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COMMON AND SPECIFIC FEATURES OF MIGRATION FLOWS IN RUSSIA, CIS AND FAR ABROAD¹

The article discusses the features of migration flows in Russia, CIS and abroad in terms of transnationality and translocality. Special attention is paid to migration flows from Asia, depending on the gender perception. During the analysis, the preferences of migrants of different age groups are determined. It shows their desire for a more independent financial and professional life, relationship with family responsibilities, plans for the future. The data obtained by the method of continuous selection have led to the following conclusions: migration is a multidimensional phenomenon that requires multidisciplinary research; the heterogeneity of migration flows to the socio-cultural and gender features must be taken into account; the problem of illegal migration requires special solutions; in connection with the emigration of highly skilled professionals and immigration of low-skilled personnel, a professional important indicator of migratory replacement and attracting compatriots from abroad are important. The data obtained can be used for ethnic and cultural planning in order to improve production activities that affect the quality of solving of production tasks and programming adaptation of migrants as the significant impact of intangible factors on the development of society has been noted by economists for a long time. Thus, the economic sustainability requires new thinking based on socio-cultural sustainability determined by such global phenomena as international migration flows.

Keywords: migration flows, immigration, emigration, transnationality, translocality, gender peculiarities, ethno-cultural characteristics

Introduction

Contemporary international migration flows take a special place among the solutions of socio-cultural problems because they are ones of the main factors affecting all spheres of life both in donor and recipient countries. As it is pointed out by the renowned sociologist E. Giddens, there is a transformation of spatial, social relationships. There is a geographic and social disparity between the place of residence and place of activity of a person. If 200–300 years ago, the social place, including the daily life and social world of people, was determined and related to their geographical place, now as a result of international migration there is an appearance of transnational social spaces [1].

The significant impact of intangible factors in the development of society has been noted by economists starting with M. Weber and J. Schumpeter. F. Fukuyama once again confirms: «Incomprehension that the foundations of the economic behavior are in the realm of mentality and culture leads to the popular belief, according to which the material causes are attributed to

phenomena in the society, belonged by their nature to areas of the spirit» [2, c. 124].

Thus, the process of achieving economic sustainability requires new thinking based on such global phenomena as international migration flows. The relevance of the topic of the proposed work is determined by a number of parameters. Despite the fact that there are many theoretical works concerning migration, there is an actual search for a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach, systematization of existing data, the study of the features of global migration processes both in Russia and abroad in order to develop new methodological principles of research and solutions to the many problems that are caused by international migration of the population of the planet.

The aim of this work is to determine the general and specific features of migration flows in Russia, CIS and foreign countries. Special attention is paid to migration flows from the countries of Central Asia, especially female migration. The analysis has revealed the acceptability of migration for different age groups and their desire for a more independent financial and professional life, relationship with family responsibilities, plans for the future. The study has been conducted by using continuous sampling analytical data, followed

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by the comparative analysis. On the basis of the findings, the conclusions and recommendations are made for the use of the data while dealing with migration flows.

Theoretical Bases of Transnational and Translocal Identification of Migration Flows

The first scientific definition of migration is found in the works of the English researcher E. Ravenstein (1885), considering migration as «the permanent or temporary change of the person's residence», as «a continuous process» due to the interaction of the four main groups of factors: existing in the initial location (country) of the residence of migrants; acting in the place (country) of entry of migrants; personal factors as a system of preferences of people, the totality of their demographic characteristics [1].

E. Ravenstein's works are still a basis for the analysis at the macro- and microlevels, the development of modern theories and creation of migration models. At the same time in the scientific literature, there is no single typology of migration flows. Different approaches reflect the diversity of migration patterns, the motivation of migrants, their goals and strategies: geography (K. Teylor, J. Becker); environment (G.K. Zipf, S.A. Stouffer); adaptation (W. Tomas, F. Znaniecki); human ecology (R. Park, R. McKenzie); concentric zones (E. Burgess, R. McKenzie, R. Park); three-stage migration process (I.L. Yamzin, V.P. Voshchinin, L.L. Rybakovsky, L.L. Shamileva); four-stage model (A. Demuth); eight-factor model (F. Duvall); conflictological model (A.V. Dmitriev) and others.

Moreover, the theoretical approaches of Russian, European, American scientific schools have differences. The American approach is based on interdisciplinary studies examining various aspects (economic, social, political) at different levels for different ethnic groups (e.g., economic incorporation of different groups through a comprehensive understanding of the economic incorporation; ethnic solidarity, political incorporation through the issue of citizenship and the role of the state, including social, legal and economic aspects, issues of cultural and ethnic incorporation et al.).

Due to the fact that the borders of European countries have considerably varied in the last hundred years, the European studying approach of migrations is associated with the processes of internal integration with the blurring of the boundaries between European countries; issues on the management of migration flows within the European Union, ethnic minorities, problems of diasporas and repatriation.

The two above mentioned schools are integrated by the awareness of the relationship of migration processes at the global level, thereby realizing a large number of transcontinental international projects.

There are two directions in the specialization of the Russian research: of the economic and ethnic origins, which often interact and are interdisciplinary. However, studies of transnational connections are not yet sufficiently covered. In general, the Russian school is developing more on the European type. Common with the American school is studying of the following gaps: the selectivity of migrants from the perspective of the needs of society, understanding the difference in opportunities for adaptation between generations (comparing the first and second migrants' generations), the definition of macroeconomic, political and social factors that shape the patterns of adaptation.

In the Russian literature, the most comprehensive study of the migration process is conducted by V.A. Iontsev. The author has given the most common definition of international migration: «International migration is a territorial (spatial) movement of people across national borders associated with changes in permanent residence and citizenship due to a set of economic, political, socio-demographic and other factors, or to stay in the country of entry, which has a long-term (over 1 year), seasonal or pendulum nature, as well as circular (or episodic) travelling to work, rest, treatment, etc.» [1, c. 79]. Further V.A. Iontsev has allocated 17 scientific approaches in the study of migration, containing 45 scientific fields, theories, concepts: economic, sociological, demographic, migratory, historical, geographical, political, typological, ecological, systemic, ethnographic, psychological, biological, genetic, philosophical, legal, methodological, etc. The major trends of contemporary migration are shown in Table 1.

The significant place in modern research is taken by the concept of transnational migration (S. Castles [3], T. Faist [4], S. Glick [5]). It notes that the concept of «international migration» that involves the crossing of borders loses its relevance, as migrants are increasingly differentiated by socio-cultural characteristics; focus on the lives of two or more societies, the development of transnational communities and the corresponding mentality. It increases the significance of informal networks as a form of communication and organization, transcend national boundaries. It weakens the state control and reduces the effectiveness of traditional patterns of incorporation into soci-

Table 1

Major Trends in Contemporary Migration

Trends	Content
1. Scale	The unprecedented expansion of international migration and the formation of «a nation of migrants»
2. Geography	Expanding the geography of international migration, involving almost all countries of the world into the orbit of global migrations
3. Structure	Changing patterns of international migration flows in accordance with the needs of the globalized labor market: 1. Temporary duration (circular in nature); 2. Qualification structure (increasing the share of highly skilled migrants); 3. Gender structure (feminization of migration flows)
4. Main vector	Economic migration, especially, labor one.
5. Illegality	Steady growth and «invincibility» of illegal migration
6. Forced migration	Growth of scale and geographic expansion of the forced migration
7. Demography	The increase in the importance of international migration in the demographic development of the world and, above all, the host countries
8. Migration Policy	The dual nature of the contradiction between the national and transnational regulation of migration flows, which manifests itself at three levels: 1. Global (world) as a result of conflicts between the interests of international organizations and national interests of individual states; 2. Regional and international, as the existence of opposing trends of liberalization of migration regimes within the regional unions and the tightening of their migration policies in relation to third countries existing outside of their associations; 3. National, as a contradiction between demographic and economic interests on the one hand, and political and social security on the other

Source [1, p. 80-84].

ety. As the T. Faist considers, migrants move in the transnational social space [4].

The appearance of the term «transnationalism» in 1970 is due to the transformation, first of all, the economic sphere, where transnational companies and banks began to dominate. S. Sassen, exploring cities, which are the focus of international networks of institutions (such as banks and law firms) and people (for example, international experts), refers to the term «transnationality» in order to emphasize the spatial dimension and scale of economic, social and political processes and relationships in the context of globalization [6].

S. Glick defines transnational migration as a model of migration where migrants crossing international borders and settling in one country,

maintain social ties with the country of their origin [5].

The new concept of transnational migration eliminates the binary opposition: integration vs. new ethnic minorities, as migrants often do not focus on integration and ethnic minorities are not formed by the new migrants but of the local elite. T. Faist distinguishes four types of transnational social spaces, the essence of which is shown in Table 2 [4].

In the current research, the concept of translocality is introduced. It aims at determining the relationship between migration and the nation-state in the context of globalization [8]. The creator of this concept A. Appadurai opposes the notions of locality and neighborhood (community). The neighbor-

Table 2

Types of Transnational Social Spaces

Type of transnational social space	Content
1. Transnational related groups	Mutual exchange (collaboration) as a social norm. The main feature is to maintain social norm equivalence (parity). For example, money transfers (contract workers)
2. Transnational areas	The form of interaction is social exchange in the form of mutual obligations and expectations, based on the past experience. The main feature is the use of internal benefits (language, social ties in equal networks). For example, a network of migrant workers
3. Transnational communities	Solidarity which involves sharing of similar ideas, beliefs, values. The most important form of solidarity is collective representations (religion, nationality, ethnicity) which are expressed in the form of collective identity. Solidarity can be institutionalized (citizenship). For example, the diaspora (T. Faist)
4. Transnational organizations	More formal control and coordination of social and symbolic links

Source M. Blinova, J. Coleman, Th. Faist [1, 4, 7].

hood is actual forms of social organization of people in which locality is realized and manifested. ... The nation-state defines and shapes the neighborhood within its territory and more resistant to the formation of local neighborhoods by their actors (building from below). However, the integrity of the nation-state is threatened by increasing the flow of information, people, goods, services, images. A. Appadurai considers the mobility of people is a basis for understanding the nature of conflicts between states' sovereignty and the new forms of communities (translocal diaspora). Moreover, electronic means of communication facilitate and support the emergence of translocalities [9].

Thus, analyzing the theoretical basis of studies of migration processes, we can say that migration is a complex multifactorial phenomenon that affects the interests of the host countries and countries of origin. The migration process is due to structural and functional reasons relating to all spheres of social life and affecting the subject of migration (migrants), striving to satisfy the personal needs through both internal and external migration.

The complexity of the global migration situation, qualitative changes in migration flows have become the basis for the transformation of methodological approaches to the study of a new type of migration. There observed the following trends: the emergence of new terminology, actualization not only economic but also social, cultural, political aspects. But there is no unified concept addressing transnational migration. According to analysts, at this stage, an important consideration is the individual countries, their experience and role in solving problems of such multifactorial phenomenon as migration flows on the basis of interdisciplinary research.

Identification of Immigration Flows Features in Europe

The total number of migrants in the world has reached 232 million people, accounting for more than 3 % of the world population. According to a UN report, the first place is strengthened over the United States, where are simultaneously 45,8 million migrants. Only in 2013 through the «migration corridors» from Mexico to the US territory 13 million people passed. Russia ranks second in the world rankings in the number of migrants accounting 11 million people. In the third place — Germany, with 9,8 million people. Further, Saudi Arabia (9,1), UK (7,8), France (7,4), Canada (7,3), Australia (6,5) and Spain (6,5 million)¹.

At the same time, not only the quantity but also the quality of migration flows is changing. «In today's world, migration flows are constantly growing, and experts admit their ever-growing feminization. ... Unfortunately, there is no accurate information about the number of women migrants, but experts estimate that they make up almost half of the total quantity. ... Women's labor migration in the world is rightly considered as a «high-risk area» and the massive human rights violations, as it is most often associated not only with marginal forms of employment but also with the socio-cultural and ethno-national features of the upbringing of women, especially coming from the Central Asian republics « [10, c. 82].

For a qualitative assessment of migration problems, one can benefit from the experience of studies of other multicultural societies. From this point of view, it is interesting to consider the experience of the International Institute for Migration and Gender Investigations in Brussels, where the study «Dynamics of Aspects and Characteristics of Adaptation of Russian-Speaking Immigrants in Europe, their social adaptation, on the example of Belgium and Germany» was conducted [11].

The research has allowed to clarify the problem of the Russian-speaking immigrants' attitude (mainly, women-advanced) to European values, as they perceive them, if they are ready to transmit them to their children and how different this desire is for various categories of migrants, what it depends on.

The survey has covered various groups of immigrants from just coming to living in the EU for 5–8 years or more. It is important that in the focus of a special monitoring were gender (female) groups that made up an extremely active «hidden majority» [12] in the Russian migration to Europe, being present in a significant number of all sectors of migration: family migration (both the creation and reunification of families), intellectual migration (both professionals and their family members), labor migration (mainly from the former Soviet Union, but not from Russia).

The study has identified the following quantitative and qualitative characteristics [11]:

1. In place of the former residence about 22 % come from the big cities — Moscow, St. Petersburg; 35 % — regions of Russia; 55 % — Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Ukraine.
2. In 70 cases out of 100 there are women married to foreigners and thus found themselves in

¹ Rossiya vtoraya po kolichestvu migrantov [Russia is a Second on Amount of Migrants]. Available at: <http://realty.mail.ru/>

news/13788/rossija_vtoraja_v_mire_po_kolichestvu_migrantov/) (date of access: 3.11.2014).

Europe or who came to work or study and married to a European.

3. The women's vision for the future is very constructive, plans are concrete.

4. Women who have children are actively engaged in their comprehensive education, keeping them both the native Russian language and adapting to the European life, being aware of the problem of their bilingualism.

5. The high level of education, in 95 cases out of 100 they have 1-2 degrees.

6. Professional groups: managers in various fields, translators, employees of European institutions, businesspeople, students of institutions, higher schools, and courses.

7. The marital status can be estimated as 70 % to 30 % — married to unmarried (and already divorced in Europe).

8. Today's life in Europe is very active: work or study; participation in community organizations or attending their meetings, Russian and European cultural events; reading Russian and European press.

9. A large percentage of them feels almost adapted or have adapted.

In answering the question of who their children should feel: Russian, European, the EU citizens, Belgians, citizens of the world, women category «advanced» both migrated from Russia and the CIS countries, the Baltic countries (non-Muslims) select answers that imply for them close concepts — a European citizen, citizen of the world or the European Union but stress that their children should remember that they also have Russian roots. This category of women also actively adopts new cooking traditions of the country, fashion, and business styles, as it is here that they want to continue their career.

However, immigrants from the former Soviet republics answer the question about the Russian language and Russian culture negatively since they have their own language and their own culture that they will transfer them to their children. And absolutely negative are responses (in the language and culture of the host country) of the Muslim part of the respondents (90 %), emphasizing that they do not need new culture. And here it does not matter that this person is from Algeria, Morocco, and Chechnya, i.e. from Russia. These results must be considered in the integration programs, as Russian-speaking migration (non-Muslims) and, for example, the Chechen migration (Muslims), which comes very actively to Europe, is impossible to evaluate and integrate homogeneously. These are two different groups with completely different goals and objectives in immigra-

tion, although they have one geographical area from which they come from [13].

Thus, the study helps to make the following conclusions:

1. Among the Russian immigration to Europe there is a high civil activity and readiness of highly educated women to conduct the cross-cultural dialog;

2. Knowledge of foreign languages and high professional status are not a guarantee of successful getting the desired job but can help in adapting to the new socio-cultural contexts;

3. The Muslim migration from Russia should be ranked among Muslim immigrants in general because this type of migration is peculiar to the general negative attitude towards a new European culture, regardless of the country of migration outcome, i.e. the geographical origin.

The study conducted by G.I. Gadzhimuradova partly explains the reasons for the negative attitude of Muslim immigration. With increasing migration, especially from Asian and African countries, Islam is becoming increasingly common. «Islam is the traditional religion of the Arab East, and, therefore, the life of the society is regulated here mainly by Shariah. Therefore, a gender perspective in addressing the social and political problems has a number of features others than in Europe» [14, с. 67].

However, the processes of assimilation that occur when changing residence, often do not meet the standards of Shariah. On the one hand, a Muslim woman wants to participate in social life, to have access to education, to vote and to be elected, to marry for love, make a career. She sees the lives of women in Europe, their emancipation, a proactive stance, new system of values. On the other hand, she is still dependent on her husband and must not violate the laws of Shariah.

«But even when women are in a European country, the Muslim community imposes many restrictions: for marriages between Muslim and non-Muslim, visiting entertainment, public places unaccompanied by men, the choice of a profession, the women's life does not extend beyond the private sphere» [14, p. 68].

Therefore, the adaptation process is complex and requires a lot of efforts from the women themselves as they fear the stigma and misunderstanding on the part of their diaspora, especially by males who adhere to the established gender stereotypes. Besides, employers themselves often refuse Muslim women in getting a job.

In turn, the «European organizations for accepting and working with migrants are making great efforts to implement the integration pro-

cesses in the immigrant environment. First of all, for those who want they create free language courses in the host country, its history, and their children are given the opportunity to study at secondary schools, there is trainings for certain professions. As a consequence, education, commitment, knowledge of several foreign languages distinguishes many young Muslim women. Often they are ahead of their fellow-men in the process of integration into the European society, in the different socio-cultural environment. The process of integration and emancipation accelerates when a woman can find a job and secure financial independence [14, c. 71].

In general, the problem of religious diversity is one of the most complex and subtle, often a source of misunderstanding, resentment, and even hatred. Consequently, while organizing various events and activities one should know the religious features of representatives of different confessions [13].

Identification of Immigration Flows Features in Russia

Indicators of migration and international relations are also important for Russia. Newly arrived migrants often retain close ties with their homeland based on family ties and cultural identity.

Russia is among the pool of states with the highest number of foreign citizens on their territory. In recent decades, international migration has become an important factor for the country's political, economic and demographic development [15].

Indeed, according to the Federal Migration Service¹, despite the fact that the increase in migration in 2013 compared to 2012 was 12 %, and over the past four years as a whole — 37 %, 800 thousand foreigners constantly live in Russia. It is ten times less than in the European Union. In 2013, Russia had three migration «corridors» Russia-Ukraine (3,5 million migrants), Ukraine-Russia (2,9 million migrants), Kazakhstan-Russia (2,5 million migrants).

In Russia, Asian immigrants often work at construction sites in Moscow and other Russian regions. They also clean local areas, engaged in road constructions, work in the service sector, that is, take those jobs that are not popular among the local population.

Sverdlovsk region ranks the 5th place in Russia in the number of migrants. 201,000 migrants are

¹ Rossiya vtoraya po kolichestvu migrantov [Russia is a Second on Amount of Migrants]. Available at: http://realty.mail.ru/news/13788/rossija_vtoraja_v_mire_po_kolichestvu_migrantov/ (date of access: 3.11.2014).

registered in Federal Migration Service. By the number of migrants Middle Urals inferior only to Moscow, the Moscow region, Leningrad region and Krasnodar Territory. Of a total number of foreigners, about 43 million are migrant workers mainly from Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Among the representatives of the «visa» countries, the most active citizens are from China, Vietnam, and North Korea. For 2014 employers have filed on 103,524 jobs for foreigners: 19,298 — for people from «visa» countries and the rest of the citizens of the CIS. Major areas of migrants' employment are cleaning, catering, utility, construction. The most popular professions are roustabouts (5,755 applications), drivers (2,367) and plasterers (1,708). According to the forecast in 2015, the average wage of migrant workers will be 18 thousand rubles².

According to Forbes.ru³, in Russia immigrants must complete «gaps» in the economy; their desire to work even in the current economic conditions should improve the efficiency and reduce the cost of labor. But to properly assess the situation and develop adaptation programs one must consider a few stereotypes of perception of Russian migration (Table 3).

Illegal immigrants in most cases are powerless, look strange, dangerous and are an easy object of intimidation of the population. Legalization of immigration is a complex project. There must be a creation of a system of selection (select more educated, healthy, with better knowledge of Russian, criminal history check, create a reasonable safeguards system of jobs), It needs somewhere to settle immigrants and for this it needs to build a lot of affordable housings and provide cheap mortgage; adults need to learn the language and children must go to school; it needs to organize a system of medical care. Finally, it should not just «follow the demand» but generate the demand for immigrants in underdeveloped areas and industries particularly need development. This job requires a state program for a period of 10–15 years, and if during this time Russia can attract 20–30 million immigrants, the economy will receive tremendous support⁴.

² Sverdlovskaya oblast zanimaet 5 mesto v Rosii po migrantam [Sverdlovsk Region Takes 5th Place on Migrants]. Available at: <http://new.mail.ru/integrations/ural/66/society/14292770/?frommail=1> (date of access: 1.11.2014).

³ Gorkoe lekarstvo: kak priezzhiye mogut spasti rossiyskuyu ekonomiku [Bitters: How Visitors Can Save Russian Economy]. Available at: <http://www.forbes.ru/mneniya-column/idei/246195-gorkoe-lekarstvo-kak-priezzhiye-mogut-spasti-rossiyskuyu-ekonomiku>.

⁴ Ibid.

Stereotypes of Perception of Russian Migration

Stereotype	Content
Russia is "awash" with immigrants	False. According to the OECD, since 1989 more than 7 million citizens have left Russia. This is 58 % of the total number of immigrants in Russia. For a year about 300 000 people enter the country — 3.5 times less than in the US. The share of immigrants in the population of Russia is 1.5 times lower than in the US or Western Europe
Immigrants take jobs away from the native population	False. The unemployment rate in Russia is 1.5 times lower than in the US, and not too different from the level of China and Brazil, where the number of immigrants is very low. In Russia, there is no shortage of jobs — there is a big shortage of labor force
We only need skilled immigrants	False. In Russia, there is a disproportionate number of people with higher education. In view of the territory and the lack of infrastructure at the present level of economic development we are missing 3 million unskilled workers «to the level of the United States»
Immigrants destroy Russian national identity	False. The US has a much more coherent national identity, despite the constant immigration. Russia is not only Moscow region but Muslim Ural, Caucasus republics, Buddhist Southeast and the peoples of the North. The Russian identity is inherently international, in any other interpretation of it and an attempt to create a dominant «Christian-Slavic identity» would lead to the disintegration of the country. Most immigrants come to Russia from the CIS countries, and they are familiar with the Russian culture, language and have strong relationships with the country
Immigrants commit many crimes	False. Even according to official statistics, the share of immigrants is accounted for about 3 % of all crimes
In Russia, there are many illegal immigrants	True. The share of illegal immigrants in the total number of migrants in Russia is unique high — almost 80 %. For comparison: in the US, their share does not exceed 60 %, in the UK and Germany — 15 %. And it is this, rather than immigration itself is a problem

Source Forbes.ru (Gorkoe lekarstvo: kak priezhzhie mogut spastic rossiyskuyu ekonomiku [Bitters: How Visitors Can Save Russian Economy]. Available at: <http://www.forbes.ru/mneniya-column/idei/246195-gorkoe-lekarstvo-kak-priezhzhie-mogut-spasti-rossiyskuyu-ekonomiku>).

For the economy the legalization and simplification of immigration simultaneously with a significant increase in the inflow of migrants can be a positive factor: disappear search and deportation costs on illegal immigrants; immigrants begin to pay taxes. The development of the institution of legal labor immigration can make a significant positive result in terms of the ratio of revenues and costs of social funds. The disappearance of the corrupt and illegal schemes will lead to increased efficiency in industries of the mass use of immigrants. Ultimately, the labor force of the country significantly increases¹.

Many countries are on a similar way. In Brazil, illegal immigrants have the same social rights as citizens, every five years there is amnesty. In the US, a recent law allows 11 million illegal immigrants become naturalized which will reduce the share of illegal immigrants to less than 20 %. For the past 15 years France, Belgium, Italy, Spain have adopted the so-called regularization laws on the rights of illegal immigrants to naturalize.

Migration in Russia is very specific in comparison with the migration to the West. The cultural distance between migrants from former Soviet republics and the main population of Russia are

much less than in Western Europe. The unified system of education that existed on the territory of the former Soviet Union for more than half a century and spanned several generations still provides a good command of the Russian language in the older generation.

In addition, due to the high mobility of the population of the former Soviet republics, today's migrants have a high degree of social competence. Social communication skills acquired by these people in the Soviet period (as seasonal workers, as well as traders in the markets in Russian cities) allow them to function effectively in the economic and commercial spheres. In other words, their adaptive capacity and, consequently, the ability to integrate are immeasurably higher than the ability to integrate immigrants trying to settle in Western Europe.

China, North Korea, Vietnam lead among the «visa» countries. A small part of the kind comprises Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand. It should be noted that the majority of migrants comes from Asian and Caucasian republics, who as well as in Europe, live in their diasporas and have their interests. From the visa-free space come representatives of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova. At the moment, a special category constitutes forced migrants from Ukraine. For ex-

¹ Ibid.

ample, in September 2014 in the Sverdlovsk region 1,3 thousand migrants from Ukraine have already arrived at the temporary accommodation of refugees in 19 municipalities¹. Totally, up to now almost 7,7 thousand Ukrainian migrants live in the Sverdlovsk region. On 1 December 2014 the region has got 24,7 million rubles from the Federal Treasury for their resettlement.

Moreover, migrants can share jobs by industries. Thus, in the Sverdlovsk region (most of them are in Yekaterinburg) representatives of China are engaged in trade and agriculture, Korea — construction, Vietnam — clothing industry, the Philippines and Thailand — the scope of services, massage salons, France and Italy — the scope of catering (cooks).

This category of migrants mostly has a temporary stay and does not plan to stay in Russia for a long time. Thus, one can talk about shuttle migration or as determined by some experts «raiding economy».

The purpose of stay is about the same: higher wages than in their home country. But, in general, its level is not high. From Asia to Russia, enter workers of low and medium skills. Main areas of activity are public transport and taxis (drivers), construction, trade, cleaning. During the year, one can observe the migration by industries: in winter migrants work in shopping malls, in spring and summer — in construction and agriculture, in autumn — harvesting.

Currently, a special category is Program on facilitation of voluntary resettlement of compatriots, supported by the Government of the Russian Federation. In 2014, for example, 200 million rubles had been allocated to 41 the regions. Funds are distributed on the basis of the implementation of the relevant subjects of the Federation corresponding resettlement programs in 2013 and supporting in 2014: Kaluzhskaya (22,5 million), Voronezhskaya (17,3 million) and Tverskaya (17 million) regions. Middle Urals has received 2,3 million rubles, Tyumenskaya and Chelyabinskaya regions — 285,7 thousand and 1,2 million rubles, respectively. Altogether during the implementation of the state program in Russia returned 162,3 thousand people, including about 37,000 in 2013².

¹ V Yekaterinburg pribila eshche odna partiya ukraintsev [In Yekaterinburg arrived Another Group of Ukrainians]. Available at: <http://news.mail.ru/inregions/ural/66/society/19388711/?frommail=1> (date of access: 31.10.2014).

² Pereselentsam na Sredniy Ural videlili 2,3 milliona rubley po federalnoy programme [Migrants to Middle Urals Are Allocated 2.3 Million Rubles under Federal Program]. Available at: <http://news.mail.ru/inregions/ural/66/society/17530157/?frommail=1> (date of access: 1.11.2014).

It should be noted that 52 % of this category of migrants who have returned, for example, to Yekaterinburg and the region (mostly from the former Soviet republics) have higher education. They often get a job on their own; among them are engineers, teachers, doctors, programmers.

On the other hand, there are programs to support compatriots abroad. Thus, May 29, 2014, the Governor of the Sverdlovsk region and the head of the federal agency «Rossotrudnichestvo», interested in broadening and deepening contacts and formats of cooperation with the Russian regions, signed an agreement on cooperation between the region and department for five years. By the contract, the parties will work together to carry out activities to support regional people abroad, dedicate to the popularization of the Russian language in other countries, to attract foreign youth to universities of the Sverdlovsk region, as well as to disseminate information about the history, science, culture and socio-economic potential of the region. In turn, the regional government is also interested in raising international awareness and the investment attractiveness of the Sverdlovsk region, as the industrial, scientific, educational and cultural giant³.

With regard to gender ambiguity, the number of authors (E.B. Bedrina, N.A. Zotova, E. Nazarova, A.L. Rocheva, et al.) carried out surveys of women migrants from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in major Russian cities: Astrakhan, Yekaterinburg, Moscow, Samara.

The interest in this problem stems from the fact that migration in Russia increasingly acquires the feminized character. It may indicate a change in social attitudes of the donor society. «Long been well-established traditional gender roles in the Central Asian families (namely from the region now comes the main part of migrant workers) when a man supports his family, earning money and the woman performs reproductive functions (starting from the birth and upbringing of children and ending with housekeeping, maintenance livelihood of the family) have undergone a major transformation. Increasingly, women are forced to earn by their own due to various personal and family reasons and almost each of them recognizes that she is ready to travel outside her country to earn «[10, s. 80-81].

³ Kuyvashev podpisal s Rossotrudnichestvom soglasenie o podderzhke sverdlovchan za granitsey [Kuyvashev and Rossotrudnichestvo Signed Agreement on Support of Sverdlovsk Residents Abroad]. Available at: <http://news.mail.ru/inregions/ural/66/politics/18374613/?frommail=1> (date of access: 1.11.2014).

Acceptability of female migration to Russia in terms of citizens of Asia and the Caucasus is different. Overall, 10 % of men and 22 % of women admit to a possible independent mobility of women. More legitimate from their point of view is a trip to Russia after a woman's husband or another male relative: the proportion of admitting such migration varies in different ethnic groups. For example, in Samara and Astrakhan from 54.8 % (Kyrgyz in Samara) to 79.3 % (Kyrgyz in Astrakhan). Male relatives are recognized by a «point of social control» but this role is inappropriate for a female relative: if migration after a male-relative is acceptable for a woman to a point of view of 68 %, then followed by a female-relative — only 13 % of respondents. Moreover, the duration of their stay in Russia, respectively, the length of acquaintance with the local gender order, affects the assessment of female migration: the willingness to accept an independent women's mobility increases as living in Russia. Thus, among the migrants coming to Russia a year or two ago, 20 % emphasize the unacceptability and more than ten years ago — only 6 % [16].

While women's leaving to work in another country is unusual for the Central Asian society, as a whole, it fits into the basic laws of migration processes in the world at the turn of XX–XXI centuries. Experts note that the «feminization of migration flows since the 1990s has become a main feature of the latest stage in the development of international labor migration»¹.

There are some changes in socio-cultural norms of acceptability of migration and work for women migrants from Central Asia. S. Panarin says that «the most important restrictions on migration should be considered socio-cultural, resource and political ones. ... Under the socio-cultural factors, they imply inherited by birth social ties and regulatory patterns of behavior. In Central Asia, they greatly determine the possibility of involving humans into migratory movement, their inner attitude to territorial mobility. The restrictive impact of this factor is most strongly in the area of traditionally agricultural peoples ... But when unemployment and pauperization oppression become unbearable and at the same time political constraints for leaving are removed, socio-cultural barriers are tipped with exceptional ease. Moreover, relationships and norms, especially hindering migration, have become a factor of the rapid proliferation of migration networks «[17, p. 85].

¹ V Yekaterinburg pribila eshche odna partiya ukrainitsev [In Yekaterinburg arrived Another Group of Ukrainians]. Available at: <http://news.mail.ru/inregions/ural/66/society/19388711/?frommail=1> (date of access: 31.10.2014).

In any case, the determining factor for the trip for both men and women is the presence of family ties. «Kinship is the base for the development of communicative practices of migrant workers, the fundamental interest in replacing them in touching with the host community is not actually fixed» [18, p. 126].

Thus, there established informal migrant networks. It is with the help of migrant networks they find jobs and housing and in their social circle in Russia a significant number of people are involved. Moreover, it is unlikely to identify migrant networks correctly as an impersonal form. They are built on the principle of cells, where one person has a «cell» i.e. the inner circle of friends, relatives and countrymen but this «cell» is necessarily in contact with several more distant ones and if it is necessary indirectly through them — with even more migrant communities. In general, migrant networks where are the application of this system to support migrants by each other, are formed by valid principle [17] (consanguine community, which has the entire complex of systems for the life support. — *Approx. T. V. Kuprina*).

An important indicator of the adaptation is a place (city) where migrants are arriving. More distant cities are more profitable than, for example, Moscow due to lower consumer spending and housing costs.

According to the study by Sociology Center RAGS the motivation for women less than for men, is such economic problems as low income (32.3 % vs. 44.5 %) and lack of jobs (36.5 % vs. 54.3 %). To a large extent they consider such important social factors as a lack of prospects of life (27.0 %), ethnic conflicts (10.6 %), unfavorable climate (5.3 %) and poor environment (3.7 %) [10].

One can also note that 50 % of respondents of migrant women, for example, in Samara and Astrakhan, consider a trip to Russia as getting greater autonomy and independence. Moreover, 94 % is in the age group of 25 and 32 % — in the group of 40 and older. In migrants with higher education, this figure reaches 100 %. In addition, the desire for independence is higher in unmarried ones. The realization of intentions amounts to 96 % [16].

One of the trends in the development of female migration is the «parent» migration, as migrants enjoy free services at birth for all persons on the territory of the Russian Federation.

Working experience at home for all the Central Asian women is different, some have never worked. The sphere of professional employment in Russia, as a rule, is a service industry: vendors, staff accommodations, catering, nurses due to lack of

professional training, often in combination with insufficient knowledge of the Russian language.

Groups of migrant women differ on a number of characteristics [17]:

1. The length of stay and work in Russia.
2. The size of earnings, income and expenditure structure, the value of savings.
3. The degree of adaptation in the host country and participation in self-organizing migration networks (latitude circle of friends and countrymen in the city of residence).
4. Their own experience of working in Russia and associated with these estimates further life strategies which, in turn, depend on the characteristics of the first two.

Women who have successfully completed the adaptation may, in turn, give advice, help and engage in working activity abroad other relatives and friends.

Labor hierarchy is built as follows. Men can start with the laborers, porters, and other heavy duty applications. In the second stage, there are janitors, catering and trade workers. In the third stage, there are migrants who have found a place in businesses.

The same three-stage are for women. «Lower is occupied by migrants selling food and drinks at markets, selling and / or baking cakes and pies in the same markets. The second stage is occupied by migrants with long experience of staying in Russia who rent small shops. And on the top level there are women migrants who managed to get in the business structure or non-governmental organizations. ... However, in the hierarchy of employment in the markets women acting alone without family members of men inscribed in the structure of markets the upward path is closed: they can not rise above the position of saleswomen and become owners of several outlets or suppliers who buy at wholesale fruits and vegetables for their sales in retail outlets «[17, c. 84].

Another category of migrants are girls and young women from wealthy families who have higher education or are studying in Russia. They also like migrant women in Europe take a proactive stance; have the opportunity for professional and personal realization.

As far as migrants' interactions in Russia, in a study among a number of diasporas: Armenian, Kyrgyz, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Ukrainians, the Institute of Economics of the Ural Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences RAS (Yekaterinburg) has identified the following categories¹:

1. The inner circle that includes close relatives and family members, is typical for women who have come with their husbands and children, are not working and have poor knowledge (or do not speak at all) of the Russian language. The interaction circle is limited by family members, beyond which there is no need to go. Accordingly, there is no need for accepting local rules and using the local infrastructure is almost completely absent;

2. Interaction with the diaspora, on joint holidays, attending leisure institutions are common for the young men — natives of Central Asia.

3. Interaction with employees of organizations that employ migrants. It can be both organizations with a dominant local staff and consisting of people from other countries;

4. Interaction coincides with the space of the city (the host community), available for a relatively small number of migrants. It is usually middle-aged people with a high educational status, good knowledge of the Russian language, working in their specialty (e.g., physicians) or engaging in the entrepreneurial activity.

Moreover, knowledge of the Russian language is very important for successful socialization in the host society. Even with basic knowledge migrants quickly learn the language in constant contacts with the local people at work or school. Thus, in migrants' families bilingualism is quite common. In some cases, bilingualism is gradually replaced by speaking in Russian, especially in children intensively mastering the Russian language in schools. This is a concern to parents who are trying to maintain their national language and traditions.

As for the attitude of the host society to migrants, it can vary. Negative assessments are more common among young people with low levels of education who migrated from Central Asia. Migrants from Central Asia and the Caucasus with a high level of education, constantly interacting with the host society, evaluate the attitude of the host society as a neutral [19].

Thus, these Russian studies confirm conclusions of the European experts that migrants arriving in Russia must not be considered as a homogeneous mass. More successful adaptation in the host society is observed in those who come from cities, are fluent in Russian, have a professional experience, education, or try to obtain it. Conversely, migrants (both women and men) who have not traveled from the countryside in their country, not knowing the language and features

¹ V Yekaterinburg pribila eshche odna partiya ukraintsev [In Yekaterinburg arrived Another Group of Ukrainians]. Available

at: <http://news.mail.ru/inregions/ural/66/society/19388711/?frommail=1> (date of access: 31.10.2014).

of life in Russia, having no kinship support, are hard to adapt, often become victims of various intermediaries.

Identification of Emigration Flows in Russia and abroad

Another issue of international migration flows is emigrants' flows. So, in the survey of the recruitment company Antal Russia (August – September 2013)¹ representatives of 12 countries over the age of 14 years took part. A representative sample is between 500 and 1,000 people in each country, depending on gender, age, and region. According to the survey, have yielded the following data:

1. The most attractive region in terms of emigration to participants from all countries (31 %) is North America (USA, Canada) followed by Australia, New Zealand – 29 % and Austria, Germany, Switzerland – 28 %.

2. The most common reasons for emigration are called the best opportunities for work (28 %) and unemployment at home (21 %). Career issues are the most relevant to Morocco and Mexico – 50 % and 39 %, respectively. Most residents of Portugal (44 %) and Spain (41 %) would like to leave their country due to unemployment. In this case, for the Russians, these reasons are not so important – 18 % and 7 % respectively.

3. The Russians when asked what aspects of security must be in the country which is considered to emigration, have highlighted job security (45 %), political stability (44 %) and a low crime rate (41 %) which is also important for respondents from other countries. The best opportunities for a new start, in the opinion of the Russians, are offered by economically advanced countries (Austria, Germany, Switzerland – 44 %), the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden – 42.8 %) and North America (USA, Canada – 27 %).

4. The majority of Russian managers (3,829 managers in the capitals and regions) are willing to leave their native city for work. 60 % are ready to work in another country and only 37 % – to move to another region of Russia. At the same time strongly opposed moving abroad only 14 % of respondents and against the relocation in the country – 30 % (the rest would agree to such a proposal on the situation).

5. Among the most desirable places in the relocation in Russia is Moscow where 30 % of di-

rectors are ready to go; in the second place – Krasnodar Territory (25.5 %), the third – the Nizhny Novgorod region (17.6 %), the fourth – St. Petersburg (15.6 %). «Russian and foreign businesses are actively developing outside the capital, ongoing withdrawal of production of the major cities. This means that more and more interesting positions for middle and senior managers are opened in Russia's regions. While relocating professionals from other cities and regions searching the right candidate takes only a third of the time. The process can significantly expand due to long discussions with the candidate and even family members of tangible and intangible benefits, pros and cons of moving»².

6. Among foreign countries the most preferred in the sense of moving are: Ukraine (43.3 % of survey respondents in 2013), France – 41.7 %, Germany – 37.5 %, Switzerland – 34.2 %, USA – 29.2 %, Australia – 25.5 %, Canada – 25 %.

According Exclusive Personnel Agency, Russian managers are in demand in the former Soviet republics because their business is developing slower than in Russia. In addition, there is no hard language barrier that prevents adaptation in Australia, Europe, and America³.

«Among middle and senior managers is now popular again the idea of moving abroad for various reasons. Approximately, half of those wishing to work in the western branch of their company or a new company abroad for a few years of experience in the international market, and the other half is considering options for moving abroad with a view to stay as permanent residents. It can be attributed to the growing globalization of the world: strong Russian managers with experience in an international team and specific knowledge of the functioning of global corporations are increasingly successful in any market in the world. Not only managers but also highly skilled professionals with experience of five years are considering relocation options for continuing a career: in the past six months many skilled developers of PHP, Java adopt proposals for working and living in other countries. In the labor market, the outflow of valuable human resources is increasingly noticeable»⁴.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

¹ Emigratsiya predprinimateley podrivaet ekonomiku Rossii [Emigration of Entrepreneurs Undermines Economy of Russia]. Available at: <http://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/19939551/10-rossiyan-gotovyatsya-uehat-iz-strany#ixzz-2vwPefD7o> (date of access: 5.11.2014).

⁴ Emigratsiya predprinimateley podrivaet ekonomiku Rossii [Emigration of Entrepreneurs Undermines Economy of Russia]. Available at: <http://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/19939551/10-rossiyan-gotovyatsya-uehat-iz-strany#ixzz-2vwPefD7o> (date of access: 5.11.2014).

Conclusion

Having considered the main directions of research on migration processes, it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

1. Theoretical studies of migration flows have a long history. However, until now there is no unified typology of them.

2. There are differences in the level of International Studies: Russian, European, American. In general, Russian migrantology develops more on the European type.

3. At present, migration has a global nature with certain trends: the scale, geography, structure, primary vector, illegality, forced character, demography, and migration policy.

4. A significant place in the research takes the concept of transnational migration, which casts doubt on the notion of «international migration» which implies crossing borders. While migrants are increasingly differentiated by socio-cultural characteristics developing transnational associations. Accordingly, there distinguished types of transnational social spaces, kinship groups, regions, communities, and organizations.

5. Experts also present the concept of translocality aimed at determining the relationship between migration and the nation-state in the context of globalization.

6. In general, modern migration processes are complex, multifaceted and multidimensional phenomenon. One of the main features of migration in the world is increasing women's share in migration flows, as evidenced by both foreign and Russian studies.

7. The composition of migration flows is heterogeneous. On the one hand, a group (people from the cities) with higher education, socially active, aiming to adaptation, learning the language of the host society. On the other hand, the group (often comes from rural areas) with a low social status, medium or low levels of education, language difficulties, poorly adaptive.

8. The separate specific group presents Muslim migrants from Asia and Africa whose traditions impose severe restrictions on the social and personal realization of migrant women. Moreover, it applies to all categories of migrants of this kind without exception, regardless of the country of origin. Thus, in this case, special importance belongs not to geographical boundaries but confessional peculiarities and national traditions.

9. The motivation for the decision to migrate may vary. In Europe, for the Russian-speaking female migration the main reason is marriage to a foreigner or training and subsequent marriage to a foreigner. For the Russian migration from Central

Asia and the Caucasus in the first place are economic motives, the desire to earn and help the family staying in the country of origin.

10. In connection with the increase of female migration from Asia and the Caucasus to Russia, social norms of its acceptability are also changing. Women's leaving is possible but with the support, in most cases, by male relatives who can provide them help in finding jobs and tenancy. Otherwise, for migrant women it is very difficult to find a new place of residence.

11. Support of compatriots is based on migrant networks of valid (consanguineous) type.

12. Among the migrant workers, there is a kind of professional hierarchy consisting of three stages: 1. Hard physical labor for men; peddling and cleaning services for women; 2. Employees of stationary outlets and catering; 3. Migrants have managed to get in the business structures or non-state enterprises.

13. Another category of Russian migration is represented by women from wealthy families who have higher education or are studying in Russia. They as well as migrant women in Europe take a proactive stance. However, as both categories say, knowledge of the language of the host country is not a guarantee of high professional positions, although it may help in adapting to life in a new culture.

14. The terms of interaction also have a certain hierarchy: 1) Interaction only with close relatives is typical for non-working women from Asia; 2) Interaction with members of the diaspora, for example, at traditional festivals. 3) Interaction with the staff of organizations employing migrants; 4) Interaction coinciding with the space of the city characterizing people of high professional status.

15. The attitude towards migrants and their relationship to the host society also varies from neutral to extremely unpleasant depending on the status of the migrants themselves, their desire to adopt a new culture and to adapt to new conditions.

16. The great challenge is illegal migration, the solution of which requires the creation of special programs aimed at the system of selection, resettlement, training, an adaptation of migrants.

17. Special attention is paid to the Russian programs for the return of compatriots and their support abroad which help to create a favorable image of the host country, spread the Russian language and culture abroad.

18. A significant problem for Russia is emigration flows due to the demand for Russian managers with experience in multinational corporations in the global market.

Thus, we can say that, regardless of the status and level of education migration to another country is associated with a number of problems that can be of different nature and complexity. The greatest difficulty is experienced by migrants from Asia and Africa who have committed other values due to the peculiarities of national cultures.

Due to the fact that globalization and integration of different communities become stronger, migration processes will be ongoing. Therefore, special measures are necessary for the organization not only jobs, housing, settling at the new place of residence but also the socio-psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. A.N. Barkovsky [20], for example, offers the kind of ethno-cultural

planning that takes into account the different socio-cultural types of migrants, especially their confessions, the possibility of adaptation and learning the Russian language (or language of the host country — *Approx. T. V. Kuprina*), the ability to study and retrain.

For the scope of business, it is important to take into account national peculiarities while organizing professional activities that affect the quality of the implementation of production tasks.

Particularly noteworthy is the development of multicultural education programs for various educational institutions and adaptation courses contributing to the formation of tolerance to other cultures and those who are not like us.

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