

# СОЦИАЛЬНО-ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ПОТЕНЦИАЛ РЕГИОНАЛЬНОГО РАЗВИТИЯ

## REVIEW PAPER

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## Adaptation and Integration of Labour Migrants from Central Asia in Russia and Countries of European Union: Comparative Analysis<sup>1</sup>

*Currently, the Russian Federation is experiencing a transformation of migration flows from temporary to permanent. The largest share of migrants comes from the countries of Central Asia, where the demographic and economic situation stimulates a long-term increase in flows of labour migrants. In these conditions, it is necessary to examine issues of adaptation and integration of migrants. We review scientific literature on the adaptation practises of labour migrants. We applied the method of comparative analysis due to the importance the accumulated experience of European countries, which chose a policy of active integration. We analysed scientific publications, which are indexed in Scopus, Web of Science, E-library databases, and focused on the factors and models of adaptation of labour migrants from Central Asia in Russia and the countries of the European Union (EU). The study revealed the growing interest in the research topic, increased publication activity and joint research by representatives of different countries. In most cases, researchers note the role of social capital in the adaptation of migrants, the length of the acculturation process of migrants and the importance of participation of the host community in the process. We proposed to consider the experience of bilateral adaptation in the EU countries. As the flow of migrants to the EU countries from Central Asia increases, the interest in this topic on the part of Western researchers will grow. The research results can be used to improve efficiency in the research of migration processes.*

**Keywords:** migration processes, labour migration, adaptation and integration of migrants, models of adaptation of migrants, migrants from Central Asia, migration in Russia, migration in the European Union

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## ОБЗОРНАЯ СТАТЬЯ

**Е. Б. Бедрина <sup>а)</sup>, Е. В. Лазарева <sup>б)</sup>**<sup>а)</sup> Институт экономики УрО РАН, Екатеринбург, Российская Федерация<sup>а, б)</sup> Уральский федеральный университет им. первого Президента России Б. Н. Ельцина, Екатеринбург, Российская Федерация<sup>а)</sup> <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7420-7499>, bedrina1967@mail.ru<sup>б)</sup> <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1370-8724>**Адаптация и интеграция трудовых мигрантов из Центральной Азии в России и странах Европейского союза: компаративный анализ**

В настоящее время в России происходит трансформация миграционных потоков, временный характер миграции меняется на постоянный. Основная доля мигрантов прибывает из стран Центральной Азии, где демографическая и экономическая ситуация приводит к долгосрочному росту потоков трудовых мигрантов. В этих условиях актуализируются вопросы их адаптации и интеграции. Исследование представляет собой обзор научной литературы, изучающей адаптационные практики трудовых мигрантов. Сравнительный анализ обусловлен важностью использования накопленного опыта европейских стран, которые проводят политику активной интеграции мигрантов. Поиск публикаций, отражающих вопросы изучения факторов и моделей адаптации трудовых мигрантов из Центральной Азии в России и странах Европейского союза, осуществлялся на площадках Scopus, Web of Science, e-Library. Выявлены возросший интерес к теме исследования, рост публикационной активности и увеличение количества совместных исследований данной проблематики представителями разных стран. В большинстве случаев исследователи отмечают роль социального капитала в адаптации мигрантов, длительность процесса аккультурации мигрантов и важность участия принимающего сообщества в этом процессе. Рассматривается опыт двусторонней адаптации в странах ЕС. По мере увеличения потока мигрантов в страны ЕС из Центральной Азии интерес западных исследователей к этой теме будет расти. Результаты исследования могут быть использованы для повышения эффективности изучения миграционных процессов.

**Ключевые слова:** миграционные процессы, трудовая миграция, адаптация и интеграция мигрантов, модели адаптации мигрантов, мигранты из Центральной Азии, миграция в России, миграция в Европейский союз

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**Introduction**

In the modern world, the directions, forms, structure and intensity of migration flows have changed; their impact on socio-economic development of host countries has increased. Therefore, examination of the behaviour patterns of labour migrants in the host territory (Russia and the European Union) is essential from a socio-political perspective. This situation led to a growing interest of the scientific community in the topic. Thus, we decided to review scientific publications on the problems of adaptation and integration of labour migrants from Central Asia in Russia and the European Union (EU) to identify existing problems and the most effective practices.

First, we chose these particular regions because they are the world leaders in terms of net migration. Second, the Russian Federation and the EU are in need of labour migrants due to depopulation and ageing of the population. Third, Central Asia is seen as a donor of labour resources for other territories, thanks to the currently observed population boom.

We have grouped and analysed the factors of adaptation of labour migrants in the Russian Federation and countries of the EU, considered

social capital as the basis for choosing an adaptation strategy, conducted a comparative analysis of adaptation and integration models of labour migrants and outlined further prospects for studying the problem.

The research of adaptation and integration of labour migrants is relevant and important, as the obtained results can be used for managerial decision-making aimed at improving migration policy and increasing the efficiency of global labour resources.

Analysis of theoretical approaches shows that American researchers developed the first theory of adaptation of migrants back in the 1970s in the context of increased migration to economically prosperous countries; in the centre of the theory is the idea of assimilation [1]. This idea is at the basis of the melting pot concept aimed at abolishing ethnic characteristics and creating a unified society. This concept was implemented in Western countries and, partially, in the Soviet Union. In the early 1980s, in opposition to the idea of assimilation, several European countries have adopted the policy of multiculturalism aimed at preserving ethnic and cultural diversity. D.V. Lapin stated that the emergence of multiculturalism was sub-

stantiated by “the growth of migration and processes of self-affirmation and self-awareness of various ethnic groups” [2, p. 21].

The next important step in the research of the problem of adaptation is the theory of acculturation developed by John Berry. According to the theory, during the adaptation process, migrants choose one of four strategies:

- assimilation: rejection of the original culture and interaction with a new culture;
- separation: preservation of the original culture and rejection of a new culture;
- integration: preservation of the original culture and interaction with a new culture;
- marginalisation: rejection of both original culture and a new culture [3, p. 9–10].

In our opinion, the research substantiated several facts. First, the choice of a specific integration model is determined by a combination of various groups of factors. Second, some migrants, due to their low adaptive capacity, are unable to quickly integrate into the host community and undergo a certain evolution in the adaptation process. Third, social capital plays an important role in the adaptation process [4].

It is necessary to mention the research of A.N. Tatarko, who correlated the types of social capital with adaptation models, offering the following options: high bridging and bonding social capital — integration; high bridging and low bonding capital — assimilation; low bridging and high bonding social capital — separation; low bridging and bonding capital — marginalisation. According to A.N. Tatarko, bonding social capital has a negative impact on the adaptation of migrants [5, p. 36–38]. On the contrary, B. Heizmann and P. Böhnke state the importance and positive role of the bonding social capital in the adaptation process [6].

Regarding this issue, we adhere to the view of B. Heizman and P. Böhnke since A.N. Tatarko does not consider the aspect of the duration of migration, which is quite important in D. Berry’s theory. In particular, the separation model can be convenient in the initial period of migration, and bonding capital can be profitable. Additionally, digitalisation creates conditions for the preservation of ethnic ties in the virtual space [7]. In our opinion, it harmonizes the relationship between bridging and bonding capital and creates better conditions for choosing an integration model.

A.E. Isakova, similar to J. Berry, considers the adaptation of migrants as a dynamic process, highlighting the following types of adaptation:

- structural: the process from legalisation of the status and getting a residence permit/citizen-

ship to inclusion in institutional and government structures;

- social: involvement in the public sphere and civil society of the host country;

- cultural: a partial transformation of values leading to acculturation and partial or complete assimilation [8].

In the theory of integration stages, different researchers consider naturalisation as the final stage, contributing to the full participation in the civil society, including in political life [9, 10].

Analysing adaptation models, we should take into consideration that the use of the term “acculturation” by the authors indicates that, during the adaptation process, cultural and psychological changes occur both in the migrant group and in the host population, thus, adaptation is bilateral and mutual [11, 12].

### Comparative Analysis and Definition of Central Asian Region

The existing set of economic, sociological, political science and psychological literature allowed us to conduct a comparative analysis on the research topic. We chose this methodology due to several reasons: the volume and intensity of migration processes; the presence of similarities in labour migration processes; the presence of a single donor of labour resources for the Russian Federation and the EU, namely, the countries of Central Asia.

Considering the analysis of the problem of labour migration from Central Asia, it is necessary to mention the specific features of the region, the name of which was introduced into scientific circulation by a German researcher Alexander von Humboldt in the middle of the 19th century. Central Asia is the geographical territory approximately between the 49th and 39th parallels of north latitude from the Himalayas to the Caspian [13]. Currently, in the scientific literature, the territory and borders of the Central Asian region are not strictly defined, since the authors apply various criteria. Leading contemporary researchers A.D. Voskresenskiy, D.V. Streltsov, S.G. Luzyanin and others in their works also have different approaches to the designation of the territory [14, 15]. Based on the existing theoretical developments, we attribute Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan to the Central Asian countries. The allocation of Central Asia within these boundaries is consistent with geographic and ethnic criteria. The approach proposed by Alexander von Humboldt is currently used by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Socio-economic and political situation in these countries directly affects the migration from these countries [16]. The peculiarity of political systems of Central Asian countries is largely due to ethnic, historical and cultural specificity. The decline of industrial potential in all six countries at the end of the 20th century increased imbalances in the economy and negatively affected the trade balance and investment climate, causing massive unemployment and poverty. These changes provoked an increase in internal and external migration, including illegal. The situation in the region is aggravated by attempts of both internal and external forces to use regional problems for their own benefits [17, p. 222].

For the initial search, we used Scopus, Web of Science, and E-library electronic databases. In our review, we examined 69 publications, including 40 published in Russian and 29 in English.

### **Research Results: Factors and Models of Migrants' Adaptation**

Considering factors of adaptation of migrants in the territories of the Russian Federation and the EU, we note that the scientific literature examines a set of factors affecting the choice of the adaptation model. To determine their specificity, we conditionally divided these factors into three groups. The first group includes factors that reflect the adaptation attitudes of migrants. From our point of view, the main factors here are the goals of migration and expected duration of stay in the host territory. The analysis of the features of migration flows shows that migration is represented mainly by economic migrants (including seasonal) in the Russian Federation and by economic migrants and refugees (including asylum seekers) in the EU.

The purpose of entry has a direct impact on the duration of migration, and hence on the choice of adaptation models. Labour migrants from Central Asia who come to Russia for short periods of time often change their preferences afterwards [4, p. 11]. Seasonal workers make up a significant part of the migrant flow to the Russian Federation. According to a survey conducted by I.B. Britvina and P.A. Shumilova in the city of Ekaterinburg, 47.2 % of migrants want to permanently move to Russia, and 26.8 % want to stay in Ekaterinburg [18, p. 322]. In the EU countries, migrants from developing countries are more focused on long-term stay, often with their families [19, p. 67]. While some migrants choose permanent residence and consider naturalisation, there is also a category of temporary migrants. The research of the routine practices of migrants-repatriates from countries of the former Soviet Union (USSR) (including

Central Asia) in Athens shows that those who arrived in the 1990s focus on long stay and actively try to adapt and assimilate [20]. The same is typical for migrants-repatriates who arrived from Central Asian countries in Germany. While this flow of migrants is less studied, we can confidently say that it is economic in nature.

The second group includes factors describing the adaptive capacity of migrants: gender and age characteristics, knowledge of the language of the host country, the level of education and professional training, as well as a status and cultural and religious similarity with the host population. According to the research, the composition of migrants from Central Asia to Russia and the European Union is very similar. As a rule, these are men of working age, mostly professing Islam and adhering to traditional values. Among the new trends, researchers note a slight feminisation of flows from Central Asia. In Russia, it is due to the development of the service sector [21].

Despite the assertion of some authors that economic migrants can do without support from the host community, including a linguistic one [22, 23], most scientists consider knowledge of the language of the host country to be the most important condition for adaptation [24, 25, 26]. Simultaneously, among researchers, there is no common understanding of the level of language of migrants. A.A. Rudenko notes the poor knowledge of the Russian language among migrants from Central Asia to the Russian Federation [27]. In contrast, S. Gurieva, K. Kõiv and O. Tatarukhina state that the knowledge of the Russian language among migrants from Central Asia is quite good [4]. In our opinion, these discrepancies are caused by a limited sample and the fact that the authors did not estimate the duration of stay of migrants in the host territory. The interest of migrants in learning the local language can also be influenced by the sphere of employment. The publications also note the fact that in the UK, some highly qualified specialists in the field of finance, IT work without knowing the language of the host country [28].

The educational level of migrants from Central Asia is considered rather low in most works. This conclusion is also confirmed by our sociological research conducted in testing centres in the city of Ekaterinburg in 2015, which showed that most migrants had secondary education, 35 % had secondary vocational and only 20 % had higher education qualifications [29, p. 19]. Although, according to S. Olimova and I. Bosc, the educational level of migrants is slightly higher than the overall level of education in the country of origin [30, p. 24].



Additionally, there is a decrease in the educational level of migrants from Central Asia [31, p. 38]. The low level of education of migrants is explained by the processes of industrialisation, i. e., the exodus of residents from rural areas [32]. The flow of migrants from Central Asia includes unskilled or low-skilled labour. In the European Union, migrants are mainly employed in the service sector; in Russia they are engaged in construction, retail trade, housing and communal services and transport.

According to some experts, young migrants have a higher adaptive capacity. However, it is not the case in Russia. Young people significantly lag behind the middle and older generations who grew up in the Soviet Union [32, p. 91]. It is confirmed by the research of the Institute of Sociology of the FSRSC RAS in Moscow, Moscow, Astrakhan and Kaliningrad oblasts, the Republic of Karelia and Stavropol Krai, the Republic of Bashkortostan and Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug (2014–2018) [33, p. 150]. It seems logical to conclude that the process of replacing generations of migrants in Russia leads to a decrease in their adaptive capacity. To a certain extent, the same is happening in the EU, although the situation there is explained by the change from the repatriation wave to the economic migration. Low indicators of human capital of the main flow of migrants from Central Asia to the Russian Federation and the EU countries determine the presence of a significant socio-cultural distance between migrants and the host community, which slows down the integration process.

The third group of factors includes the conditions of the host territory: migration policy, legal status and attitude of the local population. A significant distinctive feature of the European Union is the necessity of visa entry for migrants from Central Asia, while in Russia all these countries, except Afghanistan, have visa-free entry. Moreover, due to the creation of a common market within the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), citizens of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan enjoy the same rights in the Russian labour market as Russians, which gives them a competitive advantage over other migrants in employment and simplifies the adaptation process.

Russian migration policy is aimed at the integration of migrants. In 2015, the introduction of new legislation in the field of migration facilitated the access of visa-free migrants to the Russian labour market, completely replacing the barrier in the form of quotas on patents, and simultaneously increasing the costs of migration [34, p. 223]. The integration policy introduced a requirement ac-

cording to which labour migrants must pass examinations for knowledge of the Russian language, history and fundamentals of Russian legislation to obtain a patent. In 2015, the Federal Agency for Ethnic Affairs was established. However, the main burden of adaptation and integration of migrants falls on non-profit organisations, educational and cultural institutions.

In 2004, the European Union adopted general principles of integration policy. In contrast to Russian regions, there is no single integration policy in the European Union and each EU country conducts its own course on the integration of migrants, in which non-profit organisations also play an important role. In 2013, Germany, for which professional migration is of great importance, simplified the procedure for recognising secondary specialised education and college diplomas [35, p. 100]. In the context of the migration crisis, there was a crisis of solidarity. In the autumn 2015, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia refused to resettle migrants from Muslim countries and closed their borders. Later, some other countries of the European Union refused to participate in the resettlement of migrants. Researchers note that the European migration crisis in 2015 led to a revision of migration policy in the EU in order to improve the collection and exchange of information about migrants, strengthen the fight against illegal migration, human trafficking and ensure national security [36], the consequence of which was the strengthening of border controls in 2017 [37].

Nowadays, in the European Union, the policy of multiculturalism is being replaced by civil integration, which focuses on providing migrants with socio-economic rights [38, p. 56] in the framework of a two-way adaptation model. Simultaneously, significant attention is paid to the education of migrants and acquisition of professional skills with the aim of further employment. For example, in 2016, Germany adopted the Law on the Integration of Migrants, which obliged asylum seekers to take integration courses and provided opportunities for obtaining vocational education [39]. Similar courses exist in Italy and Spain [36].

To encourage the choice of an integration strategy, the European Union has introduced tax incentives for adapting migrants<sup>1</sup>. In connection with the outbreak of COVID-19, the Italian government announced the regularisation of the status of migrant workers in agriculture, fisheries and households in order to create conditions for the

<sup>1</sup> OECD. (2017). International migration outlook 2017. Paris: OECD Publishing.

legalisation and improvement of the situation of migrant workers in the labour market by granting a 6-month residence permit<sup>1</sup>.

Despite the measures taken, the authors point out that the share of illegal migrants is significant both in Russia and in the EU countries. The research by S. Gurieva, K. Kõiv and O. Tararukhina confirms the importance of the legal status of a migrant for choosing an adaptation strategy. Thus, the Kyrgyz, who have a more preferential regime in Russia, more often than other immigrants from Central Asia work legally in skilled jobs with representatives of the local population [4].

Contemporary authors claim that the choice of an adaptation model depends on the level of social risk associated with the perception of migrants by the local population [40, p. 126]. A high social risk group includes low-skilled labour migrants, who are usually in a grey legal field and have temporary employment [41]. Research by C. Giuliani, M.G. Olivari and S. Alfieri, conducted among migrants from Muslim countries, shows that the negative attitude of the local population and discriminatory practices lead to the consolidation of newcomers [42]. V.I. Mukomel draws attention to the negative attitude towards migrants on the part of Russians, highlighting the spread of discriminatory practices [43, 44]. Other authors also note the negative perception of ethnic migrants by Russians [45, 46]. Moreover, this view coincides with the polls regularly conducted by the Russian agencies Russian Public Opinion Research Center and Levada Center. For example, if until 2008, 52 % of the population favoured limiting the inflow of labour migrants to the Russian Federation, in 2019 it was already 72 %. Research by I.B. Britvina and P.A. Shumilova shows that the residents of Ekaterinburg perceive the social distance between themselves and migrants from the Central Asian countries as quite long [18].

From our point of view, the research of I.M. Kuznetsova and E.V. Frolova held in Tatarstan, whose population professes Islam (similar to migrants from Central Asia) is quite valuable. However, the hypothesis of cultural proximity was not confirmed [47, p. 77], as non-religious factors outweighed the religious ones. Simultaneously, research by the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences conducted in Russian regions in 2014–2015 showed that residents of Astrakhan

and Kaliningrad oblasts are much more tolerant of migrants compared to residents of Moscow and Moscow oblast [48]. According to V.S. Vorontsov, A.V. Martynenko and O.V. Orlova, in 2018, in such regions of Russia as Mari El, Mordovia, Komi, Udmurtia, a positive perception of migrants prevailed [49]. The difference in the perception of migrants could be influenced by the fact that migrants are mainly concentrated in the regions with large cities with a population of one million or more, as well as by the sample structure. Migrants themselves are more optimistic about the attitude of the local population compared to the reality [50].

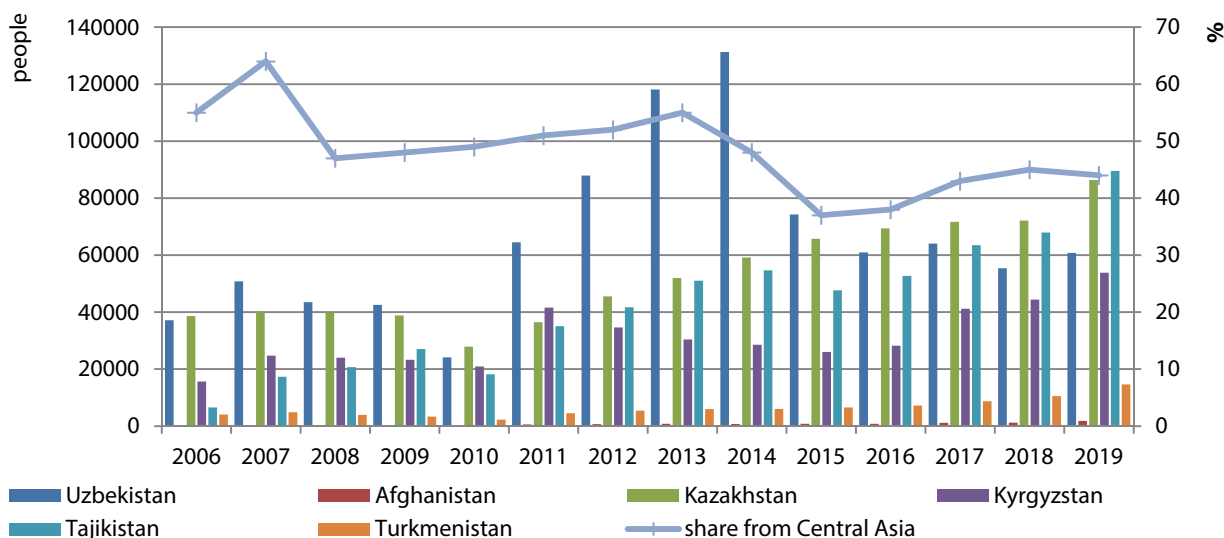
Additionally, the publications note that in the EU countries a wary attitude towards migrants, especially those professing Islam, appeared after September 11, 2001 [51]. A European sociological survey of 2006–2010 covered 8 EU countries, where the largest number of foreign immigrants live: Sweden, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, France, Great Britain and Spain. The survey revealed a wary attitude towards migrants on the part of local residents [52]. A large influx of refugees in 2015, followed by outbreaks of COVID-19 in their camps, contributed to a rethinking of migration. Nowadays, authors more often note a negative attitude of the local population towards migrants against the background of rising xenophobia and Islamophobia [53].

The considerable interest of the scientific community in the adaptation and integration of labour migrants from Central Asian countries in the Russian Federation is associated with the high proportion of migrants from this region, which amounted to 48 % on average over the period of labour migration from 2006 to 2019. For a long time, Uzbekistan was the leader in terms of migration to Russia, but it gave way to Kazakhstan in 2016–2018, and to Tajikistan in 2019. The flow of migrants from Afghanistan is negligible. Generally, there is an upward trend in migrant flows from Central Asia to the Russian Federation (Figure 1).

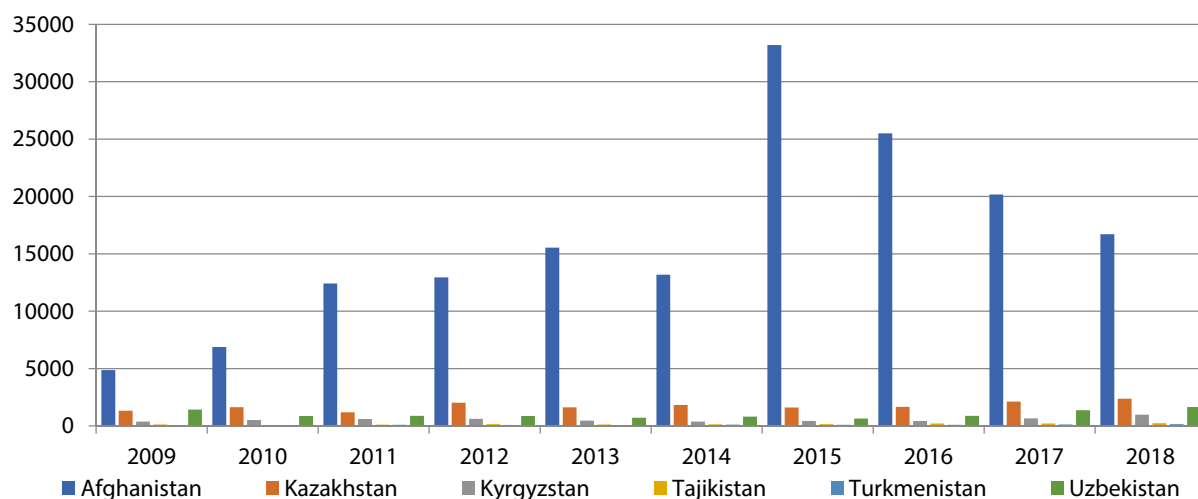
Currently, the main flows of migrants to the EU come from the North African and Middle Eastern countries. This direction is not preferable for Central Asian migrants; their share in the total flow of migrants is insignificant. Most immigrants enter the EU from Afghanistan, and during the migration crisis of 2015, their number grew by 250 %. However, it is important to note that throughout the entire period from 2009 to 2018 the number of migrants from Central Asia grew (Figure 2).

Considering the specificity of the choice of the adaptation model for migrants from Central Asia, experts draw attention to the impact of mental-

<sup>1</sup> European Commission. Informationen und Good Practices zur Integration von Migranten. Italian government adopts targeted regularization for migrant workers 18/05/2020. Retrieved from: <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/italian-government-adopts-targeted-regularisation-for-migrant-workers> (Date of access: 25.07.2020).



**Fig. 1.** Migration from Central Asia to Russia. Source: Rosstat. Retrieved from: <https://gks.ru/storage/mediabank/migr2.xls> (Date of access: 21.07.2020)



**Fig. 2.** Migration from Central Asia to the European Union. Source: Eurostat. Retrieved from: [https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr\\_imm1ctz&lang=en](https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_imm1ctz&lang=en) (Date of access: 21.07.2020)

ity, characterising the traditional society, where family ties and community play an important role. It has been noticed that the practise of supporting people leaving abroad is deeply rooted [30, p. 56]. In this regard, ethnic social networks (or bonding capital) are of particular importance for migrants from Central Asia. The research conducted by S.A. Saryglar and S.G. Maksimova in Amur, Astrakhan, Volgograd oblasts, Altai and Khabarovsk krajs and the Republic of Tuva, revealed that, among migrants, a high level of satisfaction with family relations is associated with more successful integration into Russian society [54]. In our research, conducted in Ekaterinburg, more than half of the migrants indicate that friends and relatives help them in finding housing; 51 % of the respondents noted that their social circle mainly includes relatives [29, p. 23–24].

A separate problem, according to experts, is the issue of socialisation of women from Central Asian countries since they are usually accompanying persons. E. Hoffman concludes that women coming to Russia experience more difficulties and need more social support than their male colleagues [21]. The works based on the results of surveys in Nizhny Novgorod and Kazan in 2014–2016 established that women from the Central Asian countries require financial and emotional support of compatriots [55].

Another fundamental aspect is that labour migrants have their own system of adaptation and social protection, in which diasporas play an important role. They are the ones who complement and sometimes replace local authorities providing support and socialisation of migrants. In Russia, diaspora leaders are usually cooperating with

government officials. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the role of these support institutions has increased, mitigating the impact of foreigners' unemployment due to border closures and halting the rising crime rate. Thus, this situation substantiates the importance of bonding capital for migrants from Central Asia. Social capital, on the one hand, should eliminate or minimise the choice of models of marginalisation and assimilation, on the other hand, should promote the integration of migrants creating favourable conditions by the host community; otherwise, it can lead to segregation and creation of enclaves.

Currently, researchers have contradictory opinions when assessing the choice of adaptation models by migrants from Central Asia in Russia. Some note their unwillingness to interact with the local population [43; 56]. In contrast, others believe that migrants strive for integration which is hampered by insufficient knowledge of the language, cultural and confessional differences; although, adaptation is easier in rural areas than in cities [30, p. 42]. According to research conducted by V.N. Galyapina and D. Khojiev in 2015 in Moscow, most migrants from Central Asia chose the integration strategy; the assimilation model was the least popular. Simultaneously, migrants may choose the separation model due to religious reasons [57]. Research of gender characteristics shows that women from Central Asia have a lower degree of socialisation compared to men [58]. Additionally, the level of integration is influenced by age characteristics. D.A. Poletaev concludes that among the immigrants from Kyrgyzstan, the most integrated into Russian society are older migrant workers with significant experience of staying and working in Russia that arrived from large cities [50].

Models of segregation of migrants are also present in Russian practise. First, they are associated with the enclave employment of migrants since they usually occupy certain niches in the labour market. An example of enclave employment is Tajik construction brigades. The authors draw attention to the fact that in many large Russian cities, there are places of compact settlement of migrants [59, 60]. They differ from traditional enclaves by the mixed character of the settlement, where Uzbeks, Tajiks and even Chinese can live in the same micro-district along with Kyrgyz. This type of settlement of migrants is called vernacular areas [61, p. 196]. We attempted to study these areas in Ekaterinburg in 2018–2019 [62].

Recently, there appeared works revealing ethnic differences in the choice of certain models. In particular, according to the data of S. Gurieva,

K. Kõiv and O. Tatarukhina, Uzbeks and Tajiks more often choose the model of marginalisation compared to Kyrgyz. Uzbek women are more prone to marginalisation than women from other Central Asian countries. Simultaneously, Kyrgyz use this integration strategy much more often [4, p. 7].

In our opinion, the choice of the non-integration model by migrants depends not only on their mental attitudes but also on the barriers imposed by the host territory. According to the data of Nizhny Novgorod oblast, the main obstacles to social adaptation of migrants in the Russian Federation are material difficulties [63, p. 7]. Russian researchers express concern that barriers standing in the way of adaptation of migrants in Russia may lead to the marginalisation of migrants' position [63, p. 8]. However, a certain percentage of migrants from Central Asia seeks to obtain Russian citizenship. The argument in favour of choosing a naturalisation strategy is the widespread occurrence of interethnic marriages.

Analysis of the specificity of adaptation of migrants from Central Asian countries to the EU should consider the fact that the assessment of integration models is limited due to the insignificant share of migrants. Nevertheless, we can discuss certain traditions and trends. First, researchers noted the establishment of a new community of citizens (primarily from the Asian regions of the world) with a low degree of integration. Second, there is a fairly large distance between the liberal values adopted in the European Union and the religion of Islam, which is professed by immigrants from Central Asia, including their views on family values, gender roles, clothing, etc. [64, 65]. While migrants from the first wave preferred to settle diffusely, migrants from the second wave, who came from North Africa, Latin America and Asia, created enclave settlements [66, 67, 68]. Fighting against enclaves, the EU countries implemented the practise of forced resettlement in 2015. However, not all researchers agree with this decision, believing that forced resettlement slows down the integration processes [26, p. 184].

Based on the examined sources, it is difficult to conclude whether naturalisation strategies are popular among economic migrants from Central Asia. N. Demireva believes that the naturalisation strategy is not very popular among migrants in European countries [10]. M.P. Vink., T. Prokic-Breuer and D. Dronkers note that highly skilled migrants rarely choose naturalisation as an adaptation strategy [69]. However, this idea most likely does not apply to migrants from Central Asia, since highly skilled migrants from this region are usually an exception to the rule.



## Conclusion

Our research shows that the scientific community has a great interest in the adaptation and integration of migrants. Moreover, scientists from various fields have studied this topic for a long time. In this connection, there is a substantial amount of theoretical and empirical research. The topic of adaptation of labour migrants from Central Asia has been studied largely by Russian authors due to the high proportion of migrants from the Central Asian region in the Russian Federation. It seems that in the future, as flows from Central Asia to the EU countries increase, the topic will become popular among Western researchers, consequently leading to an increase in empirical data on the choice of adaptation models in various conditions.

In recent years, there have been studies of adaptation practices of migrants in the Russian Federation, conducted jointly by the Russian and international scientists, including representatives of Central Asian countries.

The research of the factors of adaptation shows that various conditions influence the choice of adaptation models by migrants from Central Asia to the Russian Federation and the EU. However, the common aspect is the important role of the bonding capital among representatives of various ethnic groups of Central Asia and the presence of a significant cultural and psychological distance among migrants and residents of the Russian Federation and the EU. The analysis shows that, despite serious attempts to understand the problem, the scientific literature is yet to develop a common opinion on the perception of migrants by the local population, either in the Russian

Federation or in the EU countries. Moreover, there is no unity in the presentation of models of adaptation of migrants. Nevertheless, the process of acculturation of migrants is quite long and requires the active participation of the host population. Additionally, scientific literature often states that the quality of human capital of migrants is decreasing in both the Russian Federation and the EU.

It has been revealed that the digitalisation of economies, a pandemic and economic instability radically change both the conditions of migration and the attitude of the host community towards it. Non-resettlement countries have been revising the paradigm of migration processes, namely, the views on migration as a purely economic phenomenon. In particular, there is an understanding of the need to include labour migrants in the established society through the choice of a model for their active socio-economic adaptation and integration. Such an approach will reduce social tension, prevent interethnic conflicts, counteract discriminatory practices and increase the efficiency of using labour resources from foreign countries.

It is important to emphasise that the EU policy in relation to migrants is more active, more focused on bilateral integration than the policy of the Russian Federation due to a longer period of development of institutions for supporting migrants, the migration crisis in 2015, as well as the level of economic development of countries. It is obvious that the model of active integration proposed by the EU countries could be quite useful in Russian conditions.

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