

SOCIOLOGY

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TRANSIT MIGRATION AT THE BORDEN REGIONS OF RUSSIA: DIASPORA AND SOCIAL STABILITY

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is the analysis of the subjective judgments of Russian border regions population in the context of attitudes towards migrants of ethnic diasporas. It is concluded that the forming of latent conflict potential related to inter-ethnic tension is caused by rather situational, everyday and instrumental nature and not connected to ideology.

Inadequate positive potential of attitude to migrants is the indicator of regional social tension in general and the low adaptability of the titular nation population. It reduces the social mobility and points to the underestimation of positive aspects of migration processes in Russia.

The attitudes towards diasporas determine a number of factors; the features of migrants' ethnic self-consciousness, the economic and social situation of the migrant-receiving region are dominant among the factors. Population daily social practices of the inter-ethnic relations are the indicator of the efficiency of ethnocultural policy in Russian border regions.

Keywords: transit, migration security, migration policy.

Introduction

Nowadays Russia where is the demographic crisis considers migration as one of the possible options of regulation of regions' population. Problems of transit migration became more complicated in Russia due to the movement of migrants of the countries of Asia and Africa to countries of Western Europe. Besides migration streams from neighboring countries, especially from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and other countries to Russia considerably grows.

The major factors causing migration processes in Russia are its geographical location, including, extended overland borders with Europe; transparency of its borders; absence or low development of institutional social tools for migration processes control; existence of the extensive ethnic communities, diasporas.

In Russia one of the problems of transit migration is the growth of shadow economy, the enterprises where migrants find a job for a long time. According to some statistical data in Russia, the shadow economy is about 25% of GNP, the illegal labor employment is about 15 – 30% of all working age population of the country [1].

On the other hand, Russia becomes a barrier for transit migrants to their infiltration into the West countries that is due to the asymmetry of real borders and complexity of infiltration into the EU countries. Thus, Russia potentially and really becomes the place of long term residence of numerous migrants, who are forming new social groups. These cohorts risk joining different criminal groups, not always unambiguously seek to be integrated into the new sociocultural conditions, and thus, form the centers of potential social tension.

The phenomenon of transit migration can provoke social tension in the context of national security of the country and demands continuous monitoring of the phenomenon in the context of its possible optimization and minimization of risks of national threats.

Review (Contribution to the field)

Contemporary international researches in the field of migration and national diasporas are of multidisciplinary character as they are directed to the research of economic, demographic, political, social, etc. urgent aspects.

Growing interests and debate in the field are connected with the fact that according to official data of the International Organization For Migration, now, the number of the international migrants is about three percent of world's population. It is predicted that by 2050 the number of migrants will reach about 400 million people.

The positive social sense of migration is the concentration of labor in places of the highest development of resources and productive forces. Migration processes accompany satisfaction of demands for work, residence, obtaining the new statuses, other significant components of activity of the population.

Modern economic researches of migration mark out that migration is stimulated due to the existence of the differentiated salary for the same work in the different countries of the world. At the same time, forced migration is quite often used as a tool of social control in the countries with authoritarian regime. Whereas voluntary migration is directed to social adaptation and promotes urbanization growth.

The review of literature allows to pick out the next features of the modern international migration:

-growth of the illegal migration caused by the employment problems, the situation becomes worse due to the financial crises;

-augmentation of the forced migration from the countries of Africa in connection with military conflicts, international problems;

-actualization of migration processes due to the solution of demographic problems in Russia and the developed countries of Europe;

-globalization of processes with differentiation and a certain localization of territories of emigration and immigration;

-contradictory and multidirectional state migration policy of different countries: on the one hand, strict regulations of the process, on the other hand, tendency to integrate migrants.

The accompanying phenomenon of migration is ethnogenesis process. Culture strengthens the creative aspect of migration, promoting integration of migrants and mutual enrichment of cultures. Postmodern researches of the present emphasize the scientific discourse that these processes are significant mechanisms of social entropy overcoming. Intensive cultural development correlates with the growth of migrants' assimilation [2]

Migration processes are often accompanied by xenophobic moods, especially in those regions of the world where cultural development is of conservative character. Migration processes intensify, they are followed by ethnogenesis processes and, thus, the basis for xenophobia is formed. In this case xenophobia is not always conscious complexes, archaic models and regulators of society development. Where social reflection is absent or poorly developed, the ideologization of similar instinctive manifestations increases [3]. Cultural process is capable to strengthen the understanding of similar archaic complexes and to transfer them to a latent form, to give the civilized answer to the problem.

Migration processes in the context of social security are considered not only as the condition of development of international relationship, but often as the indicator of social and economic tension of the region. The particularities of perception of "other person" can reflect social hierarchy, mobility, revealing the conflictogenic conditions and factors in the social relations.

Regional particularities of migration processes and the attitudes towards them characterize the society in general, its basic values, behavioural stereotypes towards any "other person". On the other hand, the subjective level of negative attitudes to the other ethnicity migrants do not always reflect the real situation.

In the Russian sociology conditions and factors, social, economic and demographic consequences of migration processes have been studied. There is a conclusion that migration streams, their number and structure are capable to qualitatively change all basic areas of social and economic life of the country[3].

Modern Russian researchers consider that there was a significant transformation of the status of migration institute towards conditions' optimization for legal migration, and also minimization of threats to the economy and other spheres of Russian society in the last decade [3].

In modern reseaches the discourse of study of immigration security that is a basic component of national security has intensified. Immigration security represents the balance between control systems of the vital components of the population and the state, there is the minimum level of the threats connected with the growth of migrants number that would not exceed the permissible level of social tension and would not change much the society homeostasis. Therefore, it is important to reveal scientifically based balance between potential threats to economic security of the country, for example, threats of growth of shadow economy, criminalization, finance outflow from the country, and the positive potential of immigration stimulating positive consequences for economy of the host country. For example, solution of the problem of deficiency of qualified personnel, growth of macroeconomic indicators, for example GDP and etc.

Nevertheless similar approach does not allow to consider almost unpredictable subjective consequences which can provoke social insecurity, the national conflicts and other negative consequences in particular accompanying transit migration.

The important aspect of migration processes is the scientific perspective of diasporas, defining specifics of ethnonational and confessional structure of the population of the majority of the countries of the world. Modern interpretations of diasporas include various aspects of this phenomenon, including social, cultural, political, national, demographic, economic and others.

According to K. Totolyan the semantic range of the concept "diaspora" includes the group of the accompanying concepts such as immigrant, refugee, expatriate, the deported community and even ethnic society [4]. W. Connor defines diaspora as "the population segment living outside the homeland"[5].

Essential features of diaspora are: dispersion from one territory to the provincial centers, foreign regions; forcedness of escape of the country of initial accommodation; concentration on the collective memory about the homeland; strengthening of feeling of collective identity at the foreign country; existence of the myth about return; existence of the help and responsibility for destiny of the left homeland and etc. Also essential feature of diaspora is its institutionalization, existence of the social institutes promoting functioning and strengthening of ethnic identity of members of diaspora.

The departure country, the historical homeland is the objective category for diaspora which is carrying out the integration role, concentrating ethnic consciousness of representatives of diaspora.

Other important feature of diaspora is the formation of the strategic relations with the state of accommodation and the historical homeland by means of formation of the special social institutes forming image of diaspora.

Modern sociologists [6, 7] accent the duality of diaspora position, including specifics of their relation to the receiving country and also the historical homeland. Similar duality defines internal activity of diaspora, influences its essential functions.

There are three aspects of the problem:

First, the need of purposeful activities of the western community for development of diasporas is accented;

Secondly, diasporas are considered as the ethnic communities strengthening national identity of migrants;

Thirdly, migration is considered as double trajectory[7].

Dynamics of the scientific discourse of social integration of diasporas started developing from the pessimistic views on the problem of migration in the 1950s to the optimistical views which began to prevail since the 2000s [8].

Nowadays the obvious and recognized advantage of migration and diasporas' existence is the idea that financial investments and other resources of migrants carry out the significant contribution to the potential and real development of the origin country, thus, stimulating its social development [8]. Therefore the view of diasporas as the new agents of social development was created. Now the positive accent of the developing potential of migration processes intensifies.

For example, according to the report of the World Bank in 2003, money transfers of migrants to their origin countries exceeded all other types of the official aid to these countries (Raghuram, 2009). Now authorities of the countries of migration outflows and also non-governmental organizations of different levels try to regulate the planned streams of the financial, human and social capitals [9, 10].

Some European countries formulated the program documents underlining the importance of inclusion of migrants in the international cooperation for development. In the western researches as well as in the Russian ones there are similar essential aspects of diaspora studies, namely: diasporas are defined as the international communities having the developed national myths that are strengthening consciousness of the ethnic group. Besides diasporas include social networks forming for a long time and based on the specific public relation and similar expectations concerning the homecoming [11].

From the point of view of some western researchers diasporas include the international ethnic communities created by labor migrants and supporting strong communications with their native land (Brubaker, 2005).

However the critical scientific discourse claims that the descriptive and analytical aspects of the category of diaspora is not so much important as its

social sense and context [12]. Other critical remark is that those migrants who are considered as a part of diaspora can carry out the interaction with the diaspora as well as be out of it [13].

At the same time the essence of diaspora in the context of social mobilization is still studied not enough. Now in scientific literature some papers devoted to these problems [13]. However attempts of the western social thought to study the mobilization of diasporas are still not sufficient.

The research of local and supranational essential features of diasporas' functioning carried out in France, Finland, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and the United Kingdom is very interesting [6]. The important aspect of the research revealed specifics of the policy of the non-governmental and intergovernmental international organizations towards diasporas.

Despite the differentiated distinctions of the attitudes towards diasporas in different countries, the general tendencies of integration processes were revealed. For example, it concerns specific perception of diaspora, its national component. There are many informal binding obligations between migrants and the place of their initial habitation, the homeland of their forefathers. Migrants establish the direct and exclusive relations between the place of origin and the place of destination. This phenomenon was called as "double mobility" [6].

The ethnic origin of migrants and their children is closely connected with the place from which they (or their parents) came. At the same time essential approach about rootedness of the relations between social subjects and the territory is implemented. The main point of this concept consists of existence of certain deep hidden reality which sense for us is not obvious and clear [14].

Connections of migrants with their countries of origin, however, can be very different and rather difficult. Stereotypic prejudices about affiliation and identification can create problematic expectations and obligations to diaspora and, thus, can limit diaspora potential.

The migration problems were actively developed in the European Union since the 2000th. The issues were on the agenda in many European countries during many decades. The wide range of documents on migration was prepared, mentions of the role of diasporas were increasing in them. Diasporas are presented as new "factors of development" in some documents of the European Commission [13]. For example, the European Commission in 2005 recognized the significant institutional capacity of diasporas and called for more active and voluntary participation of members of diaspora in development of the countries of their origin.

Thus, in the European studies the recognition of diasporas and their roles in economic and political cooperation between the countries of accommodation and the countries of their origin grows. The official aid to the developing countries, from most of which migrants often arrive, is considered

in a broader sense as social transformations. At the same time some doubts are caused by existence of specific ethnic, cultural or religious background which need to be considered. The specified factors are connected with an emotional component and are difficult for forecasting and management.

Nevertheless it is important to involve people in the altruistic help to others in the country of origin without dependence on the political views. Besides migrants are motivated to obtain new higher statuses which allows them to form the new programs directed to regulation of international networks of migrants [14].

The extensive analysis of scientific literature on the transit migration shows that migrants develop multidirected, not double, trajectories of movement [9].

G. Sinatti & S. Horst bring arguments in favor of reconsideration of processes of social changes which are connected to human mobility through the range of the differentiated social spatial levels in their article. At the same time diasporas play an important role in this mobilization [6].

Materials and methods

There is the fragment of the analysis of the results connected with the problem of migration, the attitude towards diasporas, obtained in the sociological research "Transit migration, transit regions and migration policy of Russia: security and the Euroasian integration". The research was carried out by the sociologists of the Sociology Department of Altai State University.

The research was carried out at the border regions of Russia: the Altai Kray, the Transbaikal Kray, the Kemerovskaya Oblast, the Omskaya Oblast, the Orenburgskaya Oblast, the Amurskaya Oblast, the Jewish Autonomous Region, the Altai Republic. In each of eight regions the sample is about 500 people. Total number of respondents are 3960 members of households.

Results

The attitude toward the representatives of diasporas: between loyalty and rejection.

Specifics of the attitude of the inhabitants of the Russian border regions to the restriction of streams of labor migration have not considerable regional differentiation (χ^2 , $p \leq 0,001$).

The least tolerant attitude towards migrants is expressed in the Omskaya Oblast where every second inhabitant suggests to limit the arrival of migrants. The population of the Altai Republic is most friendly to migrants of other ethnicity. On the other hand, slightly less than a half of inhabitants of border regions consider inefficient to limit the stream of potential labor migrants. At the same time the fifth part of inhabitants of all regions accents no interest to the issue, people are mostly interested in the solution of acute social problems.

The nationality of transit migrants is the important differentiating sign determining the scales of negative perception. For example, the representatives of the Caucasian diaspora are headed the rating of rejection. So the third part of all inhabitants of border regions states the need of restriction of their arrival to the regions.

Residents of the Transbaikal Kray, the Amurskaya Oblast show no rather loyal attitudes towards the Chinese migrants first of all.

At the same time every tenth inhabitant of all examined regions is negative to natives of Central Asia.

The fifth part of the population of the Omskaya Oblast, the Amurskaya Oblast, every tenth resident of the Altai Kray, the Transbaikal Kray and the Kemerovskaya Oblast emphasizes the importance of restriction of arrival of migrants of all other nations except Russians to the regions. The residents of the Altai Republic, the Orenburgskaya Oblast and the Jewish Autonomous Region are most tolerant and friendly to the possibility of arrival of other nations to their regions.

The research of the emotional component of behavioural arrangements reveals the existence of some tension in the international relations. Almost every tenth inhabitant of border regions feels rejection to the representatives of other ethnicity diasporas. There is also not considerable but conflict potential in the confessional relationships.

At the same time the rejection of migrants has no ideological background; it is mostly the tool indicator of internal regional tension, insufficient social adaptation of local population, existence of non adaptive strategies of survival at the territory. The obtained data is agreed with the results of other Russian researches. The rejection of "foreigners" often has purely behavioural roots: facing too active, expressional cultural type the inhabitant feels confusion, does not know how to react, is irritated and develops pre-emptive (sometimes counter) aggression. In general migration is perceived mostly as the phenomenon rather harmful and dangerous than promising any benefits to Russia by Russian society: the ratio of positive and negative reviews makes 15:85 [3].

Discussion

According to the obtained model, the tolerant attitude towards migrants, representatives of diasporas in the regions of Russian society, may be due to the peculiarities of ethnic consciousness, namely, a high degree of identification with their ethnic group, the presence of a positive emotional component, awareness of their belonging to their people, causing an intense sense of pride.

Table 1-Regression model

Variable	Regression analysis		
	R	B	p
Characteristics of ethnic self-consciousness			
High level of ethnic identity	0,054	0,130	0,088
Positive emotions (pride for ones' ethnicity)	0,054	0,152	0,045
Keeping the moral religious rules in the everyday life	0,054	0,243	0,000
Social economic factors			
The feelings of economic and moral confidence and stability	0,054	0,227	0,025
Population everyday social practices in the inter-ethnic relations			
Helping each other regardless of ethnical identity	0,054	0,658	0,001
The high level of integration between representatives of different ethnicities	0,182	0,136	0,0001
The high level of respect to traditions, customs and language of other ethnicities	0,182	0,073	0,079
The fair distribution of positions, various benefits among different ethnicities	0,182	0,054	0,078
Condemnation of nationalism manifestation	0,182	0,036	0,195
The efficiency of ethnic cultural policy			
The efficiency of executive power at realization of control of law compliance in the sphere of the state national policy	0,182	0,110	0,003
The efficiency of executive power at the development of culture and customs of representatives of different ethnicities	0,182	0,079	0,108
The effective control system of the state national policy in the region	0,182	0,071	0,128
Authorities uncompromisingly and in practice advocate the interests of all inhabitants, irrespective of ethnicity and religion	0,182	0,066	0,040

However, the most powerful and statistically expressed, in the context of the formation of national unity, is such a factor as the observance of the moral rules of religion in everyday life, which, regardless of religious affiliation, ethnic expression, contain universal positive values aimed at helping others, tolerant attitude, harmony and friendliness to other non-ethnic citizens.

Socio-economic well-being, namely a sense of confidence, stability in material and moral terms, creates optimal social conditions, is a social background favorable for the implementation of inter-ethnic harmony. The opposite pattern is obvious, consisting in the aggravation of interethnic relations, negative attitude to migrants with the growth of socio-economic instability, the spread of poverty, poverty, increasing material differentiation in the studied regions.

The greatest role in stimulating interethnic harmony belongs to the ordinary social practices of the population, which is realized in the formation of positive attitudes towards the non-ethnic population. The greatest number of integration factors belonging to this class of phenomena is revealed.

The high rating and importance of the factor "people try to help each other" contributes to the formation of a positive interethnic communication

space. Integration of representatives of different nationalities, respect for customs, traditions and language of other nationalities are indicators of positive social attitudes of the population aimed at overcoming interethnic differences.

Assistance to each other in difficult situations, regardless of nationality, equitable distribution of positions, various benefits for all nationalities form favorable social conditions for the development of interethnic unity. Condemnation of manifestations of nationalism, extremism has a regulatory function, tends to strengthen positive interactions between people of different nationalities.

Effective regional and all-Russian ethno-cultural policy is of great importance for the growth of interethnic cooperation.

The most important are the following basic directions of implementation of national policy: control of Executive power over observance of laws in the sphere of state national policy; implementation by Executive authorities of processes development of culture and traditions of representatives of different nationalities; uncompromising, real, upholding of interests of all inhabitants, irrespective of a nationality and religion. The increase in the effectiveness of these areas of political governance, the high assessment of the importance of these activities by the population of the regions will contribute to strengthening inter-ethnic integration. In addition, it will prevent the growth of nationalism, xenophobia, extremism and other negative phenomena in the field of inter-ethnic communications with non-ethnic diasporas. Of course, the maximum role in the formation of national unity, according to the population of all the studied regions, belongs to the presence of an effective system of management of the implementation of state national policy in the regions.

These are the basic conditions for the formation and optimization of interethnic integration as the basic basis for an effective migration policy in the border areas of the Russian Federation.

Conclusion

An effective ethno-national policy should not only take into account and adjust migration flows, but also create social conditions for interethnic harmony, as ineffective management decisions in this context become an additional source of social tension in the regions, undermine the possibility of ethnic and national integration of modern Russian society. The absence of a scientifically sound system for regulating migration flows, specific to each region, can stimulate anti-immigration sentiment and exacerbate inter-ethnic intolerance, provoking the growth of inter-ethnic conflicts. All this requires increasing the efficiency and validity of the implementation of state tasks on migration policy, improving the activities of the Government Commission and Federal migration services.

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