided there is limited access to the public sphere (where the culture of the host majority should prevail), however it is unlikely that more than 25% of Russians would support integration policy today.

## Migrants' Adaptation and Integration Potential

### Relations with the host population

Relations with the local population are positively evaluated by migrants (Table 3).

**Table 3. Evaluation of relations with the host population by the migrants making trips with different regularity, % respondents<sup>24</sup>**

| Agree / rather agree with the statement:             | Permanent | Circular | First-timers | Total |
|--|-----------|----------|--------------|-------|
| Russians treat migrants nicely                       | 70.1      | 72.9     | 75.1         | 72.2  |
| Residents of this city/village treat migrants nicely | 75.7      | 77.0     | 76.9         | 76.4  |
| I am in good relations with the locals where I live  | 91.5      | 92.4     | 90.2         | 91.6  |

The more personalized the communication is, the more optimistically relations with the host society are evaluated. To some extent this confirms the fact that tension between migrants and the host population is in a lot of ways a construct, and the main channel of distribution of mutual lack of trust is mass media and informal channels of information distribution, from which migrants find out about Russians' attitude towards them.

**Table 4. Migrants' opinions about lifestyle and readiness of the local population to accept them, % of respondents<sup>25</sup>**

| Agree / rather agree with the statement:   | Permanent | Circular | First-timers | Total |
|--|-----------|----------|--------------|-------|
| I would like for my children or grandchildren to live here permanently                             | 56.6      | 55.8     | 43.3         | 53.6  |
| There are peculiarities in the behavior, lifestyle of the locals that are difficult to get used to | 44.3      | 50.5     | 52.5         | 48.3  |
| Locals will never treat a person of my nationality as one of them                                  | 59.7      | 64.1     | 69.0         | 62.8  |
| I would not recommend my fellow countrymen to move here permanently                                | 31.4      | 34.9     | 36.8         | 33.8  |

<sup>24</sup> NRU HSE CEPRS 2011

<sup>25</sup> NRU HSE CEPRS 2011

Permanent migrants are the ones most optimistic in their evaluation of the readiness of the local population to accept them as "locals", as they have had continuous experience of dealing with the local residents, first-timers to Russia are more reserved in this regard. Although all categories of migrants recognize that there are peculiarities of behavior and lifestyle of the local population which are difficult to get used to, and that integration is related to many difficulties (Table 4)

Integration aspirations which are at great contrast with the opinions of the host population, are widely spread among migrants. Migrants who tie their future to Russia are optimistic (perhaps, too optimistic) about the host population attitude towards them and about their prospective integration. They obviously underestimate the difficulties: objections that the local population has against migrants' lifestyle are much more pronounced than counter-objections of the migrants - most Russians would not recommend migrants to move to their city/village permanently (Table 2).

### Expectations, plans, migration strategies

Over one fourth of migrants would like to settle down in Russia. This intention is most vividly expressed by the permanent migrants, however, even among the first-timers every sixth person would like to stay in Russia (Table 5).

**Table 5. Migration strategies of migrants with different regularity of trips, %<sup>26</sup>**

| Plans with respect to their stay in Russia                            | Permanent | Circular | First-timers | Total |
|---|-----------|----------|--------------|-------|
| Stay in Russia forever  | 34.6      | 25.2     | 15.5         | 27.1  |
| Make some money and in several months return to the country of origin | 8.7       | 22.1     | 27.4         | 17.7  |
| Work for one-two years and return to the country of origin            | 29.1      | 24.5     | 33.1         | 28.2  |
| Travel permanently between Russia and the country of origin           | 23.7      | 24.3     | 15.6         | 22.3  |
| Live in Russia for a while and then move to another country           | 1.9       | 1.8      | 2.6          | 2     |
| Other   | 2         | 2        | 5.8          | 2.7   |
| Total   | 100       | 100      | 100          | 100   |

It is important that quite a lot of migrants aim at staying here permanently from the very beginning, when they arrive to Russia,.

<sup>26</sup> NRU HSE CEPRS 2011



**Table 6. Migration strategies of different categories of migrants on their first arrival to Russia, %<sup>27</sup>**

| Plans with respect to their stay in Russia                                | Permanent  | Circular   | First-timers | Total      |
|---|------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| Stay in Russia forever  | 23.0       | 16.2       | 12.7         | 18.5       |
| Make some money and in a couple of months return to the country of origin | 18.7       | 31.6       | 34.2         | 26.9       |
| Work for a year or two and return to the country of origin                | 38.9       | 29.0       | 32.3         | 33.7       |
| Travel permanently between Russian and the country of origin              | 14.0       | 18.8       | 12.6         | 15.5       |
| Live in Russia for a while and then move to another country               | 2.2        | 1.6        | 2.3          | 2.0        |
| Other   | 2.6        | 2.7        | 5.9          | 3.3        |
| <i>Total</i>  | <i>100</i> | <i>100</i> | <i>100</i>   | <i>100</i> |

While travelling and communicating with the local people more, migrants most often start to re-evaluate plans related to the length and frequency of trips: those who were initially intending to make a one-time trip, change their plans for circular trips, those intending to make circular trips switch to long-term migration, etc.

Social demographic characteristics of migrants play an important role in integration plans in Russia; first of all it is education (36.3% of migrants with higher education plan to stay in Russia), age, marital status (divorced, widows, those in common-law marriage, especially with kids, are more likely to wish to stay in Russia (Mukomel 2012).

An important indicator of the serious intentions of migrants regarding integration is how they approach the issue of children's education (Table 7).

**Table 7. Plans of migrants with children under 18 years old regarding education of their children, % respondents<sup>28</sup>**

| Plans for child's (children's) education after school | Permanent  | Circular   | First-timers | Total      |
|---|------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| In Russia   | 46.7       | 38.4       | 22.2         | 39.7       |
| In the country of origin                              | 51.8       | 60.1       | 75.1         | 58.6       |
| In another country                                    | 1.5        | 1.5        | 2.1          | 1.7        |
| <i>Total</i>  | <i>100</i> | <i>100</i> | <i>100</i>   | <i>100</i> |

Almost half of permanent migrants plan for their children to continue their education in Russia. However, it is not all that simple: there are a lot of widows, divorcees, women in common-law marriage in this category (married women who go to Russia for work more often leave their children at home. It is more complicated for single women, and they have to take their children with them. Also, it is common for women who have never been married and gave birth in Russia not to announce the birth of the child and reside with the child in Russia. There is thus a contradictory situation:

<sup>27</sup> NRU HSE CEPRS 2011

<sup>28</sup> NRU HSE CEPRS 2011

married women stay in Russia without children more often than single ones. Most of the minor children residing in Russia with their mothers are children of single women: every fourth child lives with divorced mother, 15% live with widowed mothers, and 17% live with single mothers. Minor children also live in Russia with single men, but these are exceptional cases). The desire of women with disorderly life to give education to their children in Russia is not their choice, but rather outcome of desperation (NRU HSE CEPRS 2011).

### **Level of integration and integration potential**

Not all migrants who wish to settle in Russia, integrate in the future. First of all, part of them intends to obtain citizenship or residence permit at earliest opportunity, just to legalize their irregular legal status. Secondly, projected estimates are rarely implemented to the fullest.

One should take into consideration the relativity of boundaries between integration / adaptation / segregation. Success or failure of adaptation and integration of migrants in the Russian society is determined by various factors which characterize the social sphere of the sending society, social sphere of the host society, and personal characteristics of the migrant.

Social environment to which migrant was exposed to in the country of origin is of great importance: secondary socialization in the host society goes faster and more successfully if social and cultural differences between the society of origin and the host society are not very significant.

Migrant's personal characteristics are also important: human capital (including migration experience) and social capital (both in the country of origin and in Russia), planning one's own biography, social psychological aspects.

Up to 12% migrants who identify themselves and their descendants as Russians, and do not have any family members in the country of origin are fully integrated. (17.0% migrants consider Russia their home, whereas half of them note that they consider their country of origin their home, too (Mukomel 2012).

Majority of integrated migrants are permanent (long-term) migrants, and sometimes circular migrants who intend to stay in Russia. Mostly these are young (2/3 of them at the age of 20 to 40), educated people (every fourth person has complete or incomplete higher education), who are settled down (more than half of them rent their own housing or own their housing). Children of migrants who were born in Russia or were brought to the country at very small age, are largely integrated, and they rarely experience any serious problems (most of them have Russian citizenship).

Permanent migrants (especially educated youth), children of migrants who do not have Russian citizenship are primary beneficiaries of integration policy.

### **Social Practices of Adaptation and Integration**

For migrants it is most important to be quickly and successfully included in the labor market, and resolve housing problem.

#### **Labor market: labor mobility, discriminatory practice**

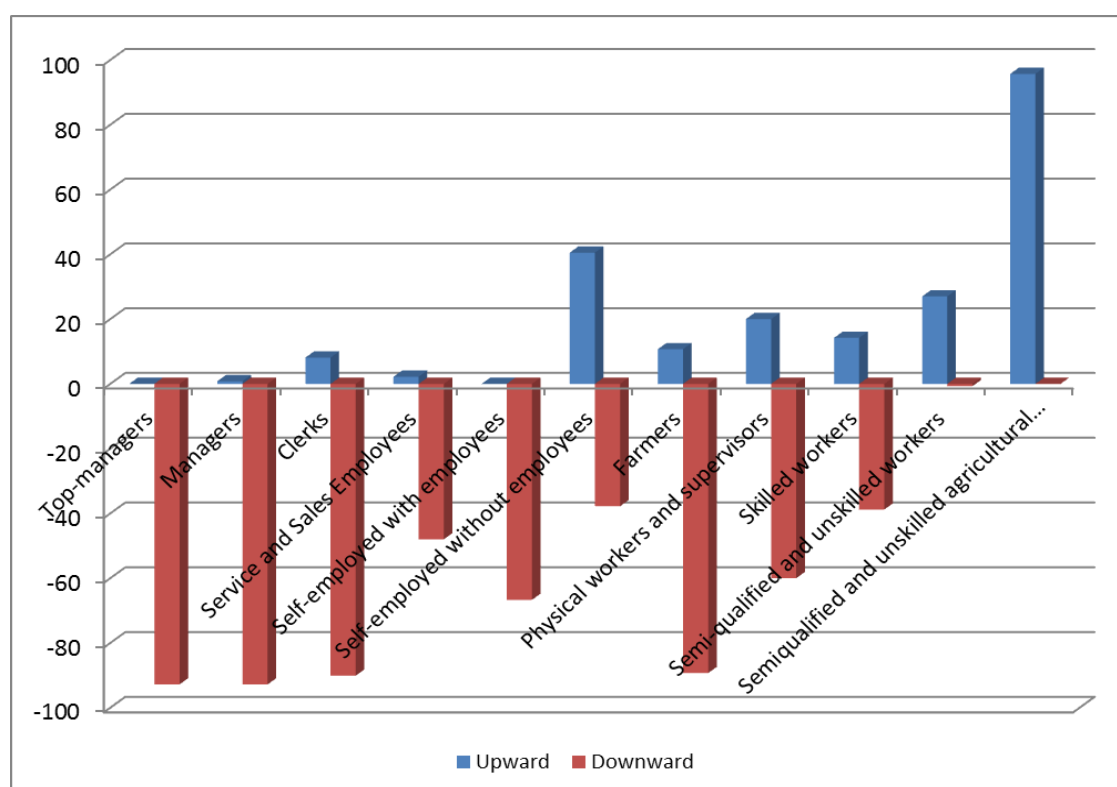
Discrimination in the labor market appears in the form of limited access of representatives of migrant minorities to certain kinds of work and employment sectors, labor conditions, and to a lesser extent than it is commonly considered, in labor remuneration.

Over half of migrants are employed in Russia in jobs which do not pose any specific qualification or education requirements. This is especially characteristic for those arriving to the Russian labor market for the first time: over 2/3 of them work as unskilled workers<sup>29</sup>.

Education, qualification, professional skills of migrants are not in demand in the Russian labor market: 68.7 % migrants from CIS countries, when coming to Russia, change the type of economic activity, 63.0% change the professional group to which they belonged in their home country (Mukomel 2012). Only 6.9% of migrants who have been employed in health care before coming to Russia are employed in the same sector in Russia too, the share of those previously employed in education is even lower - 3.4%. Almost half of these employees are currently employed in trade, every seventh employee - in municipal and social services (Mukomel 2012: 10).

Positions which do not require any specific education are occupied by migrants with good education: 34.1% migrants with complete and incomplete higher education and 45.3% migrants with special secondary (vocational) training work in unskilled jobs (NRU HSE CEPRS 2011). Typical path of migrants in the labor market is downward labor mobility - occupying a position that is worse than the one they previously held in their home country. Horizontal and upward labor mobility is extremely rare and characteristic almost exclusively for unskilled workers.

**Figure 2. Vertical labor mobility of migrants from CIS countries who have changed their status position (Worked in home country / work in Russia)<sup>30</sup>**



<sup>29</sup> NRU HSE CEPRS 2011, N=4220. EPG (Erikson–Goldthorpe–Portocarero) classification was used which represents an orderly scale of status of employment positions by four characteristics: nature of labor (mental, physical, agricultural), required education, number of subordinates, self-employed/hired labor. Transfer from four-fold typology ISCO-88 to EPG is performed according to the algorithm proposed by H.Ganzeboom and D.Treiman (Ganzeboom, Treiman 2003: 176-193)

<sup>30</sup> NRU HSE CEPRS 2011

Over one-third of top-managers and management staff, representatives of the highest status group take the lowest positions of unskilled laborers. Only 7.2% of top and middle managers succeed in maintaining the same position as they occupied in their home country, 92.8% of them occupy lower status positions – Figure 2. Similar situation occurs to workers who engaged in non-manual routine labor in the home country and who are massively (over 90%) recruited as unskilled workers in Russia (Mukomel 2012).

The most important factors of downward labor mobility among migrants include lack of legal grounds for work in many cases, and informal employment. More than 60% of labor migrants work in Russia irregularly, not more than 40% of migrants have written agreements with the employer. Informal employment and employment of foreigners with no legal grounds is a result not so much of "profitability" of doing so for the employer and employee, as of the imperfect legislation and in particular its legal enforcement<sup>31</sup>. Direct consequence of everyday practice of employment of foreigners is that average duration of a work week among migrants is 61 hours (Mukomel 2012: 13).

### Access to housing, discrimination practices

Housing is rented either in the cheapest areas (as a rule, in lumpenprole areas), or based on the principle of proximity to place of work. Over half of migrants rent their place: either separately (28%) or together with other people (35%). The last option implies "renting a bed" in a two- or three-bedroom apartment, where up to 18 persons may reside in each room (NRU HSE CEPRS 2011).

However, families with children live in much more favorable conditions: the share of persons renting their own place is much higher (61% versus 28% in general in the population).

**Table 8. Living conditions of migrants (Distribution of answers to the question "What are your current living conditions in Russia?"), per cent<sup>32</sup>**

|  | Among migrants living with children | In general |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Own my place (house, apartment, room)                                  | 7.8                                 | 2.7        |
| Rent separate place by myself, with family (house, apartment, or room) | 60.7                                | 28         |
| Rent a place with other people (not relatives)                         | 14.3                                | 34.5       |
| Stay with relatives/friends  | 8.6                                 | 8.8        |
| Stay at a hostel   | 4.1                                 | 14.6       |
| Live at the same place where work (market, construction site, etc)     | 3.9                                 | 10.6       |
| Live in a basement, shed, etc  | 0.6                                 | 0.7        |
| Total  | 100                                 | 100        |

When renting their place migrants face the problem of price discrimination, discrimination in terms of rent conditions (higher advance deposit, disconnection of international phone, etc). Ads like "place for rent for a Russian family", "for rent for Slavic people" can be seen in almost all regions, more seldom - "Caucasians<sup>33</sup> please do not disturb".

<sup>31</sup> Most of the interviewed employers noted that hiring foreign workers does not have any advantages compared to hiring local workers. Survey took place at 1,500 enterprises, at the assignment of the NRU HSE, October 2011 (Levada-Tsentr 2011)

<sup>32</sup> NRU HSE CEPRS 2011

<sup>33</sup> People from the Caucasus – as opposed to "white people".

## Work teams

Work creates certain prerequisites for adaptation of migrants, as most of the migrants work together with the local workers, or in multiethnic teams. Most of the migrants work in mixed teams (46.0%), or together with local employees (9.9%). Work team becomes for them that environment which helps them adapt to the local conditions and host population. However, 27.0% migrants work in a team with their fellow-countrymen or migrants from other countries (10.4%), other 5.2% are self-employed. Probably, it is only agriculture and construction which are ethnically locked (54.0% and 44.0% correspondingly work amongst their fellow-countrymen) (Mukomel 2012: 18).

Knowledge of language of the host society is one of the most important factors of "economic assimilation" (Borjas 2005: 243). Russian as language of communication at work place dominates with permanent and circular migrants, 86% of whom use it in their work team. Practice of communicating in Russian is less spread among those coming to work for the first time, still, over 70% of migrants in this category use mostly Russian at work. (For 11% of permanent and circular migrants and for 6.9% of first-timers Russian is native language. It should be noted that 4% of interviewed labor migrants are Russians, mostly from Ukraine, Moldova and Uzbekistan).

At the same time, some migrants (10%) communicate exclusively in their native language at work. Work becomes a risk zone for them, which provokes their social exclusion (Mukomel 2012).

## Teaching Russian

Most migrants arrive to Russia from post-Soviet countries where Russian is even now still taught at schools. However, studying Russian is rather a formality, and Russian language skills are rather poor among many migrants.

There is no system of teaching Russian to adult foreigners. The latter can learn Russian on private basis, out of their own private initiative.

At Russian schools there is practice of teaching Russian to children who speak it poorly, they are sent to special correctional pedagogy classes where they study together with other students who are behind in their studies.

## Education

There are no problems with school education (more precisely, there were no problems until last year when the procedure of assigning children to specific schools has changed; the changes affected those foreigners who wanted to provide good education to their children, and wanted their children to go to specific schools).

However, the wish for the children to have Russian education does not always come true. The most important reason is parents' instability, as a result of which the child changes schools in the home country and in Russia very often: it is very common for a child to move several times throughout his/her studies.

Other reasons include high costs, all-pervading commercialization of Russian education, insufficient knowledge of Russian.

Besides language barrier students from the countries with a more traditional lifestyle than Russia (first of all Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan) have to undergo a "cultural shock" when faced with Russian reality. Finally, another serious problem on the way of adaptation is that other students are suspicious, and quite frequently expressly hostile towards foreign "newcomer". Sometimes hostility is shown not only by students themselves, but also by the teachers.

The level of requirements posed by Russian educational institutions can be quite unexpectedly high (at that, many interviewees state that Russian education is at a poor level).

When enrolling in Russian educational institutions, foreigners face the need to adapt to the conditions which are new for them. When enrolling in school, those foreigners who were brought to Russia at an early age and who went to Russian kindergarten have the least difficulties. This category of school students do not have any more problems than Russian students. Possibly, due to this reason parents of those children who are already in Russia and go to Russian schools and kindergartens are more inclined towards their children continuing their education here as well.

Problems which foreign college students face are similar to those faced by high school students: there is still the problem of cautious, in some cases hostile attitude of Russian students and teachers towards foreigners, language barrier.

Whereas enrollment in Russian school is primarily conditioned by the choice of students' parents, enrollment in Russian universities is more of an independent choice of the student him-/herself.

Foreign citizens may receive higher education in Russia either based on quotas as assigned by their country of origin, or based on a contract, for a fee. For naturalized children of migrants there is a possibility to receive scholarship and study for free, however, in any case there are certain education-related expenses which are not affordable for everybody. Due to financial aspects, future students and their parents choose cities where costs of living and education are not as high as in Moscow, although they admit that education in the capital city is considered more prestigious.

A lot of foreigners enter Russian universities not because they are highly prestigious and provide qualitative education, but because it is easier to enroll and easier to study there. One limitation is lack of funds to enroll for a fee.

For the category of foreign citizens who have been staying in the Russian Federation for a long time, and have already completed secondary education here, the choice of Russian higher education is explained by the fact that they are deeply integrated and feel comfortable in Russia.

## **Health care**

Medical assistance is provided in different volumes and under different conditions depending on the legal status of the migrant. Persons who have residence permit receive full medical assistance, on a par with Russian citizens.

Foreign citizens who do not hold a residence permit have the right to benefit from free medical assistance only in the volume which will help prevent direct life threat:

Obviously, given their lack of legal protection, they come mostly for emergency medical assistance. Meaning, when the pressure is too high and they have no other way out.

(Expert, health care, Perm)

Unlike emergency medical assistance, planned medical assistance can be obtained against a fee, either at private clinics, or public clinics which have the right to provide medical services on paid basis.

Self-treatment has become the most popular way for migrants to solve their health issues; the next popular way is appealing to paid medical services; and the third most popular is requesting emergency services. Purchasing individual health insurance is not very common which is explained by the non-profitability of such expenses, whereas there is a possibility to request doctor's services for a fee when it is necessary.

Since paid medical services are often viewed as inaccessible for financial reasons, migrants may use other alternative options: for example, go back to the country of origin where medical services are cheaper. However, it is considered to be too expensive to organize a trip home in order to visit a doctor, therefore doctor visits are sometimes combined with trips home for vacation.

Pregnant women are in the most difficult situation as they can be registered with a doctor only for a fee. While delivery can be qualified as extreme condition when assistance is to be provided for free, medical observation throughout the pregnancy is qualified as planned medical services which are provided to foreign citizens against a fee.

### **Social protection**

Social protection also varies depending on the legal status of foreign citizens. Unlike residents, labor migrants are not guaranteed social protection. Having ratified European Social Charter, Russia has undertaken minimum obligations under this document: labor migrants are only guaranteed non-discriminatory tax regime and possibility to send remittances home (Social Charter 1996; FZ 2009).

However, it is not social protection that is the most problematic for migrants – but separation from the social security system. Social allowances are quite limited and migrants are not really interested in them – in contrast to social services, first of all health care, education, legal protection, which is more relevant for them (Mukomel 2012: 21-22).

### **Political involvement**

Foreign citizens, with no exception, are limited in their political rights and cannot participate in elections in Russia at all levels, including municipal elections.

There are no restrictions on participation in trade unions.

### **Access to procedures of obtaining permanent resident status and naturalization**

Permanent residence permits (as well as temporary residence permits which do not grant its holder any preferences as he/she still needs work permit), are issued strictly within quotas for the country in general and for regions of Russia separately. The most restricted quotas are in the regions where there is mass inflow of migrants: Central Russia (in particular Moscow and neighboring regions), North-West, certain regions of the Ural and Volga region.

165,000 temporary residence permits and 102,000 permanent residence permits were issued in January-October 2012. In October 2012 there were total of 410,000 people residing with temporary residence permits and 214,000 with permanent residence permits (FMS 2012).

It is extremely difficult to obtain the status of permanent resident. The number of those wishing to obtain residence permit exceeds significantly the assigned quotas, as a result, the cost of permit in the black market can achieve tens of thousands euro.

Currently FMS of Russia is inclined towards renouncing to the intermediary status with issuance of temporary residence permit, and somewhat increasing the quotas for permanent residence permits.

In the first decade of 2000s acquiring Russian citizenship was relatively easy for citizens of newly independent states: at this time about 370,000-380,000 people acquired Russian citizenship annually. The situation has become more complicated in the recent several years due to some new restrictions. As a result the number of foreign citizens decreased significantly: in January-October 2012 75,000 foreigners acquired Russian citizenship (106,000 people for the same period in 2011).

### **Anti-discrimination legislation**

Prohibition on discrimination based on race, ethnicity, social status and other characteristics is prescribed in the Constitution of Russia and Federal legislation. However, there is no anti-discrimination legislation, which makes it virtually impossible to implement the declared rights.

## Family reunification

Most foreign citizens staying on the territory of Russia arrive from the countries which have visa-free regime with Russia. Hence, the problem of family reunification is not relevant for most of the foreign citizens. It is also not valid for foreign citizens holding residence permit. Problems of family reunification are valid for migrants arriving from the countries which have visa regime with Russia, especially those who do not hold work permit in Russia.

Despite the fact that there is no problem of family reunification as such for most migrants, they mostly live in Russia without their family, or with part of the family. Most married migrants live in Russia by themselves. More often migrants reside in Russia with registered spouses (47%), children (40%, including 24% with children under 18 years old), brothers and sisters (33%)<sup>34</sup>. Usually, other family members remain outside of Russia: parents of migrants and/or their brothers and sisters. Weakened family ties contribute to erosion of the institute of marriage and family. Separated families represent one of the most important challenges undermining the institute of family.

Another problem is long-distance parenting which complicates education of children. Long-distance parenting is in particular wide-spread among men: 81% of men and 69% women with children have left at least one child in their home country (Mukomel 2012).

## Challenges of Social Exclusion

Most significant challenges are related to social exclusion, not only for the host society, but also for the sending society. Some migrants consciously opt for weakening of social ties and communications with the sending society, in the framework of planning of their personal biography or family strategy.

Social exclusion is determined by the limited set of social rights (separation of migrants from the mechanisms of social protection, inefficiency of social institutes, which are supposed to ensure secondary socialization of migrants), practices of implementation of declared human rights (first of all, access to justice and legal protection, interaction with executive authorities, in particular law enforcement authorities), rejection of migrants by the host society and limited communication between migrants and local population.

Socially vulnerable groups of migrants face particularly acute problems: children of migrants (both residing in Russia and staying in the country of origin, under care of relatives), women.

It is most difficult for children who were brought to Russia at relatively conscious age, so called representatives of "1.5 generation". Unlike the second generation of migrants whose socialization occurs in Russia, "1.5 generation" keeps memory about their country of origin, social order, behavioral norms, and traditions of the sending society. They can be characterized by dual (multiple) identity, self-identification as a group of culturally adapted, who know the language of the country of residence, who face the barriers posed in front of them as "aliens" by the society. Life plans of many of them are not related in any way to Russia: every third person intends to return to the home country, only 42% intend to stay in Russia forever (RGNF 2011).

Socially vulnerable groups also include every sixth migrant woman – divorced, widow, as well as single mothers who gave birth to children out of wedlock, there is a quite numerous category of women with low social status in the country of origin and unclear future in Russia. The situation of single women is complicated by the fact that along with children in Russia they often have children left in their home country, who are brought up by their relatives (Mukomel 2012).

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<sup>34</sup> Similar results have been obtained by Yu. Florinskaya, based on the results of survey of labor migrants from Middle Asia (Florinskaya 2011: 187)



Countering social exclusion of migrants becomes socially significant problem which is outside of the scope of integration policy per se.

## Conclusions and recommendations

Lack of clear and coherent idea about what immigration policy should be like, is an important factor which determines institutional gaps between migration policy, integration policy and naturalization.

Integration policy now is only elaborated with the purpose of differentiation with regard to various groups of migrants and development of clearly outlined procedures of language, cultural, social, economic adaptation and integration.

Specialization of the actors in integration policy is clear (Mukomel 2011). The most important issue which is not resolved and is unlikely to be resolved in the nearest future is the one of delimitation of competences of actors with different interests and potential. However, efficiency of integration policy depends on collaboration between these actors which should be built on the basis of subsidiary liability.

Some problems, for example, exclusion in the sphere of social rights, access to decent labor, are currently difficult to resolve: social security and protection of social rights of foreign citizens, including persons with unregulated legal status are subject to a lot of discussion and are not always accepted by the host society. Along with financial costs, there are serious and founded concerns that availability of social security will increase the inflow of foreigners, who in their turn will represent public charge for the society.

At the same time absence of social protection for migrants aggravates segregation of some of them and contributes to growing tension between them and the host society. There are also humanitarian arguments: fundamental human rights do not depend on one's legal status.

Integration policy should take into account not so much short-term but long-term challenges. Particular attention should be paid to the policy of integration of migrants' children, parents of many of them being poorly adapted to the social reality of the host society. It is important to take into account the differences in adaptation strategies for representatives of different ethnic groups of migrants to the host society, their adaptation and integration capacities, continuously growing socio-cultural distance between the citizens of CIS countries.

It would be a mistake to consider that only foreigners need to know the traditions, customs, culture of the other country; host population also needs to have basic knowledge of traditions, customs, culture, behavioral patterns and social communication of migrants who arrive from other societies. Providing knowledge to the population is a task for mass media and mass culture, public policy. Particular attention should be paid to youth as they are more poorly informed about the traditions of the sending communities from post-Soviet states than older generation.

Integration policy as it is declared and practiced today is subjected to political risks of dual nature: search for an easy way which would satisfy all the actors, and unwillingness to take into account those objective processes on which it is based.

The threat is in the attempts to reduce integration policy to zero, using popular methods – limit it to attraction of highly qualified specialists, reduce quotas for work permits, introduce visa regime with CIS countries, etc.

Looking for easy solutions both public authorities and public opinion are inclined towards the idea of tightening the legislation, instead of improving its legal implementation. Any measures aimed against the employers will be accepted positively, even though they contribute to growth of corruption.

Currently it is important to ensure consistent implementation of the approved Concept of migration policy (Concept 2012), which became subject to revisions from the first date of its adoption. It should be accepted as given that integration policy is not subject to internal one-time climate, and reflects the strategic goals of development of the Russian society.

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