

THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE CONTEXT OF RUSSIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

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ABSTRACT

In the article, the authors made an attempt, on the basis of the results of sociological research among students, to identify trends in the transformation of their value orientations in relation to foreign migrant workers and ethnic groups that make up the population permanently residing in Russia. Research Methods. Questionnaire survey of target groups using a specially designed questionnaire made it possible to obtain primary empirical data on the distribution of the main characteristics of the value attitudes of young people concerning foreign migrant workers and representatives of nationalities permanently residing in the territory of the Nizhny Novgorod region of the Russian Federation.

At the time of this writing, within the framework of the project "Dynamics of value orientations of youth", six stages of research on the value orientations of students aged 16 to 24 were carried out. So, in 2006, on the territory of the Nizhny Novgorod region, 1915 students of secondary general education schools and secondary vocational educational institutions, as well as students of higher educational institutions, were interviewed, in 2011 - 3,000 people; in 2014 - 2,500 people; 2015 - 2750 people; 2016 - 2750 people, 2019 - 2750 people. The number of interviewed respondents testifies to the high representativeness of the research results obtained.

When processing the primary database obtained during the field part of the study, special statistical methods of analysis were used:

a) one-dimensional and two-dimensional percentage distributions, which made it possible to identify the prevalence of individual characteristics of value orientations, both in general, among young people, and in its individual groups, distributed by socio-demographic and ideological groups.

b) factor analysis made it possible to identify the main set of factors and the level of significance of each of them, in the formation of a certain set of value attitudes of young people.

c) cluster analysis made it possible to record the level of heterogeneity of the youth environment, the distribution of young people in individual groups, depending on the value system characteristic of each of these groups.

Keywords: youth, values, migrants, security, factors of influence

INTRODUCTION

The problem of migrant workers in Russia from the Republics of the former USSR has often been considered in a purely economic aspect. Migrants were perceived, first of all, as labor resources, the involvement of which had been a forced measure due to the shortage of labor in the Russian Federation. However, the issue of foreign migrant workers has long gone beyond just economic problems and has become a part of social, political, interethnic and interfaith relations in Russia. Migrant workers are not impersonal units of labor resources, but are carriers of certain cultural, religious, social and everyday patterns of behavior. It is in this capacity that they contact the population permanently residing in Russia (hereinafter referred to as the local population). The interaction of these groups creates a new specific social reality. Its study, according to the authors of the article, will not only reveal the existing, largely spontaneous, system of relations between the communities of foreign migrant workers and the local population, but can become the basis for the formation of the foundations of state policy to regulate these processes and, in general, to ensure national security and long-term sustainable development of the Russian Federation.

The National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation notes that «implantation of alien ideals and values, implementation without taking into account historical traditions and experience of previous generations of reforms in the field of education, science, culture, religion, language and information activities lead to increased disunity and polarization of national societies, destroy the foundation of cultural sovereignty, undermine the foundations of political stability and statehood. Revision of basic moral standards, psychological manipulation causes irreparable damage to a person's moral health, encourage destructive behavior, create conditions for self-destruction of society. Generation gap widens. At the same time, manifestations of aggressive nationalism, xenophobia, religious extremism and terrorism are growing» [1].

Considering these problems from the point of view of the national interests of Russia, the need to ensure state and public security the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation pays special attention to the development of a secure information space, protection of Russian society from destructive information and psychological impact, strengthening traditional Russian spiritual and moral values, preservation of the cultural and historical heritage of the people of Russia, prevention of manifestations of radicalism, prevention of extremist and other criminal manifestations, primarily among minors and young people [1].

Within the framework of the project «Dynamics of value orientations of youth» considerable attention was paid to the problems of interethnic relations in general and attitudes towards foreign migrant workers in particular. The time frame of this study made it possible to record the dynamics of public sentiments of young people in this area [2], [3].

This article presents the survey results for 2011, 2014 and 2019 and their comparative analysis. The reader may wonder why exactly the results of the polls over these years formed the basis of this study.

The results of the survey for 2014, for example, attracted special attention due to their sharp difference from the findings for other periods: there was a significant increase in the share of negative assessments associated with the problems of migrant workers. Suffice it to point out that in 2014, 39.2% of the respondents were ready to support the deportation of persons belonging to "undesirable" ethnic groups. In 2011, the share of respondents supporting this position was 21.5%, and in 2019 it dropped to 14.1%. This is due to the fact that in 2013-2014 external pressure on Russia increased in connection with the Ukrainian events. In society, especially among young people, the rapid formation of the psychology of the "besieged fortress", and the process of internal national consolidation was launched. As a result, there has been an increase in negative attitudes towards migrants as bearers of a different culture and representatives of external forces.

The results obtained at this moment of crisis are unique, since they allowed to fix how foreign policy problems can have a decisive influence on the situation inside the country, in this case, on the sphere of interethnic relations. These factors should be taken into account in their work by those state bodies that are responsible for policy in the field of labor migration. At the same time, in the process of making managerial decisions, these state bodies should proceed not only from the quantitative characteristics of migration flows but also their national composition, distribution in individual regions of the country.

It was not by chance that the authors of the article chose the Nizhny Novgorod region, which is part of the Volga Federal District, for the research. According to S. Huntington's classification, the Volga line of the civilizational fault includes the Nizhny Novgorod region, where the Orthodox and Muslim civilizations oppose each other [4]. However, this position is convincingly opposed by V.Y. Zorin, rightly pointing out that in the Volga region over the centuries, not a fault line has formed, but a zone of the harmonious intertwining of cultures and traditions of different peoples [5]. Both of the above circumstances indicate the uniqueness of the Nizhny Novgorod region from the standpoint of the subject of this research. It is also important that more than 140 nationalities live on the territory of the Nizhny Novgorod region [6].

The main value of this study is that it is based on the results of three replicate studies. Since these studies were carried out according to a unified methodology and the same questionnaire was used, the possibility of a statistically correct comparison of the results obtained at different times has appeared.

Given the above, the subject of research in the article was social relations, arising in connection with migration and interethnic processes in Russia as factors influencing the formation of value orientations of young students and the stability of the national security of Russia.

The purpose of the work was to study the impact of migration processes and interethnic relations on the transformation of value orientations of young people in the context of Russia's national security and identify the most significant factors that currently determine the level of interethnic tension in the youth environment.

RESULTS

The studies carried out indicate positive dynamics in the sphere of attitudes of Russian youth towards foreign migrant workers [7]. The situation by 2019 looks quite positive. At the same time, this conclusion should not cause an unjustifiably optimistic perception of the processes taking place in this area of the life of Russian society. An in-depth analysis of the research results allows us to single out the processes hidden from a superficial glance, in the depths of which alarming shoots of future conflicts are formed.

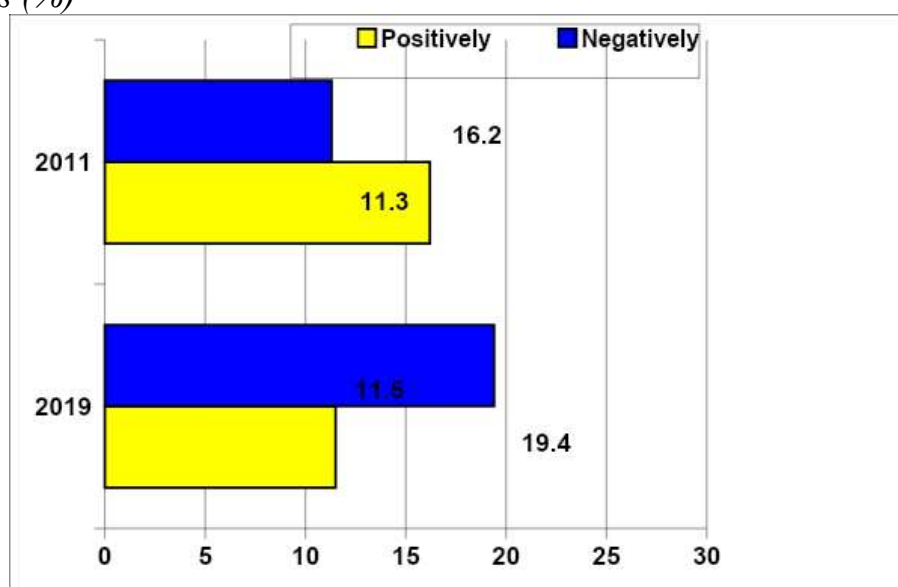
The most important problem of the internal stability of Russia is the question: to what extent can relations with foreign migrant workers lead to an increase in interethnic tensions within Russia? Are these processes related to each other, or the recorded problems in interethnic relations are only national in form, but in fact it is just a negative reaction of the local population to the influx of guest migrant workers?

In order to avoid such a meaningful substitution, a comparison was made of the dynamics of attitudes towards both foreign migrant workers and representatives of indigenous nationalities permanently residing in Russia. The results of this comparison are as follows:

Table 1. Dynamics of youth attitudes towards migrant workers from other countries and representatives of other nationalities in Russia (column percent)

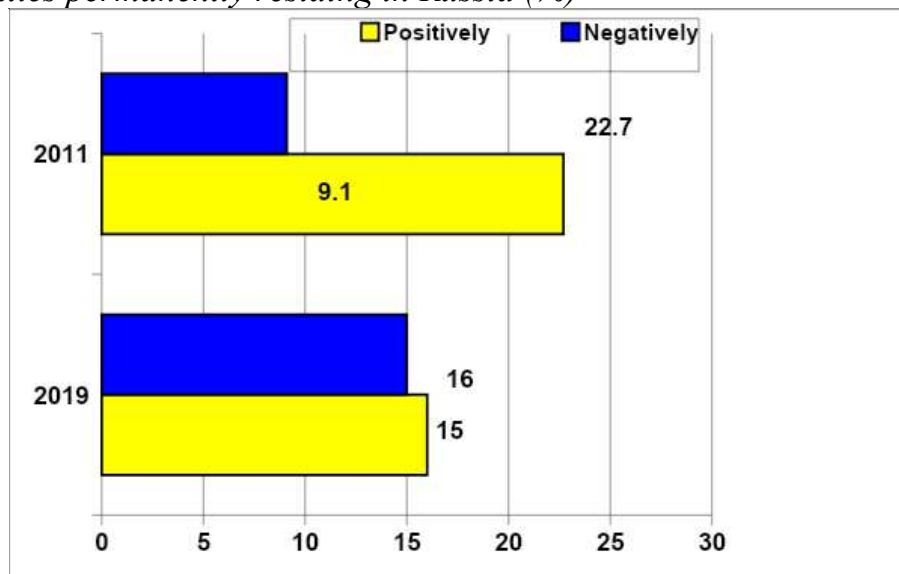
		Time of polls (year)		
		2011	2014	2019
How do you feel about migrant workers from other countries?	Positively	11,5	8,3	16,2
	Neutrally	69,1	60,5	72,5
	Negatively	19,4	31,2	11,3
How do you feel about representatives of other nationalities permanently residing in Russia?	Positively	16,0	12,0	22,7
	Neutrally	69,1	63,5	68,2
	Negatively	15,0	24,5	9,1

Source: Authors data

Fig. 1. Dynamics of youth attitudes towards migrant workers from other countries (%)

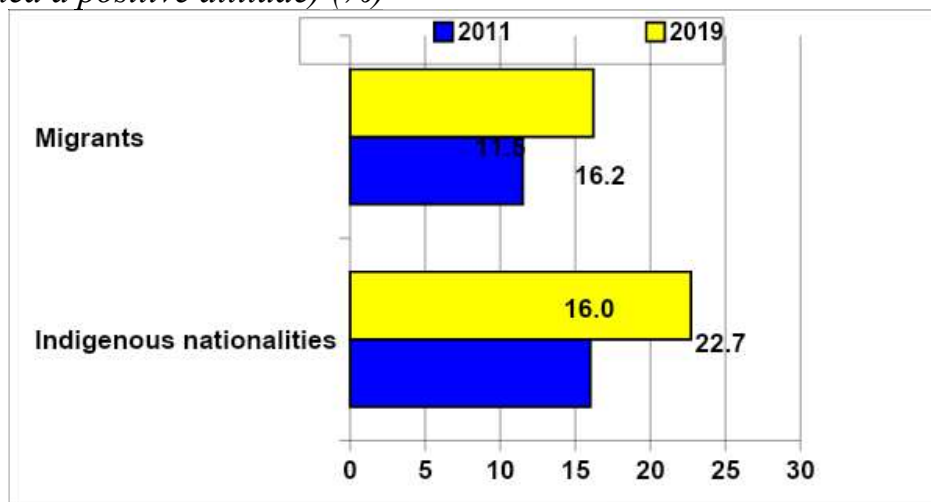
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Fig. 2. Dynamics of youth attitudes towards representatives of other nationalities permanently residing in Russia (%)



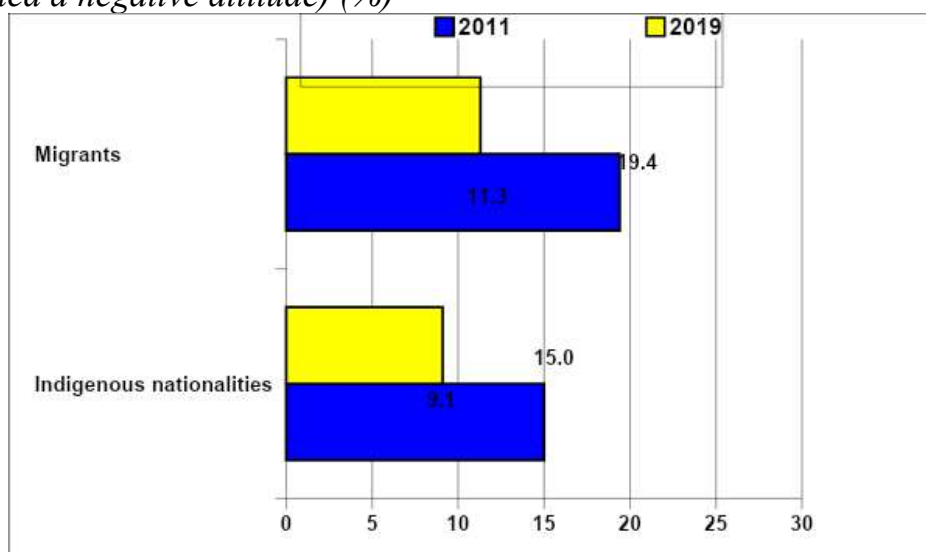
Source: Authors data

Fig. 3. Comparison of the dynamics of the positive attitude of young people towards migrant workers and indigenous nationalities of Russia (share of those who noted a positive attitude) (%)



Source: Authors data

Fig. 4. Comparison of the dynamics of the negative attitude of young people towards migrant workers and indigenous nationalities of Russia (share of those who noted a negative attitude) (%)



Source: Authors data

The presented results indicate that although the attitude of young people towards representatives of other peoples of Russia is generally better than towards foreign migrant workers, nevertheless, the processes associated with these two groups of the population are developing according to a similar scenario.

The problem is that interethnic relations within Russia and attitudes towards foreign migrant workers turned out to be synchronized with each other. At the same time, it is the foreign migrant workers that are the active component of the dynamics of such relations. It is not interethnic relations within the country that determine the attitude towards foreign migrant workers, but, on the contrary, the nature of relations with external migrants influences the situation inside Russia.

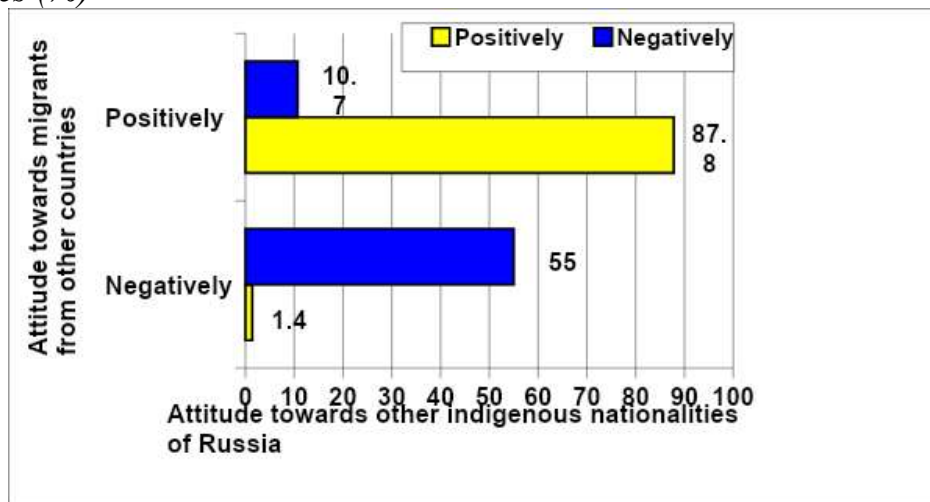
The results of the study demonstrate a high level of influence of the nature of attitudes towards migrant workers from other countries on interethnic relations within Russia.

Table 2. Correlation between attitudes of young people towards migrant workers from other countries and attitudes towards persons of other indigenous nationalities of Russia (line percent)

Attitude towards migrants from other countries	Attitude towards representatives of other nationalities in our country		
	Positively	Neutrally	Negatively
Positively	87,8	10,9	1,4
Neutrally	10,1	86,2	3,7
Negatively	10,7	34,2	55,0

Source: Authors data

Fig. 5. Attitude towards persons of other indigenous nationalities of Russia in youth groups with different attitudes towards migrant workers from other countries (%)



Source: Authors data

The above data once again confirm the high degree of correlation between negative attitudes, both in relation to foreign migrant workers and in relation to representatives of other indigenous nationalities of Russia.

Among those young people who have a positive attitude towards migrants from other countries, 87.8% also have a positive attitude towards people of other indigenous nationalities permanently residing in Russia. However, if the respondents have a negative attitude towards foreign migrant workers, then in 55.0% of cases, they will also have a negative attitude towards other indigenous nationalities of Russia.

Under certain conditions, the problem of foreign migrant workers can turn from an external into an internal problem of Russia. In other words, the particular issue of the attitude of the local population of Russia to foreign labor migrants under certain conditions can transform into the problem of interethnic relations within Russia.

Thus, the external component: the problem of foreign labor migrants is becoming a factor determining the internal policy of Russia. In order to preserve the stability of the socio-political situation inside Russia and make it little sensitive to external influences, it is necessary to "uncouple" in the public consciousness the connection between relations with foreign labor migrants and interethnic relations of the indigenous peoples of Russia.

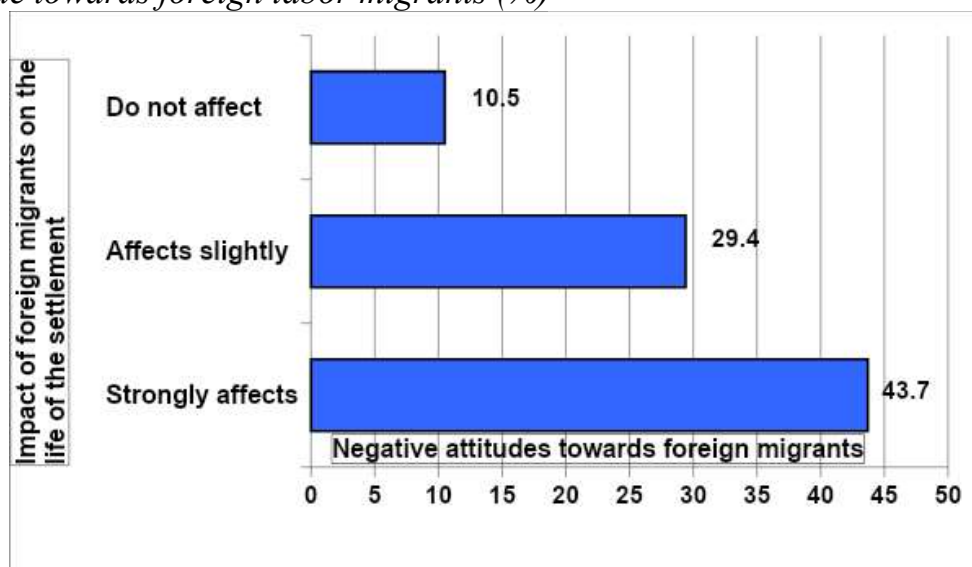
The study recorded the following alarming trend: the very presence of large-sized groups of foreign labor migrants living compactly in certain settlements provokes an increase in anti-migrant sentiments. This phenomenon is clearly demonstrated by the data below.

Table 3. Assessment by the respondents of the level of influence of foreign labor migrants at the place of their temporary stay and their attitude towards foreign labor migrants (line percent)

The level of influence of migrants on life in the city, settlement	I have a negative attitude towards migrants				
	Totally agree	Rather agree	Found it difficult to answer	Rather disagree	Do not agree
Strongly affects	25,2	18,5	24,4	15,4	16,5
Influence insignificantly	11,5	16,9	25,7	24,9	21,1
Virtually no effect	3,2	7,3	22,9	31,8	34,7

Source: Authors data

Fig. 6. Correlation between the respondents' assessment of the degree of influence of foreign labor migrants on the life of settlements and their negative attitude towards foreign labor migrants (%)



Source: Authors data

These data indicate that the stronger the presence of foreign labor migrants is felt in a given settlement, the more negative attitude they cause towards themselves. Graph 6 shows that in the case of a significant influence of foreign labor migrants on the life of a settlement, the share of those negatively related to them among the local population reaches 43.7%, while where there are practically no foreign labor migrants, this share decreases by 4 times and reaches only 10.5%. Thus, we can conclude that the existing spontaneously formed mechanism for the placement and integration of foreign labor migrants in the places of residence of the local population carries a potential source of contradictions.

At present, the relationship between the communities of local residents and arrived groups of foreign labor migrants from a certain point can acquire a rather

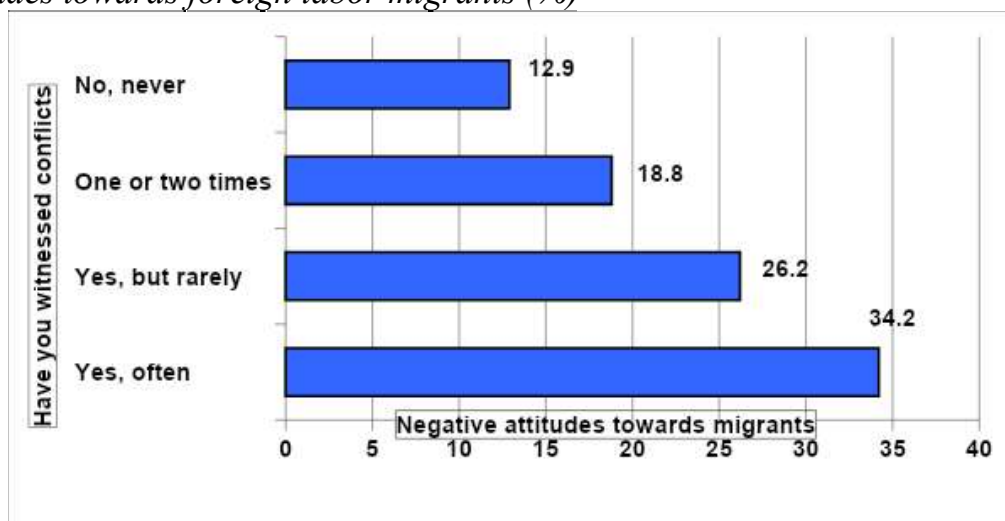
conflict character. It is these conflicts that determine the attitude of the local population towards foreign labor migrants. This dependence is clearly demonstrated by the data given in table 4.

Table 4. *Impact of the experience of interethnic conflicts on attitudes towards foreign labor migrants (%)*

Have you witnessed ethnic conflicts?	I have a negative attitude towards migrants				
	Totally agree	Rather agree	Found it difficult to answer	Rather disagree	Disagree
Yes, often	17,3	16,9	23,0	16,3	26,5
Yes, but rarely	13,3	12,9	22,3	25,6	25,8
Once or twice	4,8	14,0	24,1	28,3	28,7
No, I haven't	4,4	8,5	28,8	30,1	28,2

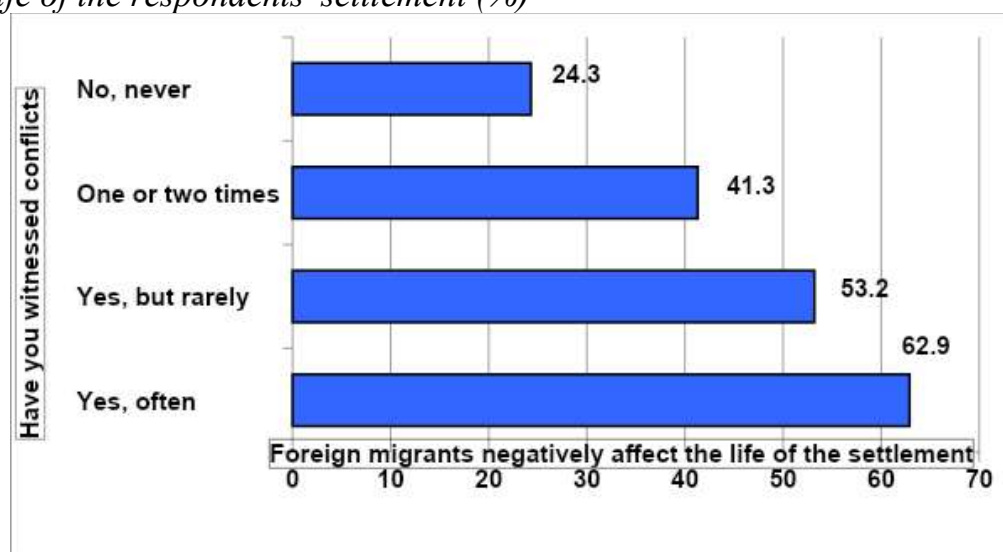
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Fig. 7. *Influence of personal experience of interethnic conflicts on negative attitudes towards foreign labor migrants (%)*



Source: Authors data

Fig. 8. *The influence of personal experience in the field of conflicts on ethnic grounds on the negative perception of the influence of foreign labor migrants on the life of the respondents' settlement (%)*



Source: Authors data

Currently, the mechanism for triggering interethnic conflicts is as follows: an increase in the number of foreign labor migrants leads to an increase in their influence on the life of the settlement; due to the increasing frequency of contacts with the local population, conflicts arise between them; an increase in the number of conflicts, in which the local population becomes a participant or witness, leads to an increase in negative attitudes towards foreign labor migrants.

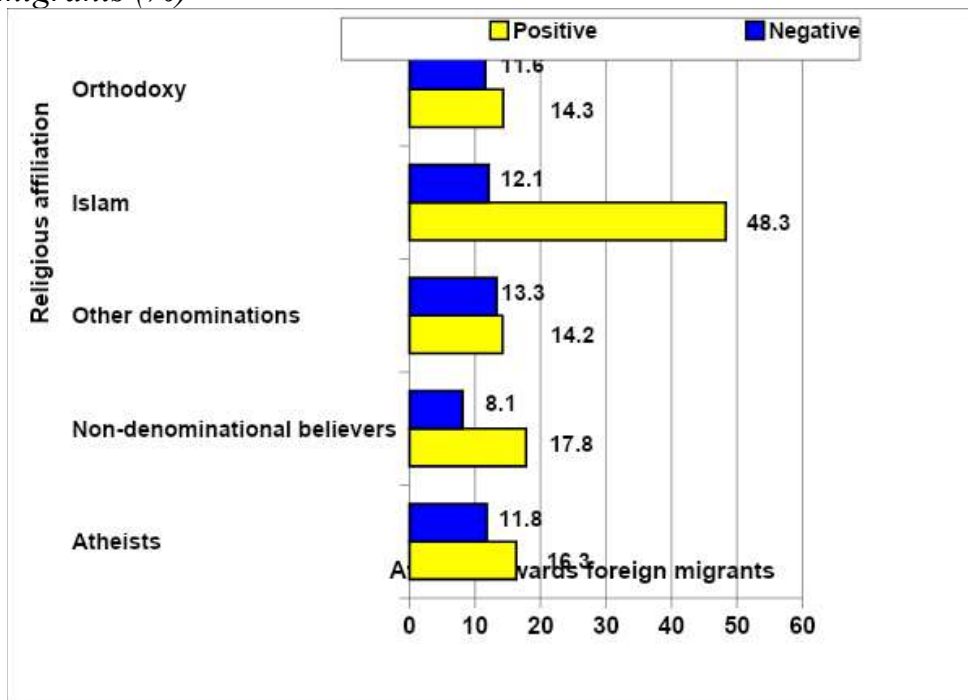
In this regard, the question arises: what turns contacts between the local population and foreign labor migrants into conflict relations and transfers them to local indigenous peoples? Considering that the overwhelming majority of foreign labor migrants come from the area of Islamic civilization, it is logical to assume that this conflict is, inter alia, of a civilizational nature. The results obtained in the course of the study indicate the validity of this assumption.

Table 5. *Influence of religious affiliation of young people on attitudes towards foreign labor migrants from other countries (%)*

Religious affiliation	Attitude towards migrants from other countries		
	Positively	Neutrally	Negatively
Orthodoxy	14,3	74,0	11,6
Islam	48,3	39,7	12,1
Other denominations	14,2	72,5	13,3
Non-denominational believers	17,8	74,0	8,1
Atheists	16,3	71,8	11,8

Source: Authors data

Fig. 9. The influence of religious affiliation on attitudes towards foreign labor migrants (%)



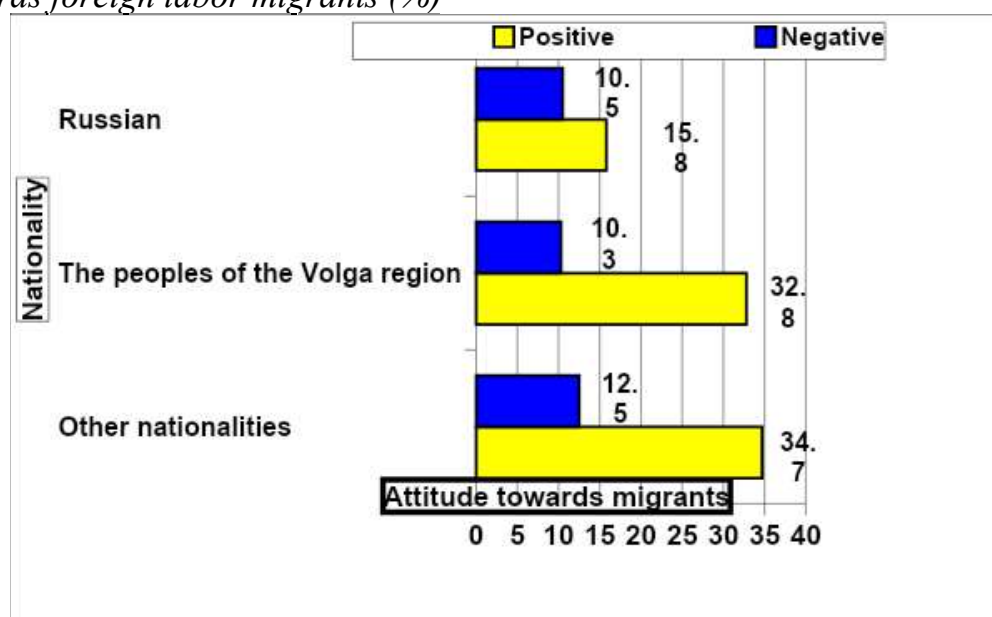
Source: Authors data

Table 6. Influence of nationality of Russian citizens on attitudes towards foreign labor migrants (%)

Nationality	Attitude towards migrants from other countries		
	Positively	Neutrally	Negatively
Russians	15,8	73,7	10,5
The peoples of the Volga region	32,8	56,9	10,3
Other nationalities	34,7	52,8	12,5

Source: Authors data

Fig. 10. The influence of the nationality of Russian citizens on their attitude towards foreign labor migrants (%)



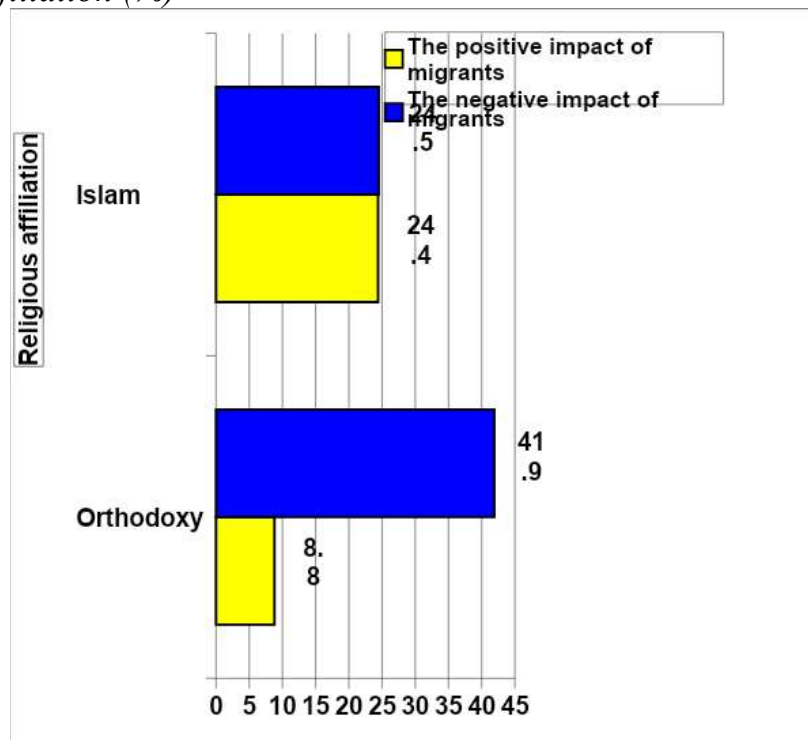
Source: Authors data

Table 7. Distribution of assessments of the nature of the influence of foreign labor migrants on the life of settlements in groups of Russian citizens of different religious affiliation (line percent)

Religious affiliation	The nature of the influence of migrants on life in the city, settlement					
	Very positive	Rather positive	Rather negative	Extremely negative	No influence	Found difficult to answer
Orthodoxy	3,6	5,2	26,7	15,2	31,3	18,1
Islam	13,3	11,1	15,6	8,9	40,0	11,1

Source: Authors data

Fig. 11. Distribution of assessments of the nature of the influence of foreign labor migrants on the life of settlements in groups of Russian citizens of different religious affiliation (%)



Source: Authors data

It should be recognized that the factor that the majority of the local population and foreign labor migrants belong to different civilizational areas (Orthodox and Islamic) creates a fertile ground for conflict between them. And since these two groups differ ethnically, the conflict immediately turns into the status of an interethnic conflict. In this case, 41.9% of the respondents who identify themselves with the Orthodox system of values believe that foreign labor migrants have a negative impact on life in their places of permanent residence, while only 8.8% of respondents perceive this influence as positive.

A completely different picture is observed among the respondents positioning their Islamic identity. In this environment, the attitude towards foreign labor migrants is much more positive. The shares in this group of respondents who gave either positive or negative assessments of the impact of the presence of foreign labor migrants are almost equal and amounted to 24% each.

Such a significant gap between the positions of the two groups of the local population of Russia, which differ from each other only in religious identification, suggests that elements of a civilizational conflict are indeed present in the life of modern Russian society and are objective in nature.

A rather alarming consequence of this process is the growth of the ethnic factor, which splits the consolidated position of the local population of Russia in

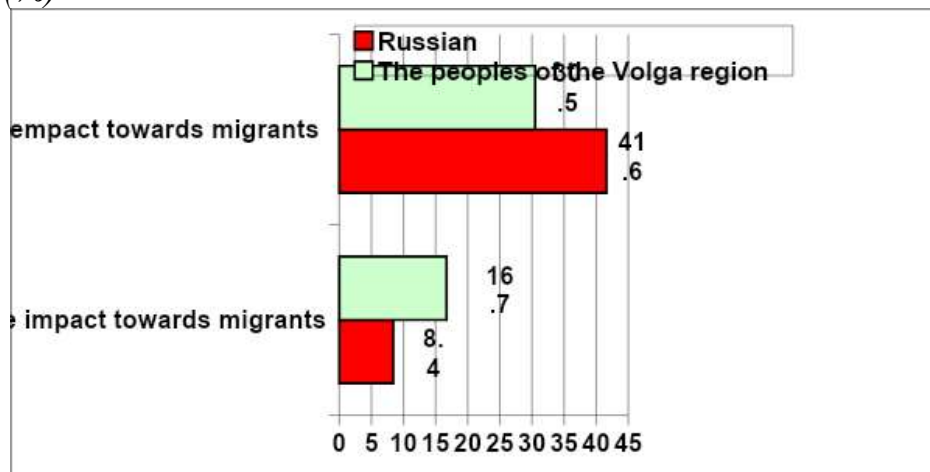
relation to the common problem. In this case, we are talking about the problem of foreign labor migrants. The appearance of such a split is evidenced by the data given in Table 8.

Table 8. *Distribution of assessments of the nature of the influence of foreign labor migrants on the life of the local population belonging to different national groups (line percent)*

National groups	The nature of the influence of migrants on life in the city, settlement					
	Very positive	Rather positive	Rather negative	Extremely negative	No influence	Found difficult to answer
Russians	2,7	5,7	26,9	14,7	32,3	17,6
The peoples of the Volga region	5,6	11,1	19,4	11,1	36,1	16,7

Source: Authors data

Fig. 12. *Distribution of opinions on the positive or negative impact of foreign labor migrants on the life of the local population belonging to different national groups (%)*



Source: Authors data

CONCLUSION

Thus, as a result of the study, the following most significant factors were identified that currently determine the level of interethnic tension in the youth environment of Russia:

the numerical scale of the presence of foreign migrants at the place of residence of the respondents:

- personal experience of interethnic conflicts.
- religious identity.
- nationality.

The results of the study indicate that in the country in recent years there have been significant changes in the field of interethnic relations, and their source was labour migrants from other countries. This causes an urgent need to develop new instruments of state policy in the field of interethnic relations and migration processes that are adequate to the modern realities of Russian society.

Unfortunately, least of all, both in foreign and domestic scientific and philosophical-sociological studies, the problem of the influence of modern migration processes on the cultural and communicative situation of the countries of Western Europe and Russia is the least studied. And this is despite the fact that, according to the just remark of S.A. Myasnikov, «the dominant factor in global politics and the fundamental source of conflicts will not be political or economic differences, but cultural and ethnic differences and contradictions» [8]. The fact is that in the conditions of the growing integration of cultures caused by the processes of globalization and the widespread dissemination of mass culture, the destruction of the communicative space of ethnic groups that has been created for centuries, as well as cultural codes that fix the national-ethnic picture of the world, is taking place. As a result, there is a destruction, distortion of the natural processes of reproduction of national cultures [9], strengthening the influence of mass culture on the perception of the world, primarily of young generations. Popular culture is increasingly acquiring the character of a “transnational culture that does not have a national identity» [10]. In these conditions, one of the main social contradictions in the development of modern social reality is a contradiction, which consists in the "collision of the world of the «old «traditional culture, which forms the closed communicative space of ethnic groups, and a new, extremely mobile» mosaic «culture» [11], blurring the boundaries of ethnocultural identity, thereby transforming the communicative spaces of national states, ethnic communities, historically formed in certain territories, in certain natural-geographical and cultural conditions.

Analysis of the "images" of interethnic relations clearly testifies to the place and role of modern migration processes on the state of interethnic relations, as well as on economic, political and sociocultural processes. In the communicative space of a foreign country for migrants, the latter occupies a certain niche with their way of life, spiritual values. Language barriers, religious differences, alienation of attitudes make it extremely difficult for migrants to integrate into the culture and way of life of the host countries. As a result, cultural and communicative communities are created within the boundaries of the country's communicative space, based on their own cultural traditions, language, attitudes, social mechanisms of national and civic identity.

The marginal culture or the culture of the marginalized formed under these conditions is a special type of subculture that has its own specific features. In contrast to the openness of the communicative space of the titular national communities, marginal groups lead a closed way of life, not integrating or poorly integrating into the socio-cultural environment of the host country. For these and

a number of other reasons, the need to study changes in all spheres of social reality under the influence of migration processes is becoming more and more obvious. One of the primary tasks of a scientifically grounded approach to solving this problem, both in economic and social terms, is to predict the further development and transformation of the modern communicative situation in connection with new trends in ethno-confessional and intercultural interaction. It is obvious that taking into account the influence of marginalization on the modern communicative situation is important in terms of understanding the need to coordinate educational, information and communication, as well as law enforcement activities, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, real conditions of social reality that give rise to a certain type of personality and form value targeting, first of all, the youth one.

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