



## **Attitude towards Labor Migration from Post-Soviet Economies among the Population of Central Siberia (Krasnoyarsk Krai Case Study)**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Between 2010 and 2016, scientists and post-graduates from the Siberian Federal University have conducted a number of complex studies into the processes of labor migration in Krasnoyarsk Krai. These studies involved field research methods, surveying, expert interviews, statistical data analysis, and the associative experiment method designed by Nazarov and Sokolov. Based on these studies, the researchers were able to conclude that migration processes were taking contradictory paths. The new industrialization of Siberia requires substantial labor resources and Krasnoyarsk Krai needs a significant increase in manpower. Job-wise, the Central Siberian regions appear to look most attractive to people living in post-Soviet economies. The ethnic composition of the migrant workforce coming to Krasnoyarsk Krai has seen a substantial change over the past 10 years. At the same time, anti-migrant attitudes in Krasnoyarsk Krai are on the rise, whilst ethnic and religious tolerance is decreasing.

**Keywords:** Economic Migration, Labor Migration, Siberia, Krasnoyarsk Krai, Anti-migrant Attitudes

**JEL Classifications:** F6, J7, Z1

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The regions of Russia, from the point of view of their migration situation and demographic development, considerably differ from each other. The Far East is currently experiencing a catastrophic out-migration; its population's relative and absolute size decreases here every year. However, Russia is presently the second country in the world, after the USA, in terms of migration processes. During the onset of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Russia had undergone deep crisis of migration processes, as a result of the collapse of the USSR, a most difficult economic depression, long armed conflicts, disruption in lifestyle and serious demographic problems.

There are such subjects of the Russian Federation that do not need additional people, on the contrary, want to resolve their unemployment issue by making economically active but unemployed citizens leave the region. At the same time, there

are uninhabited areas into which it is necessary to breathe new life. The federal migration policy indicates only general methods and approaches to its development and implementation, provides latitude to regional and local authorities in regard to the migration policy and corresponding measures.

The industrial and economic complex of Krasnoyarsk Krai is actively developing, which is an incentive to attract migrants to this region. The number of temporarily registered foreign citizens for 10 months of 2014 in comparison with the same period of the previous year increased by 4.7% (or +7,471) and accounted for 167,000 people. Considering that the population of Krasnoyarsk Krai is 2.9 million people, the share of labor migrants in this population's total structure reaches nearly 6%. However, studies show that labor migrants' settle in the region irregularly. The vast majority of such migrants work in large industrial cities (Krasnoyarsk and Norilsk) with a post-industrial economy.

Therefore, the actual share of labor migrants can reach 10-15%, which impacts on the population's attitude towards migrants who, as a rule, represent ethnic and cultural groups that are considerably different from the host party in terms of ethnicity and religiosity.

Over the years, experts and researchers have registered an increase in migrant-phobia, xenophobia, islamophobia in Krasnoyarsk Krai (Fedina, 2011). Considering that no further development of the region's economy, including the Arctic and northern territories, is possible without labor migrants, and considering that Russia is fully integrated into global migration processes, the problem of scientific study of the population's actual opinion about forced migrants and its dynamics is extremely urgent.

## 2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

In 2009, Siberian Federal University initiated the project "Dialogue of Cultures in the Space of Krasnoyarsk Krai: Discussions on Urgent Problems of Intercultural Relations," associated with ethnic cultural communities that exist within the territory of Krasnoyarsk and Krasnoyarsk Krai. The studies associated with Ukrainian, Georgian, Tatar, Khakass, Evenki, Jewish, Azerbaijani, Tajik, Uzbek, Armenian, Chinese, Kyrgyz ethnic communities united into public organizations were organized. The public organizations of these ethnic communities in the city of Krasnoyarsk defined their purposes as mutual assistance and cultural education. Focus groups, surveys, expert interviews were conducted. Content analysis methods of the publications issued in the mass media of Krasnoyarsk Krai and related to migration processes were used. An association experiment with regard to the word "migrant" was used in order to interpret deep meanings and connotations associated with interethnic and inter-confessional interactions. Therefore, a comprehensive methodological strategy based on the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods of social studies was used in order to study the population's attitude to the migration policy and migration processes. Studies are conducted every year and therefore, an opportunity exists to focus on the studies of 2014-2015 as during this particular period of time migration processes have a special importance in connection with the global economic crisis that is currently developing in Russia with utter severeness, which impacts all, without exception, basic social processes.

## 3. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The impact of migration processes on the modern countries' economic situation and communities is extremely great, which is shown in many scientific publications on this given subject. A large number of studies is guided by Berry's concept on "acculturation strategies" (Berry, 1997) as relations between labor migrants and the host party actually take place within one of the four strategies described by Berry (2005): Integration strategy, assimilation strategy, marginalization strategy and separation strategy. Studies in different countries and communities are conducted based on Berry's acculturation concept. Van Oudenhoven et al. (1998) considered the acculturation strategies of Moroccan and Turkish migrants in the Netherlands. Kosic et al. (2005) conducted a comprehensive study showing that the selection of preferable acculturation strategies for Italian migrants had been correlated

with the attitude (positive or negative) to the migrants themselves. Matera et al. (2015) proved that the positive attitude to labor migrants in the Italian society had been formed when the migrants' acculturation strategies and those of the host party had coincided. The authors interpret the dynamics of these relations and believe that the positive attitude to labor migrants can be formed by means of continuous monitoring of the current situation.

Based on the study of labor migrants' acculturation strategies, Zamaraeva (2010) makes quite an extensive review of scientific sources, beginning from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and ending with 2010. Starting from this period, Zamaraeva (2011) conducted and organized comprehensive studies of labor migration in Central Siberia by using association experiment methods. Labor migration in Central Siberia and its significance for the region's economic development are also considered in the works by Koptseva and Kirko (2014a, 2015), in the context of indigenous studies in Evenkia and on the Taymyr Peninsula.

The importance of the population's attitude to labor migrants and different ways of state immigration sponsorship in Qatar are studied by Diop et al. (2016). The paradoxical attitude to migrants was registered in the studies by Facchini and Mayda (2008). People vote for those politicians who support labor migrants, but the Italian public opinion about migrants is extremely negative in general. The authors want to interpret this paradox by means of complicating methods of economic and social studies.

The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia and its experts Coenders, Lubbers, Scheepers studied labor migration in the context of relations between "the majority" and "the minority" (Coenders et al., 2005). In their extensive work, the reviews of hypotheses and theories of relations between "the majority" and "the minority" are made, the results of the studies of 2002-2003 in the countries of the European Union and in candidate countries are presented.

Labor migration results in the fact that labor migrants' children go to the host party's schools. In Greece, the problem of attitude to labor migrants' schoolchildren was studied by Dimakos and Tasiopoulou (2003). The results of these studies are important for both understanding of the Greek economy and understanding of the Greek educational system.

The extensive study of the majority's attitude to the minority (labor migrants) in 24 countries was carried out by O'rouke and Sinnott (2006). The scientists found out the whole set of economic and cultural factors influencing the majority's direct attitude to labor migrants. Individual attitudes to migrants and peculiarities of opponents of labor migration were studied by Mayda (2006). The scientist shows that people, whose professional qualities are much higher than those of labor migrants, act as opponents of labor migration. The study shows that the main factors of negative attitude to migrants are economic factors, whereas cultural differences between the majority and migrants have no great significance.

In recent years, some interesting results have been achieved in interdisciplinary studies. So, in the study conducted on the

boundary of medicine, psychology and sociology (Lebel et al., 2016) authors have managed to reveal the dependence of ethnic identification and experience of stigma (emotional stress) as exemplified by oncological patients of the Chinese and Caucasian origin (labor migrants). At the same time, the initial diagnosis of the survived oncological patients' emotional condition was not of such great importance (in comparison with the ethnic origin). The study by Mostikov (2015) is also of interdisciplinary nature; it applies actual philosophical and psychological concepts, interprets cultural and psychological factors of labor migration: The migrant is forced to considerably change his I-concept and to create his identity anew. Practically, each migrant in that society, which is new for him, transforms himself almost completely by his own efforts, believes the researcher.

Historical forms of ethnic migration on the basis of modern field studies in the places of residence of indigenous northern ethnoses are studied by Libakova et al. (2014), Koptseva and Reznikova (2015), Zamaraeva et al. (2015), Koptseva and Kirko (2014b). Based on the field studies, it is concluded that labor migration to the northern and Arctic territories of Krasnoyarsk Krai (Northern Siberia) takes place from such countries of the former Soviet Union as Azerbaijan and Tajikistan. At the present time, 15% of the Norilsk labor population consists of the Azerbaijani ethnic group and, generally speaking, this city is an attractive place for labor migrants.

The extensive experience of the United States of America in the organization of labor migration processes was reconstructed in the study by Piore (1980). The author, on the basis of numerous interviews with migrants, shows how labor migration is important for the economic history of the United States. At the present time, migrants have a considerable impact on political and economic processes, and also on external and internal national security processes. Piore pays special attention to illegal migration from Mexico and Caribbean countries.

The attention to labor migration processes increases when host states are at the height of or at the bottom of their economic growth. The importance of labor migration processes for leading economic states (the USA, Japan, the countries of the European Union) was studied by Meissner et al. (1993). Todaro (1969), on the contrary, creates a labor migration model for low developed countries. Labor migrants often have the status of "refugees." As a rule, these are miserable people, who are forced to migrate due to some circumstances of their difficult life and threat to them and their families. Specific features of labor migration relations of "refugees" are considered by Malkki (1995). It should be noted that this study conducted 20 years ago is extremely urgent now in connection with a huge flow of refugees from the countries of North Africa and the Middle East to the European Union.

In the last 20 years, experts and analysts have paid close attention to the Indian economy and its development. It is supposed that this dynamically developing country will be among economic leaders by the middle of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In this regard, the study by Kochkin and Sircar (2014) associated with the description of Indian temporary migration cases is of great interest.

At the present time, Russia is the third country in the world (after the United States of America and Germany) that hosts labor migrants. Studies of labor migration processes in Russia are extremely important in the context of both economic crisis and new investment projects, which are being developed within territories of Siberia and the Far East. On the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the analysis of internal migration in the Soviet republics and impact of internal migration on the demographic situation was carried out. The performed forecasts and their relation to actual processes were studied by Heleniak (1997). Zayonchkovskaya (2011) makes a most detailed analysis of the static data associated with labor migration processes in Russia during 2003-2007. Certainly, labor migration processes are, to a large extent, peculiar to Moscow where there are about several million temporary labor workers. Difficult relations between the majority and labor migrants in Moscow are studied by Yudina (2005). Due to the reindustrialization of Siberia, labor migration to the Siberian regions is a subject of urgent economic and social studies in the work by Yuskova and Potemkin (2015).

Therefore, the vast majority of researchers believe that the relations between the majority (host party) and labor migrants has an essential impact on political, economic, social and cultural processes in regions where the share of labor migrants constantly grows. The monitoring of the Central Siberian population's attitude to migrants from the Post-Soviet countries allows one to reduce risks of ethnic conflicts and to prevent any delay in economic development of the Siberian regions due to manpower shortages.

#### 4. CASE STUDY RESULTS

Krasnoyarsk Krai is an area of active labor international migration. The key quantitative parameters of international migration for the first half of 2015 in comparison with the same period of 2014 are presented in Table 1.

Based on the analysis of the data presented in Table 1, it is possible to see that, regardless of some decrease in the positive gain of migrants for the first 5 months of 2015 in comparison with the same period of 2014 (approximately by 400 people), the gain of labor migrants from the CIS countries is still rather high and accounts for + 1,586 people.

Krasnoyarsk Krai is extremely attractive for labor migration. Under the conditions of shortage of local human resources, and the region's rather high living standards compared to other Russian regions, the economy of Krasnoyarsk Krai attracts tens of thousands of migrants poorly subject to integration and adaptation processes. Significant number of foreign citizens, the absolute majority of whom has arrived for earnings from the Caucasian and Central Asian regions, are annually registered in Krasnoyarsk Krai. They prefer to live in large cities and therefore, their enclaves in Krasnoyarsk are already clearly identified.

In recent years, the questions related to integration of migrants in Krasnoyarsk Krai have become more and more urgent. The region's labor migrants already exceed 100,000 people, and they

**Table 1: International migration in Krasnoyarsk Krai for January-May 2015 in comparison with January-May 2014**

| Indicator/Country       | January-May 2015 |      |                              | For reference only<br>January-May 2014 |      |                              |
|-------------------------|------------------|------|------------------------------|--|------|------------------------------|
|                         | Arrived          | Left | Migration gain, decrease (-) | Arrived                                | Left | Migration gain, decrease (-) |
| International migration | 3786             | 2358 | 1428                         | 3346                                   | 1468 | 1878                         |
| Including               |                  |      |                              |  |      |                              |
| CIS countries           | 3587             | 2001 | 1586                         | 3054                                   | 1099 | 1955                         |
| Including               |                  |      |                              |  |      |                              |
| Azerbaijan              | 466              | 256  | 210                          | 445                                    | 172  | 273                          |
| Armenia                 | 270              | 120  | 150                          | 223                                    | 172  | 51                           |
| Belarus                 | 91               | 46   | 45                           | 53                                     | 34   | 19                           |
| Kazakhstan              | 521              | 301  | 220                          | 464                                    | 97   | 367                          |
| Kyrgyzstan              | 277              | 166  | 111                          | 348                                    | 97   | 251                          |
| Moldova                 | 43               | 14   | 29                           | 56                                     | 21   | 35                           |
| Tajikistan              | 664              | 514  | 150                          | 797                                    | 201  | 596                          |
| Turkmenistan            | 4                | 1    | 3                            | 2                                      | 3    | -1                           |
| Uzbekistan              | 312              | 423  | -111                         | 337                                    | 180  | 157                          |
| Ukraine                 | 939              | 160  | 779                          | 329                                    | 122  | 207                          |
| Non-CIS countries       | 199              | 357  | -158                         | 292                                    | 369  | -77                          |
| Including               |                  |      |                              |  |      |                              |
| Germany                 | 25               | 28   | -3                           | 35                                     | 57   | -22                          |
| Georgia                 | 47               | 14   | 33                           | 41                                     | 5    | 36                           |
| Israel                  | 2                | 8    | -6                           | 2                                      | 2    | -                            |
| USA                     | 5                | 14   | -9                           | 4                                      | 10   | -6                           |
| China                   | 41               | 147  | -106                         | 104                                    | 91   | 13                           |
| Other countries         | 79               | 146  | -67                          | 106                                    | 204  | -98                          |

Source: Territorial body of the Federal State Statistics Service in Krasnoyarsk Krai

mainly settle in such large cities as Krasnoyarsk and Norilsk, with negative tendencies of their enclaves, self-isolationism and ghettoization. This unregulated growth of the number of external labor migrants from the countries of the Caucasus and Central and Southeast Asia and their low sociocultural adaptation to the host party's conditions naturally result in the indigenous population's discontent. The development of internal migration, in particular from the republics of the North Caucasus, also negatively influences the condition of interethnic and interreligious relations in Krasnoyarsk Krai. In order to prevent any conflicts between the host party's representatives and labor migrants, their relations are being monitored with the use of comprehensive research methods.

Expert data show that the ethnic balance that has been formed for centuries in the krai is presently changing towards the strengthening of migrationally active diasporas. In this regard, the host majority has a high level of xenophobia with regard to ethnic, religious and especially migration found out by Grass and Petrishchev (2014). According to the results of the sociological measurements of the Krasnoyarsk Krai population's public health, 58.8% of the krai citizens, at the beginning of 2014, supported the tightening of the state control with regard to migration and migrants. Only 9.2% of the respondents supported the loosening of the control. Only 24.5% of the respondents consider that Krasnoyarsk Krai benefits from labor migrants, whereas 44.0% of the respondents regard their presence in the territory as harmful. At the same time, most of the respondents (61.2%) do not associate migrants with any threat to the regional labor market. Concerns of the Krasnoyarsk citizens are caused by threats associated with criminality, by disregard of local cultural assumptions, traditions and customs by migrants.

It is possible to note that the level of migrant-phobia reaching 60% in separate youth and social groups increases in the public

environment, and approximately one in ten senior pupils or students from Krasnoyarsk sympathizes with radical nationalist movements.

Focus groups show that strenuous interethnic relations exist between labor migrants. Therefore, Kyrgyz migrants persistently separate themselves from Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kazakhs and Azerbaijanians and state that their ethnic group has certain advantages. At the same time, the Kyrgyz people consider themselves only as guest workers or temporary workers. They do not create burial places in Krasnoyarsk Krai and disburse funding to transport ashes to Kyrgyzstan. The government of Kyrgyzstan assists them in doing this. The Kyrgyz people who work in Krasnoyarsk believe that the majority "does not like them," that on the domestic level they constantly feel discrimination from the majority. At the same time, the Kyrgyz people believe that there are good relations between Russia and Kyrgyzstan, which allow them to come to Russia for work and education purposes. Comparing the extent of discrimination from the majority in different regions of Russia, the Kyrgyz people state that discrimination in the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg considerably exceeds the level of discrimination in Krasnoyarsk Krai. The Kyrgyz labor migrants state that the most attractive activities for them in Krasnoyarsk Krai are commercial and construction projects.

The focus group with the Tadjik labor migrants and their ethnic group also allows us to conclude that some conflictual situations inside different ethnic migration communities actually exist. So, the Tajiks make some incisive negative remarks in relation to the Armenian ethnic group, and claim that this group is especially aggressive in fighting for decent employment and good salaries. Comparing the level of discrimination in different cities of Russia, the Tajiks single out such cities as Moscow, St. Petersburg and Voronezh as the centers of discrimination, and state that the level



of discrimination in Krasnoyarsk Krai is much lower. The Tajiks believe that they are unfairly accused of drug trafficking as the majority's representatives often commit such crimes, whereas the public opinion attributes drug dealing only to the countries of Central Asia. The Tajiks name clear signs of domestic nationalism including those associated with the ban on learning their native language (Tajik) at schools of Krasnoyarsk Krai.

In the light of the recent events, the data which has been obtained by means of the focus group of the Ukrainian ethnic cultural group's representatives are urgent. The vast majority of the Ukrainians in Krasnoyarsk Krai are descendants of repressed exiled settlers. Quite a large number of the Ukrainians arrived to Siberia during the Stolypin agrarian reforms when the Trans-Siberian Railway was built. The subsequent inflow of Ukrainians to the Siberian regions during the 1950's is connected with repressions after the termination of the Great Patriotic War. Historically and culturally, the Ukrainians regard their homeland as a place that has favorable climatic conditions and better living conditions than in Siberia. As for the Russians, the people of Ukrainian identity regard themselves and the Russian people as Slavic peoples that have their mutual ancestors and historical homeland, i.e., Kievan Rus'.

The statistical analysis of migrants shows that from January to October 2015 the citizens of Ukraine obtained 2156 of 5149 (41.9%) temporary resident permits. At the same time, the total of temporary resident permits in Krasnoyarsk Krai for the first 10 months of 2015 increased by 1432 (38.5%) compared to the same period of 2014. However, when obtaining residence permits (which comes before getting Russian citizenship), the Tajiks who for the 10 months of 2015 received 487 residence permits (29.2%), whereas the Ukrainians received 163 residence permits (9.8%), are in the lead.

In general, the dynamics of labor migration in Krasnoyarsk Krai in 2015 show an increase in all main indicators. Therefore, the amount of received residence permits for the first 10 months of 2015 increased by 36 in comparison with the same period of 2014.

The vast majority of studies are connected with the host party. In this regard, there is a certain lack of studies among labor migrants. In November 2015, labor migrants localized in several residential districts of the city of Krasnoyarsk were questioned. The results of this survey conducted in the form of conversation are presented in a specially prepared questionnaire. In total, 120 people who arrived in Krasnoyarsk Krai from such countries as Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkey, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, China, Germany, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Latvia were questioned.

The question: "How do you consider the local population's attitude towards you?," only representatives of two countries such as Armenia and Azerbaijan characterized this attitude simply as "unfriendly." Labor migrants from Tajikistan had a different experience: Both "indifferent," and "tolerant" attitude. The vast majority of the respondents are also of this opinion: "Indifferent" and "tolerant" attitude, 9% could not answer this question. In our opinion, they are more likely inclined to aversion and did not want to talk about it. This position does not depend upon age. Labor

migrants of different ages answered the question: "Indifferent" attitude, "tolerant" attitude.

12% of labor migrants arrived to Krasnoyarsk Krai alone, 33% arrived together with their families, 33% – together with their friends, 21% – together with other labor migrants. It may be so that labor migrants do not want to deal with accommodation difficulties in the foreign society alone. They believe that together with their family, friends and fellow workers it will be easier for them to work and formalize documents.

The analysis on age categories, when answering to the following question, was conducted: "Do you feel any discrimination from citizens of the Russian Federation or the government of the Russian Federation?" The older generation of labor migrants (56 years old and older) experience continuous discrimination: 12% – regularly, 7% – face them from time to time, 3% – regard such discrimination as "weak." At the same time, 25% of labor migrants aged 25-35 years answer that they never face any discrimination. It may be so that the older generation originates, as a rule, from traditional societies where respect and special attention are expressed towards the elderly. Without experiencing respect and attention in the modern urbanized majority of Krasnoyarsk Krai, these people regard a lack of this experience as "oppression." 7% of labor migrants aged 25-35 years and 3% of labor migrants aged 36-54 years report harassment to be "regular."

The question: "Do you know where you need to go if your rights are violated" caused the following answers: 68% of labor migrants know, 32% – do not know. Even if to be guided only by the data of this survey, the number of labor migrants who are not informed as to who and where they might find help is rather great. The one-third part of labor migrants in Krasnoyarsk Krai does not feel protected from the region's authorities.

The following question was important for the study objectives: "Why did you come to Russia?" 30% of labor migrants answer that the reason was stable work, 27% – different types of activities, 23% – free market, vacancies, 9% – high salaries, 7% – all these reasons together, and 5% found the question difficult to answer.

Indirectly, the answers to the following question are connected with the choice of an acculturation strategy by labor migrants: "How do you want to work? Alone? Together with your compatriots? Together with Russian people?" Labor migrants from the Ukraine, Latvia and Kazakhstan want to work together with Russian people. Labor migrants from Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, China and Uzbekistan mainly want to work together with their compatriots. It is obvious that people intend to unite under the principle of their cultural community. Civilization differences are also a reason for such answers. The vast majority of migrants from China and the countries of Central Asia choose the separation strategy. Citizens from the Ukraine, Latvia and Kazakhstan choose the integration strategy.

The hypothesis that the vast majority of labor migrants in Krasnoyarsk Krai consists of guest workers, temporary workers is confirmed by the answers to the following question: "Are you going to stay in Krasnoyarsk Krai in the future?" 100% of

citizens from Turkey and Tajikistan do not associate their future with Krasnoyarsk Krai. On average, 2% to 4% of labor migrants from China, Uzbekistan and Armenia plan to permanently stay in Krasnoyarsk Krai. 3- 8% of labor migrants from Armenia, China, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan plan to move to some other region of the Russian Federation where, in their opinion, working conditions are considerably better.

The assessment by labor migrants of difficulties, which they face in a foreign country, was divided according to age categories. A majority of people aged 25-35 years old say that they do not experience any adaptation difficulties. People aged 56 years and older admit essential adaptation difficulties. These indicators are expected. The crisis, which is being experienced by traditional societies in the countries of Central Asia, affects the adaptation in labor migration places. The younger a man is, the easier it is to adapt to a modern urbanized culture. The older a person is, the more difficult it is for him to live in the modern urbanized community.

On one hand, labor migration processes have been reflected in the study with the use of the association experiment with the word “migrant” according to the method by Nazarov and Sokolov. The association experiment has been conducted among students of Siberian Federal University, in the technical and humanitarian departments and with the students of Krasnoyarsk State Medical University named after professor Voyno-Yasenevsky (100 people). In total, 603 associations have been obtained, resulting in 75 positive connotations, 202 of these have negative semantic connotations, which shows that the students of Krasnoyarsk universities perceive migrants negatively rather than positively. As negative associations, it is possible to note ethnic characteristics of migrants, their attitude to hygiene, low education level, their large number of impoverished migrants. The definitions associated with ill feelings towards forced migration, their vulnerability, with the war as a reason for this forced migration serve as positive associations.

From April to September 2014, 69 experts from different regions of the Russian Federation created an interethnic intensity rating called as “Grozdjya Gneva” (“The Grapes of Wrath”). The method of preparation of this rating was published in the open media. According to the originators of this rating, Krasnoyarsk Krai is among those regions where there are revealed mainly nonviolent conflictual incidents, isolated violent acts generally of domestic nature; numerous conflictual actions in the internet. It is known that the representatives of the Administration of the Governor of Krasnoyarsk Krai who are responsible for the work with ethnic groups, for the prevention of interethnic intensity, state their negative attitude to the results of this rating. Our studies confirm the conclusions not of the administration of the Governor of Krasnoyarsk Krai, but those of the experts who created the rating “The Grapes of Wrath.”

## 5. CONCLUSION

Unfortunately, Krasnoyarsk Krai is a place where interethnic and inter-confessional conflicts occur from time to time. Suspicions and negative attitudes are held by the majority towards the labor

migrants. In the situation of economic stability, this attitude may be covert and may never become apparent. In the situation of some economic crisis and decreases in the population’s incomes, situations when discontent with this economic situation is transformed into violent conflicts with migrants from the countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia are probable. On the other hand, migration communities of these countries in Krasnoyarsk Krai are rather great. The number of labor migrants from the countries of Central Asia increases every year. As a rule, these are people of the Islamic religion, their appearance contrasts with the majority’s appearance in Krasnoyarsk Krai. It is possible to perform a forecast that labor migration in Central Siberia in the next 2-3 years may result in an increase of social tension and conflictedness especially in such large cities as Krasnoyarsk and Norilsk. The political management, for example, of Krasnoyarsk Krai needs to consider this difficult situation and make use of other communities’ experience in order to normalize the population’s attitude to labor migrants.

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