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## Labor migration in modern Russia: features, problems and ways to solve them

### Трудовая миграция в современной России: особенности, проблемы, пути их решения

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#### Abstract

Based on the scientific study of Russian and foreign experience, the article analyzes modern migration problems and the main directions of finding ways to solve them. The authors pay special attention to the regulation of labor migration and the adaptation of foreign-cultural migrants in modern Russia, taking into account the experience of Western European countries and the specifics of Russia. The result of the study is a number of recommendations based on the accumulation of successful models of migration policy.

**Keywords:** adaptation, integration, migration policy in Russia, migration processes, multiculturalism.

#### Аннотация

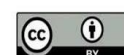
В статье на основе научного изучения отечественного и зарубежного опыта анализируются современные миграционные проблемы и основные направления поиска путей их решения. Главное внимание авторы уделяют вопросам регулирования трудовой миграции и адаптации инокультурных мигрантов в современной России с учётом опыта стран Западной Европы и специфики самой России. Результатом исследования является ряд рекомендаций, базирующихся на аккумулировании успешных моделей миграционной политики.

**Ключевые слова:** адаптация, интеграция, миграционная политика в России, миграционные процессы, мультикультурализм.

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## Introduction

Adaptation and integration of migrants of a different culture into the society of the host country is an important direction of migration policy in any state that attracts foreign labor resources. This problem has acquired special significance in modern Russia, especially in the last decade. This problem is very complex and multifaceted. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the draft law on social and cultural adaptation and integration prepared several years ago by the Federal Agency for Ethnic Affairs (Russia) has not yet been adopted.

The problem of migration affects not only Russia. It is relevant and important for all states that need additional labor resources, including European Union. The problem of migration includes two components: the problem of refugees and the problem of labor migration (legal and illegal one). This article is devoted to the second of them. It will examine the current state of knowledge of the problems of labor migration, the main conceptual apparatus, and will also analyze the most important problems associated with labor migration in modern Russia in comparison with the solution of these problems in other countries. First of all, this is the problem of regulating the entry and exit from the country of labor migrants, including their possible deportation. It is closely related to the problems of regulating the labor relations of migrants with employers and their taxation. The problem of extending the system of medical care and medical support to migrants, as well as the problem of teaching migrant children in schools will also be considered. Finally, more general problems are of interesting: the language problem and the problem of communications with the local population, including the question of the degree and forms of inclusion of migrants in the system of values of the host country. In conclusion, the authors offer their vision of these problems and recommendations on possible directions for their solution.

## Theoretical Basis

The complexity of intercultural communication and various methodological positions of researchers did not allow to fully forming the conceptual apparatus, there are multiple interpretations of these terms. Most Russian experts believe that adaptation primarily concerns labor and return migrants. Integration is seen as a process of integration into all spheres of life in the host country, including the acquisition

of citizenship, and refers mainly to non-return migrants.

An ambiguous approach to this issue is evidenced by studies showing that the intensification of these processes does not always lead to a decrease in the conflict potential of society.

The concept of multiculturalism, which was used in many European countries, did not justify itself. The idea of cultural diversity and equality of all ethnic cultures, mutual respect for identity could not be fully realized (Suzdaleva & Fedorov, 2019). This approach has led to the localization of foreign crops, which threatens the social and national security of the states of the European Union (EU). This problem became especially acute after the virtually uncontrolled influx of migrants under the guise of refugees from Asian and North African states in 2015-2016 during the Libyan and Syrian crises, primarily to Germany, Austria, Denmark and the Benelux countries. There is another danger as well. One of the leading experts in this field I.V. Sledzevsky believes that the main culture, as a result of interaction with the culture of the immigrant minority, loses more than it gains. The exchange of part of the space of one's identity for elements of other cultures violates the internal stability of the main culture, can lead to fragmentation, and, ultimately, to the loss of national identity (Sledzevsky, 2013). This is especially evident in the example of Germany and Denmark, where in many cities entire neighborhoods have already appeared, populated by migrants, who actually ousted the local population from there, leading a specific lifestyle and not wanting to accept the lifestyle, norms of behavior and values of the host country and, moreover, seeking to impose their cultural, religious norms and traditions on the autochthonous population.

At the beginning of the second decade of the XXI century, the concept of "interculturalism" began to spread, aimed at the dialogue of cultures and religions, at constructive practices in order to strengthen the well-being of the country of residence (Kuropyatnik & Kuropyatnik, 2018). But the forms and ways of intercultural interaction in this context are still in the process of searching and testing.

We can single out the following problems that any country that receives labor migrants, including Russia, faces:

- problem of regulating the relationship of migrants with the local population, including the question of the degree of their inclusion in the value system of the host country;
- problem of regulation at the legislative level of entry and exit from the country of labor migrants, including their deportation;
- problem of regulating labor relations between migrants and employers, including extending the social security system to labor migrants;
- problem of adaptation of labor migrants from foreign-speaking and other-confessional states and regions, including the problem of communication with the local population;
- problem of taxation of labor migrants;
- migrants and the health care system;
- migrants and education (teaching children of migrants in schools if they come to Russia on a long-term basis and inviting students from countries that supply migrants).

### Methodology

The article is problem-theoretical in nature. Therefore, the authors used the traditional methods of historical disciplines. First of all, these are the methods of logical analysis and synthesis, the method of structural-functional analysis and the problem-analytical method, which made it possible to reveal the essence of the above problems related to the adaptation and integration of labor migrants and offer recommendations for their solution. Statistical methods and methods of content analysis and factor analysis were also used. In addition, the authors proceeded from the fundamental principles of objectivism and historicism, which made it possible to approach the analysis of the problems posed in an unbiased manner, with the maximum consideration of existing approaches and points of view, respect for the opinion of specialists and, at the same time, taking into account the peculiarities of the specific historical situation in modern Russia.

### Results and Discussion

Migration issues do not lose their relevance, as it is showed by numerous publications of economists, politicians and sociologists in Russia and abroad (Alonzi, 2018; Anthony, 2008; Gilliat-Ray, 2010; Kubbir, 2010; Zemtsov, 2014; Krasinets, 2020; Radchenko & Suzdaleva, 2015; Ryazantsev, 2018; Suzdaleva, 2016; Shustov, 2020). In Western Europe, migration policy is connected with the solution of the refugee crisis and with labor migration (the share of which

varies from 6 to 20% of the employed population in different countries). Russia in 2019 was among the top five countries in terms of the number of international migrants (Shustov, 2020).

The social and psychological situation in European countries, which a few decades ago took the path of multiculturalism in migration policy, shows that this approach did not contribute to the painless entry of migrants into the national environment of their new homeland.

By continuing to adhere to the customs and traditions of their countries, migrants generate a certain amount of xenophobic tension. Despite the rather high level of tolerance in Russia, most often hostility is caused by Muslim migrants who arrived from Central Asian countries (Tajiks and Uzbeks are in the first place in this row, Kyrgyz at the end of the top ten).

The intensity of migration flows depends on a set of factors that force potential migrants to leave the country of residence and attract them to the country of residence. Migration in the Russian Federation either decreased as in 2016 (devaluation of ruble, changes in migration legislation), then increased again as in 2019. In 2020, after the borders were closed due to the pandemic, it decreased again (Krasinets, 2020).

The need to attract migrants is caused by economic and demographic reasons. First of all, this is a shortage of labor resources due to low birth rates, especially in sectors of the economy with low wages and where a high level of qualification is not required (drivers, janitors, workers in the housing and communal sector, builders), as well as the ability of entrepreneurs to save on wages labor. The situation in this sphere between Russia and EU countries is basically similar. At the same time, in Russia, the positive effects of the influx of labor migrants usually include the following:

- compensation for the shortage of labor (in a number of regions, the shortage of workers reaches 30%);
- migration increases the GDP of the Russian Federation and its reduction negatively affects the growth of national income;
- low wages for migrants keep many small and medium-sized Russian companies competitive;
- provides labour-surplus neighboring countries with jobs and minimizes social discontent in these states, thereby maintaining social and political stability.

At the same time, labor migration in Russia, primarily from the states of Central Asia, generates certain costs:

- no taxes are levied to the Russian budget from the funds that migrants transfer to their homeland. At the same time, they are an important part of the income of a number of states. For example, remittances to Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan account for more than a third of the budget of these countries;
- migratory sources of labor force preserve the low level of wages;
- growth of everyday xenophobia in relation to migrants creates a threat to social and national security and increases conflict (Ryabova & Bormotova, 2015; Suzdaleva, 2016).

At the same time, there are serious problems, the main of which are the controllability of the flow of migrants and their adaptation in the host country, taking into account a different linguistic, religious and cultural affiliation. The specificity of the migration situation in Russia lies in the possibility of relatively free entry into the country of citizens of the CIS (primarily from the countries of Central Asia) in accordance with agreements on a visa-free regime between the states that are members of the CIS. Now we are going to show the official statistics.

Of the total number of 13 392 897 foreign citizens (FC) and stateless persons (SP) registered with the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Russia) in January-December 2021, 4 961 301 arrived in Russia from Uzbekistan, 3 076 781 from Tajikistan and 1 063 328 from Kyrgyzstan. Thus, in 2021, about 68% of migrants were residents of Central Asian countries, brought up in an ethnic and cultural environment that is significantly different from Russia.

Among labor migrants, their share is much higher. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Russia), 9 530 934 (FC and SP) came to Russia for the purpose of work during this period, of which 4 519 618 came from Uzbekistan, 2 439 198 from Tajikistan and 884 133 from Kyrgyzstan. Consequently, people from the Central Asian republics make up about 82% of labor migrants.

It can be assumed with a high degree of certainty that the vast majority of these people consider Russia as a source of income and do not intend to join its cultural values and traditions.

In this regard, the most important is the problem of regulating at the legislative level the entry and exit from the country of labor migrants, including their deportation.

In recent years, the rules for entering the country, the principles and procedures for the employment of FC have changed significantly. The practice of regulating the influx and distribution of foreign labor on the basis of quotas and permits in 2015 was supplemented by the introduction of a system of patents from visa-free countries. In 2017, work was intensified to identify guest workers who had patents based on documents that did not correspond to the place of residence. For a year after the revocation of the patent, FC could not reuse this opportunity, but as a result of gaps in the legislation, guest workers could use them in turn. In 2021, a decision was made to introduce electronic patents, primarily in Moscow (Ledeneva & Kononov, 2021).

At the end of 2020, the Main Directorate for Migration Affairs (Russia) (MDMA) announced the rejection of the institution of quotas and the issuance of permits to attract and use foreign workers. According to experts, labor migration should be determined solely by the availability of vacancies that are not in demand by Russian citizens. Migration, according to experts, should be purposeful "under the order" of certain industries and regions. In 2021, the issue of simplified recruitment of foreign workers in a number of sectors was being worked out. It was considered expedient to create electronic registers of foreign workers and interested employers.

Back in 2018, the issue of introducing an additional fee for arriving migrants was considered in case of possible deportation. This practice exists in one form or another in a number of European countries. For example, in Denmark there is a law that allows the confiscation of property from refugees for the cost of their accommodation in the country. In Switzerland, working immigrants are required to compensate for all expenses for their employment (Suzdaleva & Fedorov, 2019; Potemkina, 2020).

For a minor violation, the practice of deportation to their homeland at their expense, under the control of law enforcement agencies, was introduced with the simultaneous inclusion of information about their deportation in MDMA database. Such a measure was supposed to replace the months-long stay in a special detention center at the expense of taxpayers. The

process of stay in Temporary Detention Centers for FC and expulsion is complicated by the shortage of official court interpreters from the languages of the peoples of the CIS and the use of non-specialists who do not know professional terminology, as a result of which the possibilities of familiarizing themselves with court decisions in their native language or filing an appeal are limited.

Since 2018, a mechanism has been tested to identify illegal foreigners, as well as employers evading insurance premiums from their wages. Along with MDMA, Federal Service for Labor and Employment (Rostrud) began to engage in this area (Shustov, 2020; Ledeneva & Kononov, 2021).

In connection with the search for adaptation forms and strengthening control over the movement of migrants, employers were obliged to maintain constant communication with foreign workers, conduct systematic explanatory conversations about their rights and obligations in their country of residence, moreover, support them in case of lack of money and be in correspondence as need. Employers should potentially be generally responsible for creating acceptable conditions for migrants. Experts believe that employers will continue to prioritize indigenous people, since there are many difficulties when registering visitors, and you can get a huge fine for illegal migrants (Krasinets, 2020; Ledeneva & Kononov, 2021).

In Russia, in 2018, it was planned to simplify the naturalization procedure for highly skilled migrants from the former Soviet republics. But already in 2020, MDMA issues refused to make this approach absolute. Specialists often turned out to be unskilled workers. Among those entering the Russian Federation, only 17% have a higher education (Krasinets, 2020).

MDMA also proposed to simplify the acquisition of Russian citizenship by successful foreign students, who in 2017 numbered less than 330 000. More than a half of them are from the CIS (high growth in the number of students is recorded from Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan). For comparison, the maximum rate for the exchange of students is observed in European countries is 20–30% (Alonzi, 2018; Potemkina, 2020).

The statistics of issuing work permits is interesting, which is seen as the first step towards granting Russian citizenship. In 2021, 93 031 work permits were issued (versus 62 686 in

2020). Of these, 46 691 were issued to highly qualified specialists (20 528 in 2020) and 6 830 to qualified specialists (7 690 in 2020). There is a positive trend, but even among migrants who have issued a work permit, highly qualified and qualified specialists make up only about 43%, that is, less than a half (CIS Internet Portal, 2021). Thus, even among legal migrants, the majority are low-skilled and uneducated workers. They know Russian little bit or do not know it at all and try to stay together, almost not communicating with the Russians. In some areas of Moscow and the Moscow region, enclaves populated by migrants have formed. In families, migrants speak their native language. Therefore, their children are often not ready to study in Russian schools. On the other hand, teachers are experiencing serious difficulties in their educational and upbringing work due to the influx of children who do not know the Russian language.

Here we are faced with one of the most difficult problems associated with the adaptation of migrants: the language problem and the more general problem of communication between migrants and the local population, in this case Russian-speaking. Indeed, without knowing the language of the host country, there is no any normal adaptation and integration.

Since the mid-1990s, mainly representatives of the Slavic peoples came to Russia, who did not need linguistic and cultural adaptation. According to MDMA, of those registered in 2021, more than 80% were citizens of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan (Selected indicators of the migration situation in the Russian Federation for January-December 2021 with distribution by country and region, 2021). The adaptive capacity of people arriving from Central Asia is declining every year, especially for young people (which is the result of the derussification policy in a number of Central Asian states). Therefore, since 2003, the procedure for obtaining citizenship began to include testing for knowledge of the Russian language.

Since January 2015, in order to obtain a work permit and obtain a corresponding patent, it has also become mandatory to obtain an appropriate certificate for knowledge of the Russian language, culture and fundamentals of law. However, as practice has shown, this rule does not work for seasonal workers, especially in the field of private construction (private houses, cottages, dachas, etc.). In addition, there is also a corruption component of this problem. For

example, a fifth of foreigners who had a document on passing exams did not pass the retest (Suzdaleva, 2016).

Since 2017, the control mechanism for obtaining a passport has been strengthened by changing the procedure: a foreigner applying for Russian citizenship is required to take an oath of respect for the traditions and laws of the Russian Federation. As a result, those who did not pass such a test were deprived of citizenship by a court decision. But attempts to illegally acquire Russian citizenship, including through false certificates, continue.

One of the ways of adaptation of migrants, confirmed by world practice, is the creation of special centers in countries that are migration donors. The Strategy of the State National Policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025 refers to "promoting the study of the Russian language in countries where migrants come from" (Decree of the President of the Russian Federation № 1666, 2012). Since the early 1990s, the Korean Education Center has been operating in Uzbekistan, the Korean language is studied in a dozen educational institutions, and there are training centers where the relevant documents are issued for the movement of labor migrants to this country. German and American centers operate in Tajikistan, etc.

Russian centers in this context not only did not become widespread, but individual projects for their creation did not take place (for example, in Tajikistan in the first decade of the XXI century). The opportunity was missed in the middle of the second decade, when the Ministry of Education of Tajikistan announced its desire to certify compatriots for knowledge of the Russian language in their country, where profile courses and the Russian-Tajik Slavonic University functioned. The organization of Russian cultural and educational centers in the states of Central Asia is in its infancy.

It was only in 2017 that a decision was made to create Russian centers in the countries of "suppliers" of migrants, a plan for their retraining for work in the Russian Federation. For example, at the end of 2018, according to an intergovernmental agreement, the official offices of Uzbekistan for external migration began to function in the capital and other cities of Russia. In the former republic, centers were opened where those wishing to work in the Russian Federation could draw up the necessary documents for arriving in Russia. In 2019, as a

result of an organized recruitment, only a little more than 2 thousand people arrived, and the rest hundreds of thousands on their own. At the same time, an agreement with Tajikistan was signed and ratified. Potential migrants have the opportunity to prepare an appropriate package of documents and learn the basics of the Russian language in their homeland at employment service centers (although there are almost no local teachers of the Russian language left). And today, according to experts, it is more expedient to begin training migrants "at the start" in the countries from which they come, on the basis of Russian consular institutions and cultural centers (Ryazantsev, 2018; Ledeneva & Kononov, 2021).

At the end of the first decade of the XXI century, an attempt was made, with the assistance of the Russian Orthodox Church, to create centers for the integration of migrants with the aim of teaching the Russian language and legal literacy. However, a number of experts rightly questioned the feasibility of teaching Muslim migrants on the basis of the Russian Orthodox Church (Suzdaleva, 2016; Shustov, 2020).

The language problem is closely related to the problem of educating migrant children (in case of their long stay in Russia or the intention to obtain Russian citizenship). The essence of the question is whether to create preparatory classes for the children of migrants (especially from the countries of Central Asia) to learn the basics of the Russian language before entering school or specialized classes in the schools. It seems to us that the experience of Western countries (England, Germany, Netherlands, USA), when classes are staffed exclusively by migrants and the school does not become an integration tool, can hardly be applied in Russian realities. But at the moment there is no Russian target adaptation program for children of migrants.

Faced with difficulties in this matter, the staff and administration of educational institutions initiated a number of projects and proposals:

- opening of specialized classes, faced with behavioral problems of children of migrants;
- administration of one of the lyceums, with the help of employees, conducted raid-conversations with migrant parents whose children did not study, including due to legal and departmental restrictions;
- parents and teachers offered to organize preparatory classes for those who did not master the Russian language well and

thereby hampered the learning of other students;

- there is a question of training specialist teachers to work in a migrant environment, focusing on fostering respect for the traditions of the host country (Ryabova & Bormotova, 2015; Suzdaleva, 2016).

In order to prevent illegitimate improvisations due to cultural differences in the educational environment, there is a need to develop methodological materials on the norms of Russian legislation for school teachers. It is necessary to intensify the preparation of educational and methodological literature in order to improve the skills of specialists in the field of interethnic communications. An integrated approach to the adaptation of migrant children of preschool and school age is required, including before coming to the Russian Federation in Russian schools in the countries of departure.

Another problem associated with the adaptation of migrants is the obligatory consideration of the ethno-confessional factor. On the one hand, the host country should not interfere with the performance of religious rites. But on the other hand, it is necessary to take into account the possibility of introduction and spread of ultra-radical religious movements of extremist and terrorist orientation. In our opinion, in solving this problem, a significant role belongs to the imams of mosques in Russia, who have a predominant influence on Muslim believers. In many ways, it depends on them, under whose and what influence migrants from the Central Asian republics will find themselves. Therefore, the organization of special courses for imams on the territory of Russia, as well as the establishment of more thorough control over the personnel of the Russian imam, suggests itself. The issue of monitoring the activities of imams is also acute because many of them received theological education in foreign educational institutions. Only in the North Caucasian Federal District there are more than 150 of them. And according to the representatives of MDMA for the North Caucasian Federal District, it is necessary to have information about whether they adhere to the foundations of traditional Islam. Specialized courses for imams are needed in all regions with compact Muslim populations.

According to experts, imams in mosques should not only convey the ideas of "peaceful" Islam, but also identify among Muslim visitors who need socialization, answer their questions (Ledeneva & Begasilov, 2021).

For these purposes, it is necessary to use not only traditional forms of communication. Muslim migrants, as a rule, are young people; they are looking for answers to pressing questions on the Internet. The Russian muftiate does not yet fully use this kind of communication. Productivity in this context is not facilitated by an extensive and competing system of religious power structures: the former Central Spiritual Administration and the New Council of Muftis, the presence of many religious spiritual administrations.

To work in a migration environment, qualified personnel with a theological education, knowledge of Islam, etc. is needed. It is important to involve prominent religious scholars, practitioners who know the specifics of the fight against jihadist ideology. Such work requires an integrated approach: to educate believers in mosques and to speak to student audiences and in the media.

The migration policy of European countries shows that for migrants (especially Muslim ones) in the first place in self-perception is not the citizenship of the host country, but confessionality.

The confessional vector of adaptation is effectively used in the capital. In Moscow, imams preach mainly in Russian, explaining that in the country of residence one must know and use the Russian language.

In 2018, the Association for the Psychological Assistance of Muslims was established, which established cooperation with the relevant departments of higher educational institutions in Kazan, Bashkiria, universities in Pyatigorsk and Karachay-Cherkessia. Since July 2020, the "Center for Legal Protection and Cultural Adaptation of Migrants" began to function, to which more than two dozen Russian regions have joined (Ledeneva & Begasilov, 2021).

A successful solution to the problem of communication and adaptation of migrants is complicated by the fact that psychological tensions arise not only between Russians and migrants from Central Asia, but also between Russian Muslims and Muslim migrants. The former do not always fully accept visiting fellow believers, which can largely be due, on the one hand, to the low-paid work of migrants and the corresponding standard of living, and on the other hand, in some cases, they see them as potential competitors. In addition, the influx of migrants to the capital and other regions has complicated the performance of religious rites

due to the excessive occupancy of mosques. Experts noted that the attitude varies and, depending on the regions, “residents of the Caucasian republics treat people from Central Asia more kindly than native Muslims from the Urals or the Volga region” (Ledeneva & Begasilov, 2021).

At the same time, during the pandemic, Russian Muslims provided comprehensive assistance to fellow migrants.

Another important problem is the problem of social adaptation of migrants. This refers to the extension of labor legislation to them, including the norms of labor protection, social security and medical care, so that they do not feel like second-class people.

Labor migrants from the EAEU countries have the opportunity to receive all types of benefits for reasons of temporary disability, etc., they are credited with work experience, documents on education in many specialties are recognized, and an agreement on pension provision was ratified in 2021 (Gaeva, 2019).

World experience shows that integration policy is effective mainly at the regional level. Studies of the integration of migrants in different cities of the Netherlands and Belgium, which are similar in composition of visitors, show that different practices are used: in some, the emphasis is on socio-economic integration, in others, on cultural. A number of regions in Italy, Spain, Finland and Sweden also have their own integration plans (Potemkina, 2020). Russian experts suggest using this experience more intensively: creating special commissions at the regional level that will consider and resolve issues of employment, education, use individual contracts with municipalities, etc.

In 2019, based on the Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for 2019-2025, adopted in 2018, optimization of the management of adaptation and integration of migrants is outlined, the task of “creating conditions” for solving the problem, “creating a migration situation” conducive to interethnic and interfaith harmony is indicated, and attention is focused on sociocultural adaptation. The implementation of social and cultural adaptation of FC is entrusted to the Federal Agency for Nationalities (Ledeneva & Kononov, 2021).

In accordance with the goal of migration policy, defined in the newly adopted Concept, the Federal Agency for Nationalities Affairs has

taken the first steps to create a unified system for alerting threats and conflicts in the national sphere. Federal monitoring should be based on data from state, public and expert organizations. Different methodological principles are applied in different regions: in Saratov and Perm regions, vertical monitoring is based on data from municipal authorities, in Tatarstan it is based on data from independent centers and closes on the administration of the President of the Republic of Tatarstan (Ledeneva & Kononov, 2021).

## Conclusions

In recent years, the government has taken the following measures to adapt and integrate labor migrants into Russian society:

- from June 2021, Russian language, history and legal proficiency testing will take place every three years (instead of five). The complexity of the tests is determined in accordance with the migration status;
- labor migrants from the EAEU countries got the opportunity to receive all types of benefits for reasons of temporary disability, etc., seniority is counted, documents on education in many specialties are recognized, and in 2021 an agreement on pension provision was ratified;
- the (model) Labor Code for the CIS member states is adopted;
- the Migration Code is developed but not adopted;
- the creation of unified information platform for recording foreign workers, including their digital profiles, is under development.

Based on modern realities, it is necessary, using proven practices, to develop new adaptation mechanisms for migrants. The unresolved nature of these issues leads to an increase in migrant-phobia and in the shadow sector of the economy, and to processes that disintegrate society. This is the reason for the need to adopt a draft law on social and cultural adaptation and integration, which was submitted to the State Duma several years ago.

Our recommendations are the following:

- it is necessary to create special language centers in donor countries (primarily in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan) and in Russia, including regional centers of socio-psychological assistance for migrants and teaching them the basics of the Russian language. Here it is supposed to intensify the activities of the Federal Agency for the



- Adaptation of Migrants, which at the moment is more of a bureaucratic structure that has little to do with practice and reality;
- it is necessary to clearly define the strategy of the state migration policy, which, unfortunately, is not yet available and rather resembles a policy of a kind of "swing" due to the struggle between two trends: the interests of large corporations (especially in the construction business and housing and communal services), advocating the removal restrictions and an increase in the influx of labor migrants, and the interests of state security, which imply tightening migration rules and reducing the influx of migrants to Russia. For example, in December 2020, the Russian authorities extended the terms of temporary residents due to the pandemic until June 15, 2021. However, already in April 2021, MDMA announced the expulsion of migrants from the CIS countries illegally staying in Russia until mid-June, which should have contributed to their return to their homeland (in the spring of 2021, more than 330 000 from Uzbekistan, 120 000 from Kyrgyzstan and about 250 000 from Tajikistan, etc. were staying illegally in Russia) (Ledeneva & Kononov, 2021);
  - it is necessary to clearly legislate the legal status of migrants, systematize their rights and obligations in a special Migration Code, as well as guarantees against illegal actions on their part (for example, a clear definition of the procedure for expulsion from the country);
  - the need to focus on highly qualified personnel, either by inviting ready-made specialists for special projects (which is widespread in Western countries, whose experience, positive and negative, of course, must be taken into account), or by working with foreign students, including from the same Central Asia;
  - there is a need, together with experts on migration, national relations and psychologists, to develop a comprehensive program for the integration of underage migrants into the educational space and Russian society. The first steps have already been taken (collection of effective practices for the adaptation and integration of migrants and teaching aid for working with migrant children in educational institutions have been prepared), but this is clearly not enough. There is no consistency on a national scale.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the study of migration issues, considering ethno-cultural and confessional factors, the accumulation of successful models of adaptation of migrants in different regions and the experience of socio-cultural adaptation of previous generations from a foreign cultural environment will contribute to the development of optimal migration strategies.

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