Characteristic Features of Ethnic Labor Migration in the Krasnoyarsk Krai (Central Siberia, Russia)

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ABSTRACT

This research is devoted to the analysis of some aspects of ethnic labor mobility in Krasnoyarsk Krai. The main method of research is a quantitative survey, including the interpretation of the quantitative results. Currently, Krasnoyarsk Krai (Central Siberia, Russia) is a zone of active ethnic labor mobility. The majority of the ethnic migrant workers are from Central Asia (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan). Ethnic labor mobility from Armenia and Azerbaijan is decreasing. The hosts, the residents of the Krasnoyarsk Krai, are experiencing a range of phobias towards the labor immigrants (xenophobia and migrant-phobia). For the harmonization of relationships between migrants and the hosts, preventative measures should be taken to prevent possible conflicts, including constant monitoring of the situation. The study shows that students and youth of the Siberian Federal University have a positive attitude toward people who are engaged in labor mobility. Political management should take the complex structure of the host into the account and be ready to regulate difficult intercultural relationships between the people of Krasnoyarsk Krai and the people who come there from Central Asia and other countries.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the past 20 years, ethnic labor migration (mobility) has become one of the subject matters of general scientific and cross-disciplinary research involving sociology, demographic studies, economics, history, and anthropology. A dialog between these disciplines defines labor migration as a global phenomenon bringing about ubiquitous change in social processes and sociocultural relationships (Abdulloev et al., 2014; Bauer and Zimmermann, 1999; Bauer et al., 2005; Docquier and Rapoport, 2003; Evans, 1989; Fedina, 2011; Leeson and Gochenour, 2015; Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1986; Schiff, 1992). But so far this subject has not generated enough research (Yudina, 2005; Zamaraeva, 2011) and the theory of migration is still looking to find its place among other disciplines, come up with its own set

of categories, and analyze modern-day migration by using applied research. Most theoretical issues related to labor migration are focused around defining the very concept of migration that would allow researchers to pull existing scientific ideas into a single concept and prioritize research depending on the social needs of today's globalizing world (Zimmermann, 2009). Defining migration as a process of people moving from one territory to another and a factor influencing social processes (first of all, economic, demographic, and political) is no longer sufficient to explain all the social transformation trends and uncover the nature of changes happening in the sociocultural fabric of today's world (Mar, 1991). There are two reasons why it is vital to study migration as a special Krai of cross-cultural interaction between a migrant and the host environment: (1) To analyze the basic principles behind the coexistence of interacting cultural groups within a

21st-century polycultural society (Koptseva and Kirko, 2014a, Libakova et al., 2014; Mansoor and Quillin, 2006); (2) to identify the differences and similarities between various acculturation strategies chosen by modern societies. An acculturation strategy may be oriented towards preserving ethnocultural groups' cultural identity and other features (localization strategy) (Brubaker, 1996; De Tinguy, 2003; etc.). But it may also work towards maximizing the involvement of all ethnic and cultural groups in a larger pluralist society and ensuring they are ready to create a positive ideology of a multicultural community (integration strategy) (Ali and Hartmann, 2015; Grishaeva, 2012; Ilbeykina et al., 2015; Koptseva and Kirko, 2014b; Pilkington, 1998).

The dominating opinion found in classic sociological studies is that, in order to become part of the host community, insular ethnic and cultural groups participating in ethnic labor migration must adapt to or assimilate with local culture (Andrienko and Guriev, 2004; Domingo and Ortega-Rivera, 2015; Koptseva and Kirko, 2015a, b; Sassen, 1990). But around the turn on the 21st century, scientific research in cross-cultural interaction managed to redefine the idea of labor migration and portray it as a complex social process which transforms sociocultural relationships and creates new, previously unseen, cultural values and attitudes arising from a clash of cultural groups (Bailey and Waldinger, 1991; Borjas, 1991; Grigorieva et al., 2012; Sahib, 2015; Zamaraeva et al., 2015; Veerman, 2015). Our assumption is that studying the phenomenon of ethnic labor migration within Krasnoyarsk Krai (Central Siberia) will allow us to identify the overall trends of this process and outline the principles behind the sociocultural transformations brought about by migration in the 20th and the 21st centuries.

To conduct this study, we used a number of scientific approaches typical of social research carried out between the second half of the 20th century and the first third of the 21st century (Docquier et al., 2015; Heleniak, 1997; Joppke, 2005; Kahanec and Zimmermann, 2010; Libakova and Sertakova, 2014; Singh and Singh, 2013). To begin with, the last few decades saw a sea change in studies of migration from ethnocultural, sociocultural, cultural, anthropological, and ethnographic perspectives which view labor migration as the most important sociocultural process in today's world (Stepanov, 2000). This is due to migration dynamics that brought universal recognition to the fact that Krais with growing numbers of labor migrants also experience sociocultural changes (Nakano, 1985; Wial, 1991). The reality is that many social groups are now faced with a sharp dilemma: To preserve their unique unity and continue to develop their native culture in a localized environment or to dissolve in polycultural social communities so as to develop new entities transformed by this synthesis. Scientific discussion has gradually come up with two major opinions on this issue: (1) Migration is reduced to localization (preservation); (2) migration is transformed into the assimilation (dissolution) of various cultural groups within a polycultural community (Goss and Lindquist, 1995; Mueller, 2013; Ruhs, 2015; Stark and Bloom, 1985; Todaro, 1969; Zhao, 1999).

Because ethnic labor migration has such a colossal influence on modern-day demographic and cultural processes, there is demand for scientific study of its key vehicles, functions, and trends. This research attempts to study the characteristic features of ethnic migration in today's society and analyze how this process can potentially help create a positive model of a multicultural society.

When it comes to methodology, migration requires cross-disciplinary research to identify the universal patterns of migration development and their manifestations in today's sociocultural processes (primarily, integrational and adaptational). Pursuant to this assumption, the methodological strategy behind migration studies requires a special combination of methods applied in the social sciences and the humanities dealing with the cross-cultural relationship between migrants and the host society.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

To study ethnic labor migration in Krasnoyarsk Krai, we chose the social research model. The study was conducted in the form of a questionnaire, and the subject of it was to identify the principles behind the behavior of social groups (such as migrants and locals) and ways to regulate it.

The sociological survey we conducted involved the following steps:
1. Creating multiple-choice questions
2. Deciding on the sampling system
3. Trialing the questionnaire to gauge respondents' reaction to the way the questions are phrased (typically, with a group of 10-15 people)
4. Conducting the sociological survey
5. Gathering empirical data, processing (interpreting) the gathered information
6. Drawing scientific conclusions.

The purpose of this research is to work out a sociological profile of modern-day problems in the cross-cultural relationship between a migrant and a host environment. The object of this research is the cultural values and needs appearing out of this relationship, while its subject matter is the analysis of cultural attitudes towards migrants as expressed by young students and migrants living in the Krai.

To conduct our sociological study and gather valid results, we invited 500 participants with the following sampling: 250 people obtaining higher education (Siberian Federal University) and vocational training (Krasnoyarsk Polytechnic School) and 250 ethnic migrants living in Krasnoyarsk. This kind of ratio allowed us to ensure a fair representation of opinions regarding the current relationship between migrants and the host community. Young students are a new intellectual generation and the upcoming cultural elite which will be paving the way for the area's cross-cultural relationships and migration policy. Thanks to regularly interacting with people from other cultures during the academic year, Krasnoyarsk students are well familiarized with modern concepts of cross-cultural relationships. Therefore, we invited students to take part in our study because they are the most active segment of the population which is capable

of not only embracing new things (such as knowledge and relationships), but also of understanding the essence of today's cross-cultural relationships.

The second group of respondents was made up of migrants who moved to the area and settled down in Krasnoyarsk or the rest of the krai. This group included people from the Azerbaijani diaspora (the Azeri national cultural community, Krasnoyarsk), the Jewish diaspora (Jewish organization Gilel, Krasnoyarsk), and the Polish community (social organization Polonia, Zheleznogorsk). These groups were chosen according to the following criteria. They must: Have a long-term history of living in Krasnoyarsk Krai (the Poles and the Azerbaijanis have been living in the area since the 19th century, the Jews, since the 18th); be a relatively large group; be a national and cultural autonomy and have their own national and cultural social organizations (the Poles and the Azerbaijanis each have four such organizations, and the Jews have one); be part of the Krasnoyarsk Krai Administration Committee for sociocultural solutions; represent the needs and interests of migrants living both in the city (the center) and the krai (the periphery). Additionally, we wanted to balance migrants' views on living conditions in the host country, which is why we chose both groups living in an "open" cross-cultural environment of the krai's capital (the Azerbaijani and the Jewish communities of Krasnoyarsk) and the "closed" environment of an administrative territorial unit (the Polish community of Zheleznogorsk, Krasnoyarsk Krai).

On the whole, this is a representative selection appropriate for a sociocultural study since the selected social groups are all made up of migrants; are not ethnically related (by language, culture or history of ethnicity formation); are autonomous; take care of preserving their national identities; and take an active part in developing the city's and the krai's cross-cultural relationships.

A trial survey was conducted among culture and arts history students from the Siberian Federal University (15 people training for a degree in cultural studies, history of arts, and advertising). This was done to help us ensure the options were reasonably easy to understand and the questions were well-phrased and matched the goals and objectives of the research.

Our sociological study took place between February 8th and May 15th, 2014, when people from various ethnic communities were able to find time to participate in a mass survey. As a result, we collected 500 questionnaires, including: 104 from the Jewish community, 92 Polish, 54 Azerbaijani, 150 Siberian Federal University students, and 100 Krasnoyarsk Polytechnic School students. The respondents provided some details about themselves in the beginning of the questionnaire, which allowed us to analyze migrant participants by age, gender, level of education, and social standing. Student respondents were still in the process of obtaining higher education or vocational training, but it was nonetheless interesting to also analyze them by gender, social standing, and ethnicity.

Age-wise, migrant respondents fell into the following categories: 78 people (31.2%) aged between 23 and 30; 104 people (41.6%)

aged between 30 and 45; and 68 people (27.2%) aged between 45 and 68. All the 250 students were aged between 15 and 25 (teenagers and young adults). Gender-wise, women prevailed among migrants (176/70.4% women and 74/29.6% men), which can be explained by women's higher engagement in social activities and higher predisposition towards keeping community traditions alive. The student group featured roughly equal numbers of men and women (130/52% men and 120/48% women). Education-wise, out of the 250 surveyed migrants 72 (28.8%) have higher education, 121 (48.4%) have vocational training, 8 (3.2%) are currently in higher professional education, and the remaining 49 people (19.6%) have secondary school education.

In terms of social standing, the surveyed migrants assessed themselves as employees (59 people, 23.6%), workers (46 people, 18.4%), private sector employees (41 people, 16.4%), housewives (24 people, 9.6%), unemployed (17 people, 6.8%), social and cultural workers (16 people, 6.4%), retired (15 people, 6%); 32 people (12.8%) were unable to determine their social status. Out of Krasnoyarsk students, 230 people (92%) assessed themselves as students, and 20 people could not determine their social status.

In terms of ethnic background, the following ethnic groups were represented among the surveyed students: 148 Russians (59.2%), 13 Jews (5.2%), 11 Armenians (4.4%), 10 Khakassians (4%), 9 Ukrainians (3.6%), 8 Azerbaijanis (3.2%), 7 Evenks (2.8%), 6 Georgians (2.4%), 6 Kyrgyz (2.4%), 5 Polish (2%), 4 Tuvans (1.6%), 2 Yakuts (0.8%), and 2 Chinese (0.8%); 19 people (7.6%) did not disclose their ethnic origin.

Most surveyed migrants are of working age, educated, have a certain social standing, and are able to identify themselves by their ethnic origin. As for students, their group is ethnically diverse and therefore can be characterized as a polycultural community.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Presented below are the results of our quantitative research, including percentage shares scored by particular answer options.

Question 1: "Do you believe migrants should be attracted to temporary jobs to help Krasnoyarsk Krai overcome labor and population deficits?" The most popular answer was, *"No, any demographic issues must be tackled internally"* (100 votes, 40%), followed by, *"Yes, it is vital for the Krai's socioeconomic development"* (98 votes, 39%); only 10% of respondents (25 people) replied, *"Yes, it will create new incentives for Krasnoyarsk Krai to develop,"* and only 2% (5 people) went for the option, *"No, the Krai doesn't need any extra workforce;"* 8% (20 people) were not sure about their answer, and 1% (2 people) said they were not interested in the subject. The above results suggest that there is demand for temporary migrant workers as an economic resource for the Krai, but respondents are strongly against improving the Krai's demographic situation by allowing migrant families to settle down due to one of the parents

temporarily working in the host country. A low percentage of answers regarding the Krai's cultural development probably doesn't mean that people don't want new initiatives, but rather suggests that Krasnoyarsk Krai has long become a polycultural Krai which constantly keeps synthesizing and generating new cross-ethnical values and relationships.

Question 2: "Do you believe migrants should be attracted to permanent jobs to help Krasnoyarsk Krai overcome labor and population deficits?" The leading answer to this question was, *"Yes, this is the only way for Krasnoyarsk Krai to ensure successful socioeconomic development"* (142 votes, 57%). The option, *"Yes, it will help them 'blend' into the native population and turn them into our neighbors,"* failed to win migrants' votes, probably because they are reluctant to lose their unique ethnic identities in the host community's cultural environment. As a result, only 14% of respondents (35 people) chose this answer. An even lower percentage of respondents - 9% (22 people) - backed the possibility of civilizational conflicts. Almost equal numbers of people (4% and 6% respectively) went for options, *"No, there is already not enough space for the native population,"* and *"Probably: There is enough land for everyone."* This distribution of votes uncovers entirely different attitudes to migrants' sedentary lifestyle in the host country. Perhaps migrants are uncertain whether they want to settle down and permanently "conquer" their territory.

Question 3: "Do you think attracting migrants may jeopardize national security?" Equally highly popular were answers, *"No, it won't, provided the government implements a well-thought-out migration policy,"* (38%, 95 votes) and, *"No, it won't, provided migrants are culturally close to the host community (for example, in religion)"* (28%, 70 votes). This suggests that migrants expect the Federal Migration Service Department to create vehicles for protecting their rights and come up with rules for adapting to the host community. One of the entry criteria applied by the Migration Service should be ethnic and/or confessional connection with the host community. This conclusion is backed by the fact that only 10% of respondents (25 people) went for the option, *"No, it cannot: Russian security services are powerful enough to handle this problem."* Speaking about negative effects of migrants living in the Krai (such as crime and desire for political independence and financial profit), only a few respondents saw them as a danger.

Question 4: "If attracting migrants does pose a threat to national security, which types of threats do you believe to be the most relevant?" Over half of the votes went to *increased interethnic tensions* (51%, 128 votes). High awareness of this problem among the respondents gives us a clue about the basic condition for successful coexistence of and interaction between different ethnic groups. Only ethnic conflicts (at any level) are able to violate national security and cause irreparable consequences. Economic, criminal, professional, labor, and cultural threats do not appear to be such dangerous triggers for interethnic tension.

Question 5: "What should the government's migration policy be like?" Most respondents went for the option, *"Effort should be made to help migrants properly naturalize in Russia, 'blend' into Russian society, learn the Russian language, and get to know Russian culture,"* (58%, 145 votes); second place went to the answer, *"Migrants must preserve their unique ethnic identity,"* (27%, 68 votes); and third place went to, *"Migrants must live in a maximally isolated way, be only involved in their permitted activities, and not interfere with local people's lives"* (15%, 37 votes). Therefore, today's most desirable acculturation strategy is assimilation of migrants in the host society where members of a non-dominant cultural group aim for regular contact and interaction with other cultures. This assumption only backs one of the answers to the previous question in which respondents voted against any threat of ethnic tension as a result of migration. This is why second place went to the strategy of integrating ethnic groups with a view to preserving cultural diversity and building a multicultural community. So it appears that migrants are prepared to sacrifice and adjust a significant part of their national and cultural identity in order to avoid social conflict. Perhaps, once both migrants and the host community are fully confident of national security, the aspiration to create a multicultural society will move up to the top position.

Question 6: "Which social, political or cultural groups do you think can substantially influence the state of migration in Krasnoyarsk Krai?" The key agents here were *the government* (19%, 47 votes) and *the media* (18%, 45 votes), which suggests that there is demand for a joint political and informational effort to work out a comprehensive and transparent high-quality migration policy. Second place went to the triad: *The governor* (12%, 30 votes), *ethnic communities and diasporas* (10%, 25 votes), and *the Siberian Federal University* (9%, 23 votes). Their union is expected to come up with a proper local migration policy (taking into account ethnic groups' preferences) and help acculturate newly arriving migrants to the host environment. Following the above is a large group of other agents that can be split into two subgroups: "Religious" (*Russian Orthodox Church* - 5%, *Islamic religious organization*s - 2.5%) and "secular" (*ethnic relationship experts* - 4%, *science and education societies* - 3%, *social advertising* - 3%, *local authorities* - 2.5%). The option, *"Nobody can: It's a spontaneous process,"* received 4% of votes. On the one hand, this distribution of votes implies the above religious and social institutions play a significant role in a polycultural society, helping maintain people's preferences in their day-to-day lives and shaping their rules of coexistence. On the other hand, a fairly high percentage of votes cast against any agents of influence and implying there is no way to control migration, is likely to suggest that some respondents are simply not aware of any migration-related processes currently in place. The last and least popular group included agents that can influence the state of migration locally, but cannot have a substantial effect on the relationship between migrants and the host community. *Pop stars* and *vigilante groups* were not recognized by respondents as influencers.

Question 7: "Which countries' experience in developing a migration policy would be useful in Krasnoyarsk Krai?" An almost equal number of votes was given to the options, not sure (22%) and the USA (21%, 52 votes); followed by Germany (12%),

Canada (9%), Australia (7%), China (6%), the Soviet Union between 1917 and the 1990's (6%), France (4%), Poland (3%), and Kazakhstan (2%). A relatively low percentage of respondents voted for the option, "All countries have failed in their migration policies" (8%). To sum up the above results, the United States, once defined by their "melting pot" approach, were voted as an example of a good migration policy backed with the best strategy (this choice is fully in line with the assimilation strategy chosen by respondents earlier). The second most popular option included migration policies of developed countries that already have a political vehicle for dealing with migration. Votes cast for Russia's historical form of migration policy, which used to operate for the sake of the Soviet Union, suggests that some respondents would love to turn back time and step back into the old atmosphere of unity and ethnic diversity.

Question 8: "Migrants from which countries should be expected to come to Krasnoyarsk Krai in the next few years?" Most respondents forecast that migrants should be expected from the following countries and regions: Central Asia (30%), China (27%), and Transcaucasia (23%), particularly Tajikistan and Azerbaijan. This response brings more clarity to the desired (perfect) migration scenario: Future migrants coming from Eastern cultures (ethnically close to respondents themselves) must be managed through an adapted rational (Western) migration policy in order to assimilate with the host society's culture (that is, blend into it and become "one of us").

Question 9: "Which segment of the labor market do you expect to have the most demand for migrants?" The following workplaces were forecast: Low-skilled work - 41%; low- and medium-skilled work - 21.5%; medium-skilled work - 21%; any segment - 14.5%; not sure/question ignored - 2%. That is, future migrants are in demand as a workforce capable of quickly completing large amounts of work with good quality and therefore allowing the Krai's economy to grow.

Question 10: "Should any special conditions be created for migrants, such as dedicated land, settling-in allowance, new homes, child and other benefits?" This question revealed three nearly equal approaches to the issue: *"Yes, as long as the migrants are high-skilled workers; no such conditions should be in place for low-skilled workers"* - 29%; *"Yes, as long as the migrants are high-skilled workers involved in groundbreaking economic projects within Krasnoyarsk Krai"* - 24%; *"Yes, if they are returning home"* - 13%. Following the logic of these responses, there should be a flow of migrants allowed into the country, but priority treatment should only be given to highly skilled experts willing to assimilate in the host community and help develop the Krai's economy. When it comes to compatriots returning home, migrants are unanimously supportive of the idea, which is usually the case in all countries with this kind of situation.

Question 11: "Can the Siberian Federal University become an acculturation hub for newly arriving migrants?" Most respondents (29%) agreed that the Siberian Federal University could indeed become a place for migrants to get acculturated, provided that: Tailored educational programs are designed for specific sociocultural groups (25%) and ethnic relationship experts are involved (18%). In this connection, the Siberian Federal University is perceived as a place offering educational adaptation and helping improve cross-ethnic dialogue, taking into account the diversity of existing migrant and local groups rather than trying to blend them into one.

Results obtained from student respondents:

Question 1: "Do you believe migrants should be attracted to temporary jobs to help Krasnoyarsk Krai overcome labor and population deficits?" Student respondents cast the most votes for the option, *"Yes, it is vital for the Krai's socioeconomic development"* (53%, 133 votes), and also voted for the need to develop culture by bringing in migrants with other cultural backgrounds (20%, 50 votes). While the first statement matches the response obtained from migrants, the second opinion reveals a keen interest in all things new and unexplored, which is typical of young and enthusiastic people who are still in the process of discovering, building, and accumulating their vision of the world. Other less popular votes generally suggest that some students are reluctant to welcome any extra workforce (perhaps due to their own enthusiasm) or are not interested in the subject (or not that well informed about it).

Question 2: "Do you believe migrants should be attracted to permanent jobs to help Krasnoyarsk Krai overcome labor and population deficits?" This question revealed a fairly open attitude to migrants, provided there is a way to fence off an endless stream of them. Respondents named the following factors that would increase migrants' chances of permanent settlement: *Ability to develop the Krai's social economy* (23%) *and reclaim new land* (20%); *ethnic and/or religious similarity* (13%); *willingness to assimilate into the host culture* (12%). *Possible civilizational conflicts* (8%) and *non-participation in local issues* (5%) were named as potential barriers. 12% of respondents were not sure about their answer or chose to ignore the question.

Question 3: "Do you think attracting migrants may jeopardize national security?" Answers to this question can be grouped into three categories. The first group of answers expects the migration service to exclusively handle and implement all aspects of migration policy (45%). Second place went to a group of answers connected with handling security issues (15%), provided that migrants are culturally close to the host community (15%). The third and smallest group included answers dealing with social (criminal) and economic threats (20% collectively), although in today's world they cannot be seen as particularly dangerous and can be tackled individually. Given that the idea of migrants' political self-sufficiency in the host environment was largely ignored, it appears that student respondents are quite confident in security agencies and their protection mechanisms.

Question 4 regarding specific types of threats helped identify some of the most relevant threats these days, such as: Increased interethnic tensions (46%, 161 votes) and surging crime (30%, 61 votes) where illegal (criminal) activities are seen by young

people as a real potential trigger for ethnic conflicts. Second place went to less dangerous threats, such as the economy being dependent on a foreign workforce (10%) and a threat to local Russian cultures (8%). These responses, coupled with findings from previous questions, give us a better idea of the filtering criteria expected to slow down the flow of migrants into the host country. *Ousting locals from prestigious jobs* and *taking large amounts of money out of Russia* gained 3% of votes each and were perceived as the least dangerous threats. Also, none of the students expressed any concern about any potential threat to Russia's territorial security.

Question 5: "What should the government's migration policy be like?" Over half of student respondents (60%, 150 people) supported the idea of the government taking the path of *assimilating migrants*. Half as many respondents believe that *migrants should preserve their ethnic identity* (27.5%, 68 people), which is in line with the integration strategy and the idea of building a polycultural society. Only 7.5% of respondents were *not ready to accept migrants (the isolation strategy)*.

Question 6: "Which social, political or cultural groups do you think can substantially influence the state of migration in Krasnoyarsk Krai?" This question saw opinions split into five categories: 40% of student respondents indicated *the government* as the key agent. It was followed by the social triad (*The Governor* - 15%, *national communities and diasporas* – 13%, and *libraries* – 12%), where the key role is assigned to traditional cultural institutions capable of providing space for interethnic dialog and serving as an arena for top state and ethnic leaders to meet. The third most influential group was related to education and information: *Science and education societies* - 7%, *the Siberian Federal University* - 6%, and *the media* - 5%. This response suggests there is demand for the media to join in the education process and help improve culture. The forth group included local authorities (2%) and cinema (2%). Both have didactic functions and can jointly create the image of a migrant and the host community's attitude (cinema's job) and fill them with content (local authorities' job). The smallest number of votes was given to social advertising, internet communities, and the police (1% each). Social adverts and the Web are expected to help minimize crime in the host country. On the whole, these responses received from students can be structured in a special social pyramid, with government rule at the base (the underlying level); followed by a dialogue between ethnic relationship leaders (the sociopolitical level); then education, which helps form views about ethnic culture; and, finally, local social agents which help inform society about the relationship between a migrant and the host environment (the sociopractical level). Speaking about religion and its role in migration, students have yet to explore this Krai (none of the options gained any votes).

Question 7: "Which countries' experience in developing a migration policy would be useful in Krasnoyarsk Krai?" This question returned the following results: The USA - 43%, France - 17.5%, Germany - 5.5%, China - 5%, Kazakhstan and Russia (between 1917 and the 1990's) - 2.5% each, Canada and Australia - 0.5% each, not sure - 23%. Given these results, it appears that the respondents are not very well-informed about other countries' migration policies and are more likely to go by messages broadcast by the media which create such opinions in the collective consciousness.

Question 8: "Migrants from which countries should be expected to come to Krasnoyarsk Krai in the next few years?" This question revealed that respondents primarily expect a flow of migrants coming from Central Asia (41%) and Transcaucasia (20%), which matches the real state of things in Krasnoyarsk Krai and the public opinion dominating the host community (that migrants come into the Krai due to lack of work at home and to provide for their family). The next question, "*Which segment of the labor market do you expect to have the most demand for migrants?*" helped clarify that migrants are mainly expected to take on *low-skilled jobs* (75%), followed by medium-skilled work (17%) and jobs in any segment of the market (6%); and 2% not sure. On the whole, today's students have a fairly realistic view of migration and are able to forecast and explain the reason behind migration waves in the host Krai.

Question 9: "Should any special conditions be created for migrants, such as dedicated land, settling-in allowance, new homes, child and other benefits?" This question reconfirmed students' positive attitude to the issue: 50% of respondents supported the idea of providing special conditions for all migrants willing to work for the benefit of the Krai. A relatively low percentage was given in support of compatriots wishing to return to their homeland - 20%. Negative attitudes were expressed in options such as: *"No: There is a shortage of the above for locals in the first place"* (15%) and *"Not if migrants are coming from China"* (15%). So it appears that students are prepared to accept and assimilate migrants as long as they are eager to work, whatever their level of qualification. But when it comes to migrants from China, students believe that building proper interethnic relationships with them is difficult due to their native languages being too far apart and the local media broadcasting plenty of negative propaganda.

Question 10: "Can the Siberian Federal University become an acculturation hub for newly arriving migrants?" The following three statements scored equally high in this case: *"Yes, it certainly can," "Yes, it can, provided that ethnic relationship experts are involved,"* and *"Yes, it can if tailored educational programs are designed for specific sociocultural groups"* – 25% each. Therefore, students who themselves are involved in building ethnic relationships are able to come up with hands-down suggestions on how to create an educational environment featuring a two-way approach to building ethnic bridges. On the one hand, they support educational programs tailored for various cultural groups and allowing one to learn more about different communities and work out a model for a multicultural society. On the other hand, they suggest involving experts with migrant backgrounds, that is, people who are familiar with relevant up-to-date ethnic and religious concepts and are prepared to expand young people's world views and horizons. Given that students see education as one of the key Krais shaping today's culture, there is a chance that a proper educational approach towards migrants could be developed in the future.

Results obtained through this sociological survey allowed us identify both dominant and secondary cultural values that come into play where migrants meet the host community. Armed with these observations, we were able to make the following scientific conclusions.

To begin with, the top priority for migrants is that the host community should not be home to any interethnic tensions. This can be achieved under the following cultural conditions:

- Aspiring for the integrational model of adaptation, which is based on acceptance and cooperation and leaves room for a certain amount of cultural unity within the dominating society;
- Keeping social links with related groups so as to ensure self-preservation of each particular ethnic group within the host environment;
- Following the rules of the state migration policy, which is dictated by the Government and should follow the footsteps of other socially and economically developed countries in regulating migration (the 'melting pot' concept historically developed in the United States can be a good example of the assimilation strategy);
- Meeting the host environment's requirements, provided the media regularly release up-to-date and transparent information about the migration policy;
- Being prepared to permanently settle down in the host country so as to properly contribute to the relevant Krai's socioeconomic development.

Listed below are valuable secondary priorities which migrants put in second and third place:

- Migrants would rather prefer the host country to go for the assimilation strategy to minimize interethnic tension, but they also want to preserve a certain amount of their unique cultural identity
- Migrants are prepared to take on low- and medium-skilled jobs as long as the host community is tolerant of them and they are able to improve their skills and living standards
- They also value having an opportunity to get a good idea of the host country's culture so that they can successfully adapt to a polycultural community

When it comes to the polycultural student community and their vision of how the host environment should interact with migrants, the following ideas scored the most support:

- Attracting migrants only for the sake of socioeconomic development of the Krai and its local population;
- Minimizing interethnic tension through bigger cultural similarity between migrants and the host community;
- Giving priority to the assimilation strategy when working out a migration policy because the host community is always in a position to dictate rules with regard to any initiative coming from migrants;
- As a matter of priority, having cultural elements in place on every level of social interaction because culture is responsible for both preserving and changing basic and day-to-day values in people's relationships and it is also capable of providing favorable conditions for a dialog between the two sides (students seem to have a very clear idea of how culture's key

functions are distributed across various levels, from legislation to facilitating day-to-day interactions between a migrant and the host community);

- Readiness to accept migration waves of any size, as long as there are in-depth educational programs designed for unrelated cultural groups: Such programs are supposed to help acculturate anyone wishing to improve and become part of a polycultural society.

The following two statements reveal the host community's secondary priorities: Migration helps enrich (change the quality of) the host country's culture, and the likelihood of ethnic conflicts can be minimized by implementing a migration policy that takes into account cultural similarities and by strictly controlling any illegal (criminal) activities.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Ethnic labor migration processes happening in Krasnoyarsk Krai have a genuine impact on the area's culture and society. But which way these changes go depends on the real-life choice of acculturation strategy for both ethnic labor migrants and the host community. Our study has revealed that there is a difference between the logic of preference and the logic of real-life choice when it comes to acculturation strategies. For example, while ethnic labor migrants living in Krasnoyarsk Krai proclaim their need for assimilation, in reality they most often go for the separation strategy so as to safeguard their cultural identity. People from the host community, in their turn, claim they are happy to support ethnic labor migrants' choice and allow them to go for integration as their preferred acculturation strategy. But reality is much more complex than that: The host community varies its attitude towards ethnic labor migrants depending on the cultural norms and values adopted among different migrant groups.

The two trends dominating today's discussion on the nature of ethnic labor migration, that is, when migration results in either ghettoization or assimilation into the wider community, should be joined by the third trend when all participants of the process want to avoid interethnic tensions and are mentally prepared to go with the integration strategy, which would make it possible to find harmony between preserving ethnic migrants' cultural identities and showing respect for the host community's cultural values and formal laws. This subjective urge to avoid interethnic tensions is the third force capable of putting pressure on both sides of the process and forcing them to look for compromises between the strategies of separation (localization) and assimilation. Looking for compromises and complex agreements to avoid interethnic conflicts at all costs, which is the case in Krasnoyarsk Krai, appears to be the true aim of the political management, so as to create a polycultural society in an area where ethnic and cultural mobility happen all the time.

5. ACKNOWLEDGMENT

of Eastern Siberia in fundamental medicine, distance pedagogy and socio-cultural and economic activities."

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